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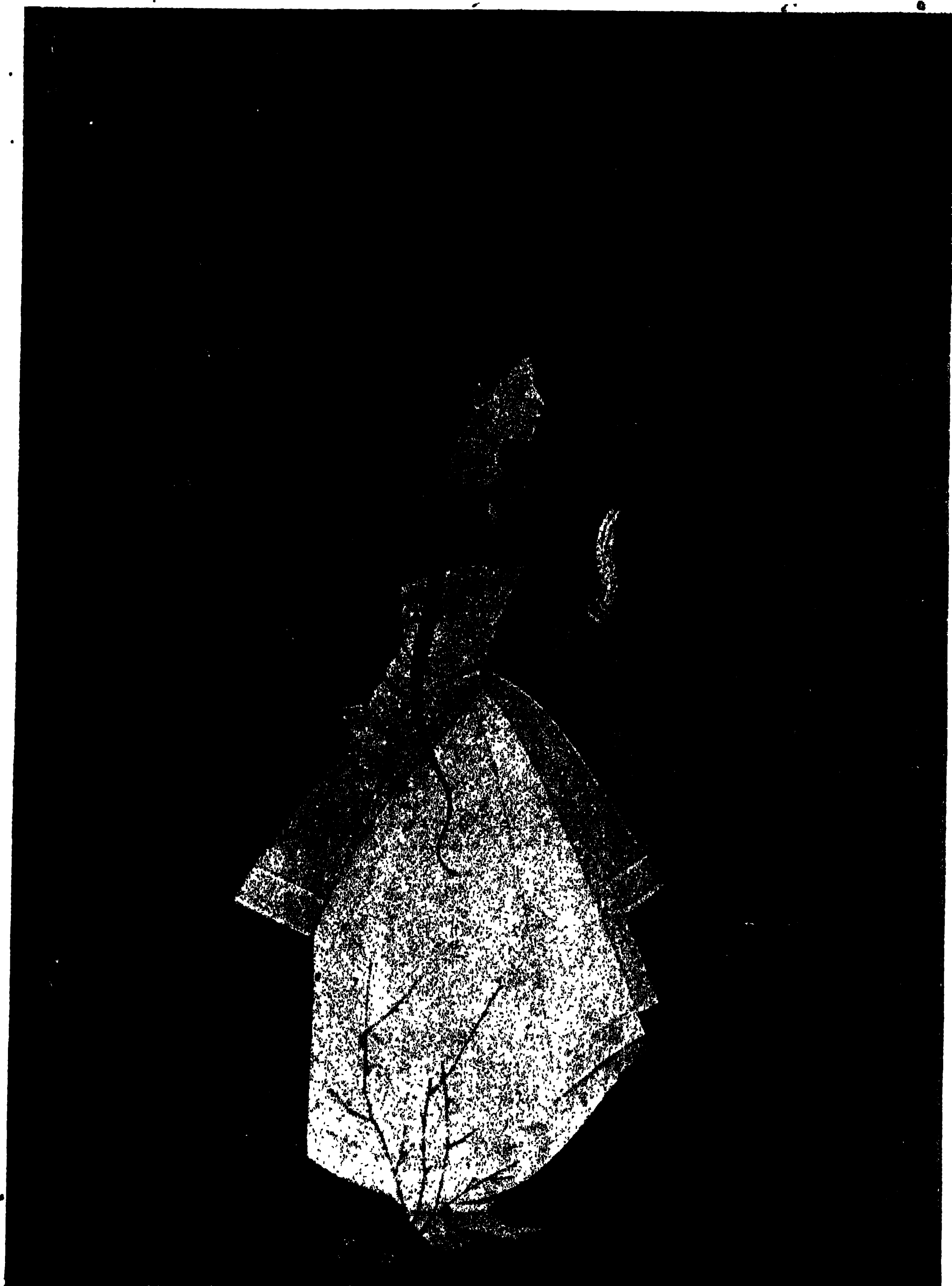
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THE MODERN REVIEW

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NOTES

Mr. Amery Addresses India on Magna Carta Anniversary

Mr. Amery, Secretary of State for India, broadcasted a speech in London on "Magna Carta then and now" on June 15th last, the anniversary of the signing of the Magna Carta 725 years ago. Though there was nothing particularly new in what he said, that part of his speech which was addressed to the English people—and it was the major portion, was quite appropriate to the occasion. And so far also as the Dominions are concerned it was not inappropriate.

But the occasion was not well-chosen for inflicting a thrice-told homily on the people of India. It was not quite auspicious for the British **Empire** to remind the people of India, though quite unintentionally and inadvertently, of how Magna Carta was obtained. Said he:

> "You can picture for yourselves far better than I can describe it for you the scene on both the banks of the river Thames and on the little island between, on one side the crafty tyrant King, furious, but impotent among his trembling foreign counsellors; on the other the embattled host of Barons, great and small, Bishops and Clerics, Mayor and Citizens of London—**that** English **nation** in fact **which unobserved had come into being** in a century and a half **since the** Norman **conquest and which was now for the first time to assert its power** and its sagacity.
>
> **It was the power of the English people which exacted the great charter.** But it was its sagacity that refrained from the gratuitous assertion of power, which would have weakened the sovereign authority of the realm and accepted King John's surrender in the form of a royal grant to his obedient subjects."

Mr. Amery did not suggest—did not intend to suggest, that "it is the power of the [Indian] people" which will have to win it charter of freedom, that it is the "[Indian] nation which unobserved [by British die-hards] had come into being since the [British occupation of India] which is to assert its power. We need not object when our freedom has been won, if the British nation "asserts" "its sagacity" by declaring India's freedom "a royal grant."

By the bye, did Mr. Amery mean to suggest that, as the British people have taken 725 years since the winning of Magna Carta to arrive at their present stage of self-rule, so Indians should plod on for 725 years before getting Dominion Status or any other kind of self-rule. That would be splendid. The English Magna Carta was won by a combination of Barons, Clerics and citizens. We have citizen soldiers of freedom. Who will be the Barons and Clerics to combine with the Indian citizens to win the Indian Magna Carta?

Mr. Amery's Thrice-told Tale

Mr. Amery devoted to India the two penultimate paragraphs of his broadcast. Said he:

> "In the case of India, we have made manifest our **sincere** desire that she should as a willing partner attain the same status in the British Commonwealth as is enjoyed by the Dominions or, for that matter, by ourselves."

The Indian National Congress wants complete independence. Some others also demand

it. But there are many who would accept Dominion Status—whether as a half-way house, need not be asked or specified. And as the Congress did not rebel but accepted office when the Government of India Act based on the Communal Decision *was imposed on India*, so it is not improbable that Congress would not rebel *if Dominion Status were imposed on India!*

Mr. Amery is silent as to the date when India may expect to be a Dominion. Indians may suggest the Greek Calends.

But even if Mr. Amery definitely announced the date, that would not necessarily bind the British Parliament, which is the ultimate authority. For, both in the House of Commons and the House of Lords it was declared without any member dissenting that, not to speak of any lesser personage, even a pledge given by the British Sovereign would not necessarily be binding on the British Parliament.

The sincerity of anybody making any statement relating to the wishes of the British people, or of any high officer or of the British Sovereign making a promise, is not a question at issue. The only question is: Is the British Parliament bound to honour these promises? The following passages taken from *Labour's Way With The Commonwealth* by the late Mr. George Lansbury, published in 1935 by Methuen & Co. Ltd., London, pp. 76-77, are relevant to a discussion of the subject:

"Indeed, Conservative members of the Select Committee have made it clear beyond the possibility of doubt that we in this country are not bound by any pledge to India except in so far as it is contained in an Act of Parliament. The Chairman of the Conservative M. P.s Indian Committee, Sir John Wardlaw-Milne, stated in the House of Commons: 'No pledge given by any Secretary of State or any Viceroy has any real legal bearing on the matter at all. The only thing that Parliament is really bound by is the Act of 1919.'—(*Hansard*, 10th December, 1934, Vol. 296, No. 15, p 142).

"Lord Rankeillour, who was for many years Chairman of Committees and Deputy Speaker in the House of Commons, and so may be assumed to speak with some authority, said that we were bound by the Preamble to the Government of India Act of 1919, but by nothing else. And speaking of these pledges he added these words: 'No statement by a Viceroy, no statement by any representative of the Sovereign, no statement by the Prime Minister, indeed, no statement by the Sovereign himself, can bind Parliament against its judgment.' (*Hansard*, House of Lords, 13th December, 1934, Vol. 95, No. 8, Col. 331)."

Major Graham Pole in his article under the caption "Dominion Status for India—When?", published in our last December issue, quoted these observations of Sir John Wardlaw-Milne and Lord Rankeillour and other remarks of other British statesmen and came to the conclusion:

"It has been made abundantly clear to Indians that no statement of any Viceroy, Prime Minister or even the King-Emperor himself can over-rule the words of an Act of Parliament. Even a debate in Parliament does not carry the matter further. The only thing to do, therefore, if the British Government really mean what they say about Dominion Status for India, is to pass an amending Act—which can be done quickly as war legislation—removing the present grave misgivings and "to avoid future misunderstandings," as the British Indian delegates asked, deleting the words in the Preamble of the 1919 Act which Indians have always rightly regarded as an insult to them, and stating specifically that Dominion Status is the aim which it is intended to reach as quickly as possible with the assistance and goodwill of Indians of all races, creeds and classes."

In order to understand the necessity and reasonableness of Major Graham Pole's conclusion quoted above, it is necessary to remember that the words "Dominion Status" do not occur in the preamble of the Government of India Act of 1919, in which only progressive realization of responsible government has been promised, *it being added that the British Parliament alone is to be the sole judge of the pace of India's political advance.* It is also to be remembered that the expression Dominion Status was deliberately excluded from the Government of India Act of 1935. Hence, if the British Parliament really wish to make India a Dominion, they must do so by or at least say so in an Act of Parliament. The words of no august personage can bind them.

Those Indians who would be satisfied with Dominion Status could be reasonably, though not absolutely, sure of getting it "as quickly as possible," if the amending Act suggested above were passed, but not necessarily otherwise.

Mr. Amery proceeded to state why India has not been and cannot be made a Dominion speedily:

"If there are obstacles apart from the immediate urgencies of the war to the speedy fulfilment of that desire, they arise more from the inherent complexities in India's own internal religious, social and historic structure than from any reluctance on our part to hasten the transition from one control to other."

As regards the immediate urgencies of war, much important war legislation has been undertaken and accomplished during the last few months of the war. Such legislation related not solely to Britain. The Government of India Act has been amended more than once in important respects. There is no real difficulty in the British Parliament declaring immediately by an amending Act that India would be made a Dominion within six months after the termi-

nation of the present war with Germany.

With regard to Mr. Amery's reference to "the inherent complexities in India's own internal religious, social and historic structure" as obstacles to the speedy grant of Dominion Status to India, he knows that India is not the only country which has such complexities. Many other countries have them, and yet they enjoy freedom. The League of Nations, of which Britain has been all along the "senior partner", devised the minorities guarantees for these complexities. Britain can follow the principles of the League of Nations in helping India to have a self-ruling constitution. Soviet Russia has dealt with such complexities in its own way. Where there is a will there is a way.

It is curious that what is unwanted and harmful can be imposed on India in spite of these "complexities", *e.g.*, the Communal Decision and the Government of India Act of 1935, the suspension of the provincial part of that Act and the assumption of autocratic powers by the Governors, amendment of that Act diminishing the power of the provincial legislatures, and so on, but that what British statesmen consider would be good for India and what some sections of Indians at any rate would be satisfied with, namely, Dominion Status, cannot even be *promised* to be given to India at any definitely indicated time because of those "complexities."

Those complexities are said to be inherent in India's religious, social and historic structure. Taking these structures one by one, it is quite plain that so far as India's past history is concerned, it is unalterable. Therefore her historic structure cannot so change as to satisfy our British patrons that she has become fit for self-rule. But, of course, India can make history. She *will* do so by becoming free. Then our British patrons will have the "sagacity" and the "generosity" to admit that complexities due to India's historic structure have disappeared.

The religious structure of a country like India boasting of the oldest religions in the world cannot be changed in a day or a week or a month or a year. . . . . Are we then to wait indefinitely for the boon of even Dominion Status?

India's social structure is inextricably interrelated with her religious structure. It can change only slowly, sudden radical and revolutionary change not being probable. Such being the case, our British patrons' words do not inspire much hope of freedom in the near future.

Mr. Amery added:

"It is our genuine wish to help to bridge over the existing differences and enable Indians as soon as possible to play a vital part, which they are entitled to play, in devising a permanent framework for India's future constitution."

It is not known when this "genuine wish to help to bridge over the existing differences" was born. The Communal Decision, on which the superstructure of the Government of India Act of 1935 was raised, stereotyped the existing differences and created new differences where none existed before. And such is the fecundity of this Decision that new differences are still being born, a process of which Dr. H. C. Mookerjee's article in our present issue has given some unmistakable indications.

The Secretary of State has held out to Indians the hope of their being allowed to play a vital part in devising India's future constitution. Indians understand what that means. The Indian National Congress, therefore, demands for Indians not the right to be consulted but to have the sole right of framing India's constitution. Futilities like the so-called Round Table Conferences are not wanted.

We come now to that part of Mr. Amery's broadcast which relates specially to India.

"Where our own responsibility is no less vitally engaged is to see to it that in the inevitable period of transition from one control to other, security and orderly government of a united India—indispensable foundation of her freedom—should not be imperilled."

Have Indians been crying for insecurity and anarchy? And have any sections of the people, except *some* Muslim Leaguers, desired to vivisect India? All sane Indians are for a United India.

Mr. Amery was good enough to declare that

That, too, an end which we believe can best be secured not by dictation, but by mutual agreement."

When have British imperialists grown weary of dictation? It must have been at some day and hour after the latest amendment of the Government of India Act of 1935, when there was not the least attempt made to arrive at mutual agreement.

"The task before the leaders of India as before ourselves is one of the noblest, if also one of the most difficult, which statesmanship has ever essayed. It will need all of the spirit of the Magna Carta, its practical sense as well as its generosity to make that task possible of achievement."

In enumerating the contents of "the spirit of the Magna Carta" Mr. Amery, it seems to us, has left out its most important element, namely, the determination, the courage and the

power to wrest freedom from an unwilling party.

"The Moslems and Indian Freedom"

That the Moslem League is *not* the sole or the biggest representative Indian Moslem organization and that there are many Moslems and influential Moslem organizations in this country who demand complete independence for India, do not appear to be generally known abroad. It is, therefore, not surprising that the *Jewish Frontier* of New York tacitly accepts the Moslem League and Mr. Jinnah as representatives of the generality of Indian Moslems, which is not correct. What it writes is true, however, of the Moslem League and its members. It writes under the caption "The Moslems and Indian Freedom":

> During recent years official spokesmen of the Moslems in India have frequently and energetically championed the demands of extremist Arab nationalists for the establishment of an independent State in Palestine. Under present circumstances this would amount to an Arab State. At the same time—paradoxical as this may appear—they are opposed to the transformation of their native land, India, into a free and Sovereign country. The biggest hurdle in the way of the Indian National Congress, which at the present time is demanding complete independence, is again the Moslem League. India—argue the Moslem representatives—must not become an independent State as long as no special guarantees have been provided for the protection of the various minorities and especially for the Moslems, who are the largest minority in the country. In this respect there exists a certain resemblance between *the well founded fear felt by Jews* at the prospect of remaining under the rule of a Moslem Arab majority in Palestine and *the much less justified fear of the Indian Moslems* when confronted with the possibility of being ruled by a Hindu majority without the protection of England. At any rate, the Moslem leaders of India now provide the British Empire with an excellent *alibi*. We must be cautious about changing the political status of India—it is declared in London—because we are forced to consider the interests and sentiments of millions of Moslems who live there. (This, incidentally, is a motive which the same ruling circles in London choose to ignore when the Jews in Palestine are concerned). (Italics ours. Ed., *M. R.*).

The American monthly's criticism of the Moslem League gains force from the fact that it, wrongly, thinks "that Jinnah's argument" in favour of separatism "cannot lightly be passed over." It observes:

> "In this respect **M. A.** Jinnah is correct when he maintains* that Hindu-Moslem relations may not be compared to the relations between Catholics and Protestants in a country like England. He rightly points out that both Hinduism and Mohammedanism prescribe codes of social behaviour as well as religious conduct. This results in separate legal codes and differing social concepts. Jinnah therefore claims that this condition precludes that measure of national and cultural unity which lies at the foundation of political democracy in the western world. One who is acquainted with conditions in India will admit that Jinnah's argument cannot lightly be passed over."

In spite of this admission, however, the American monthly criticizes the Moslem League's partition proposal in the following passage:

> "But if the fears of the Moslem League are justified, why not be concerned for the welfare of other minorities as well? In addition to Hindus and Moslems India also contains over three million Sikhs, a million and a half Jains (Mahatma Gandhi belongs to this group), over eleven million Buddhists, above five million Christians and millions of others who belong to various racial and religious categories. If eighty million Moslems fear the "fanaticism" of the Hindu majority, the smaller minorities should certainly be concerned for their fate if and when England will cease to administer the country. Should one therefore consider the establishment of separate independent States for them? We know that this is impossible—short of the Hitler method of enforced exchanges of population—because large numbers belonging to these groups are scattered throughout the country. This, however, is also true to a large extent of the Moslem population. In a couple of provinces, it is true, they are in the majority; in Bengal and Punjab they account for about 60% of the inhabitants. But in Assam they are only 28%, in Bombay 19%, in the United Provinces less than 15%, in Bihar and Orissa only 10% and in Madras a little over 6%. If we leave British India and pass to the so-called independent Indian States, we there find the Moslems not exceeding 20%. Hinduism and Mohammedanism are thus politically and territorially much more intertwined than the Moslem League cares to admit. No matter what boundaries partition should follow, there would still remain large numbers of Hindus in the Moslem State and *vice versa*. Who, then, would protect the minorities in the two countries, let alone the interests of the millions who are neither Moslem nor Hindu, to which we referred above, were Jinnah's, or some other, partition plan to be put into effect?"

Jewish Frontier approves of the united federated state planned by the Indian National Congress.

> "We should not underestimate the interests and sensibilities of the eighty million Moslems in India. But it appears to us here that the defense or minority rights do not require the atomization of such an economic unit as India represents. (I stress the word "atomization" because the first partition would undoubtedly evoke local separatist tendencies). The Indian National Congress plans to establish a unified Federated State with a large degree of Self-Government for the individual provinces. It appears to us that this plan contains a sound and democratic solution of India's problem. Should the program of the Congress be put into effect, the Moslems would control the administration of the five north-west provinces where they are in a majority and one may reasonably expect the Moslem minorities elsewhere to be treated with the same measure of generosity which they would exhibit to minorities in the area under their control. The different pro-

* *Time and Tide*, London, England.

vinces in India can thus counterbalance each other and the Federal Constitution can be planned in such a manner as to provide effectively for the protection of the other small minorities."

The American monthly appears to us to be on safe ground in observing:

"Certain indications point to the conclusion that *the Moslem League is being supported by the British administration* which fears national unity in the country and utilizes the new Hindu-Moslem tension to justify its policy of leaving conditions as they were in England's largest and most important Colony. It is entirely possible that relations between Hindus and Moslems would be much more normal today were it not for the "third side" which stimulates from London all those forces that may strengthen the barriers and serve to create new competition and ill will between the various parts of the Indian population." (Italics ours. -Ed., *M. R.*).

Hindu Mahasabha Does Not Want Favoured Treatment for Hindus

Mahatma Gandhi wrote in his article on "Two Parties" in *Harijan* (June 15, 1940): "The Hindu Mahasabha will no doubt want favoured treatment for Hindus including Hindu States." The following telegram appeared in the dailies with reference to this remark of Gandhiji's :

BOMBAY, June 21.

"The Hindu Mahasabha never wanted any favoured treatment for the Hindus whether as to the Legislatures or services or safeguards beyond what is legitimately due to them either on principle of population, proportion or merit, or any other national test, provided it applied equally to all," observed Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, in course of a statement to the Press on Gandhiji's recent article in *Harijan* on "Two Parties" wherein he asserted that the Hindu Mahasabha would no doubt want favoured treatment for Hindus including Hindu States.

Continuing Mr. Savarkar said, "If the Hindu Mahasabha wants anything it is not favoured treatment for the Hindus but to lay the axe at the root of pseudo-nationalism of Gandhist Brand."—*U. P.*

Many Congress leaders have unjustly referred to and treated the Hindu Mahasabha as a communal organization of the same kind as the Muslim League, which it is not. Literally it is a communal organization no doubt, but it is nationalistic in outlook and does not want any privilege for Hindus.

Is the Muslim League "Popularly Elected"?

In the article on "Two Parties" referred to above Gandhiji has written,

"The Muslim League is an organization which, like the Congress, is popularly elected. But it is frankly communal and wants to divide India into two parts, one Hindu and the other Muslim. I read an appeal by a Muslim Leaguer suggesting that the British Government should come to terms with the Muslims and depend upon Muslim aid. That would be one way of settling the question but also of perpetuating British rule."

The Congress is a democratically elected popular political organization. Its primary members pay an annual subscription of four annas. The members of its district, provincial and all India committees are elected. It has a constitution. Its members have to accept its principles or creed. Is the Muslim League "popularly elected" "*like the Congress*"? Do its members pay any regular subscription? Has it any list of members? How many members does it possess?

Gandhiji says, "That would be one way of settling the question." What question?

"Perpetuating British Rule"

Mahatma Gandhi has said that, if the British Government came to terms with the Muslims and depended upon Muslim aid, that would be a way "of perpetuating British rule." Undoubtedly that would be an endeavour to perpetuate British rule. So far Mahatmaji is right. But he does not, of course, say or suggest that coming to terms with the Muslims and depending on Muslim aid would actually result in perpetuating British rule. For nothing can *perpetuate* British rule or any other foreign rule.

"Agreement With All Parties" Not Necessary "To Take Delivery"

We wish to call attention to another observation of Mahatma Gandhi in his article on "Two Parties." In order that its full import may be understood it is necessary to quote it with its context.

Private and public appeals are being made to me to call all parties together and arrive at a common agreement, and then, they say: we shall get what we want from Great Britain. These good friends forget one central fact. The Congress, which professes to speak for India and wants unadulterated Independence, cannot strike a common measure of agreement with those who do not. To act otherwise would be to betray its trust. In the nature of things, therefore, there can be no "all parties conference" unless all have a common purpose.

The British Government would not ask for a common agreement, if they recognised any one party to be strong enough to take delivery. The Congress, it must be admitted, has not that strength today. It has come to its present position in the face of opposition. If it does not weaken and has enough patience, it will develop sufficient strength to take delivery. *It is an illusion created by ourselves that we must come to an agreement with all parties before we can make any progress.*

It is to the last sentence quoted above, which we have italicized, to which we wish to draw attention.

Congress, including Mahatma Gandhi, have repeatedly said that there can be no Swaraj without Hindu-Muslim Unity. Such unity means that there must be an agreement with all Muslim bodies, including the Muslim League. But the Muslim League has no "common purpose" with the Congress.

While we have always been in favour of not only Hindu-Muslim unity but also of unity in essentials among all communities, we have also held and still hold that Independence can be attained even without Hindu-Muslim or without all-communities-unity, provided that there is some party sufficiently strong to win it. When Gandhiji says that "It is an illusion created by ourselves that we must come to an agreement with all parties before we can make any progress," he seems to express a similar opinion. Or perhaps those Congressmen who are for Congress-Muslim unity at any cost will explain Mahatmaji's remark by saying that, though it is not necessary to come to an agreement with *all* parties, it is necessary to come to an agreement with the Muslim League.

It is not our object to minimise the importance of Hindu-Muslim or any other communal unity. What we assert and have asserted repeatedly is that, while such unity is undoubtedly very valuable and every endeavour should be made to attain it, it is not a *sine qua non* for the attainment of freedom and independence. If we say, we must carry the Muslims or any other community in our struggle for freedom if it is to succeed, we give that community bargaining power equivalent to a stranglehold on the freedom movement. We are decidedly opposed to giving anybody such stranglehold.

It may be incidentally observed that patched-up pacts are not equivalent to real unity.

Maulana Azad and 'Muslim League' Chief Ministers

Though the drift of Congress-President Maulana Abul Kalam Azad's pourparlers with Maulvi A. K. Fazlal Huq, Chief minister of Bengal, and Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, chief minister of the Punjab, has not been disclosed, it is to be noted that the Maulana's efforts are in keeping with and a continuation of the Congress policy of propitiating the Muslim League. No effort has ever been made nor is it being made now for rapprochement with the Hindu Mahasabha.

Mr. Jinnah and the Muslim Chief Ministers

The provincial Muslim chief ministers are for promoting the war efforts of the Government in every direction and all respects, as they must be. But while Mr. Jinnah is careful not to give serious offence to the powers that be, he would help the Government only if the Muslim League were accorded favoured party treatment. Hence there has been open disagreement between him and the Muslim provincial chief ministers. Under the circumstances can the latter call themselves and be considered Muslim League ministers?

Some prominent non-Bengali Muslims of Calcutta have also criticized Maulvi A. K. Fazlal Huq. They are all Muslim Leaguers, however!

Original Manuscript of "Ain-i-Akbari"

ALLAHABAD, June 20.

The *Ain-i-Akbari* written in by Abul Fazl, the well-known Minister of Emperor Akbar, which in its original manuscript has been brought by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru from Kashmir, has now been added to the library of the A.-I. C. C. Office (Swaraj Bhawan). Pandit Nehru has presented it to the Library.—*U. P.*

Unveiling of Statue of Rani Lakshmibai of Jhansi

JHANSI, June 19.

The death anniversary of Rani Laxmibai of Jhansi was celebrated here yesterday by holding a public meeting presided over by Mr. A. G. Kher and addressed by Shrimati Subhadra Devi Chowhan, M.L.A., a reputed Hindu Poetess. Later the statue of Rani Luxmibai was unveiled. *A. P. I.*

Ancient Wall Paintings From Central Asia Preserved

The Bengal Weekly writes:

The famous wall paintings from Central Asia, on exhibition in the Central Asian Antiquities Museum, New Delhi, which were in danger of decay, owing to the operation of salts existing in the material used, are now assured of a long lease of life, thanks to a process of preservation evolved by the Archæological Chemist, Government of India.

This process, which is now being carried out in the Central Asian Antiquities Museum in a specially devised apparatus called "Humidity Chamber," consists of what is called the application of a reverse humidity gredient. A number of panels bearing the paintings are secured on the sides of the Humidity Chamber with the painted surface inwards, while a relative humidity above 85° is maintained inside. Wet paper pulp is applied to the outer (plaster) surface of the panels. The layer of pulp is removed when dry and the salts absorbed estimated by calorimeter. These applications are repeated

till the concentration of salts in the plaster is reduced to small fraction. When this stage is reached, the paintings are taken off the chamber and coated with a vinyl acetate solution to strengthen the decayed surface and fix the colours. Finally, the surface is pressed down carefully with hot iron.

MORE THAN ONE THOUSAND YEARS OLD

These wall paintings, which are more than 1,000 years old, were discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in the ruins of the ancient Buddhist shrines in Central Asia in course of his explorations during 1906-08 and 1913-16.

Queer Hindu-Muslim Unity Scheme

WARDHAGANJ, June 19.

A new scheme for Hindu-Muslim settlement on a military basis prepared by Mr. Srinivas Iyengar, Madras, ex-Congress President has been handed over to Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Congress President, here today by Mr. Akharail Khan, Bar-at-Law, Hyderabad (Deccan).

The scheme contemplated equal proportion of Hindu and Muslim Ministers at the centre and in all provinces with additional Ministers being representatives of special minorities in certain provinces like the Parsis in Bombay and the Sikhs in the Punjab. The Indian Army regiments will also have equal number of Hindu and Muslim Officers and men in all ranks and regiments be constituted on regional basis. The Cabinets will be removed by two-third votes. Freedom of personal laws and religious observance will be guaranteed. The outlines of the scheme have been handed over to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Mrs. Naidu in Wardha.—*U. P.*

It does not appear from this brief summary of Mr. Srinivas Iyengar's new-fangled scheme why the Muslims, who are very far from being numerically equal to the Hindus in the whole of India or in most of the provinces, are to have the same number of ministers at the centre and the provinces, and of military officers, etc., with the Hindus. Perhaps in the opinion of Mr. Iyengar the Muslims are so vastly superior to the Hindus in all non-numerical respects, spiritual, moral, intellectual, physical, economic, etc., that it would be nothing short of condescension on the part of the Muslims to agree to having merely an equal number of ministers, military officers, etc., with the Hindus. In some provinces, *e.g.*, Bombay, there are to be additional ministers from minority communities. So even in a province like Bombay, where the vast majority of the population are Hindus, they are to be reduced to the position of a minority in the ministry.

Distribution Of Carts With Pneumatic Tyres

SIMLA, June 16.

A grant has been made, it is learnt, from the Indian Road Fund for the purchase of bullock-carts with pneumatic tyres for distribution in various parts of the country, with a view to popularise the use of such types of bullock-carts which will considerably relieve the strain on the road. Two such model bullock-carts will be given away at the forthcoming monsoon fair at Shonepur (Bihar), two at Rajkot and two at the next All-India Cattle Show in New Delhi.

Meanwhile progress is being made with the experimental construction of concrete trackway, especially designed to resist traffic of bullock-carts without pneumatic tyres. Five miles of such trackway is reported to have been already completed near Delhi, which will be one of the interesting exhibits at the annual session of the Indian Road Congress to be held in Delhi in January, 1941.

Experiments with bullock carts fitted with pneumatic tyres should be made entirely at the cost of the manufacturers of such tyres, as they will profit by their introduction and use. There is no reason why any portion of the Indian Road Fund should be diverted for such purposes. Our roads are for the most part *kutcha* village tracks, and bullock carts ply on them for the most part. It makes no material difference to these roads—if they can be called roads at all, what kind of rims the wheels of carts plying on them have. Moreover, our peasantry, who are the majority of those who use bullock carts, are too poor to go in for bullock carts with pneumatic tyres.

Every pie of the Indian Road Fund should be devoted to the construction of *pucca* roads of some approved variety.

Acharya Kripalani on the Cry for Coalition Cabinets

Writing on "Confusing Issues," Acharya Kripalani says:

"The League demand for Coalition Cabinets is not an emergency artifice." He adds that it is merely an extension of the pernicious principle of separate electorates, which itself was anti-democratic and anti-national. The Muslim League had no chance whatever of becoming the majority on the basis of communal franchise and form cabinets.

Analysing at length the question of Coalition Cabinets in the provinces, Acharya Kripalani says that while the Congress viewed all problems from the national and politico-economic points of view, the Muslim League and the Hindu Mahasabha were religious and communal organisations, participating in politics. Political and economic considerations would weigh with such a party only so far as they were consistent with religious faith.

"Such communal and religious organisations are not recognised in any democracy as national or political parties, even though they may decide upon policies and programmes purely on political considerations. Their function at most is to safeguard what are called minority rights."

The Hindus are an all India majority and a majority in most provinces. They are a minority only in a few provinces. The Communal Decision of the British Government is so unjust and iniquitous that the Hindu Mahasabha has to try to safeguard "majority rights," too, in

addition to trying to safeguard minority rights in a few provinces!

National Governments, Acharya Kripalani continues, could be formed only in times of grave emergencies but even in such Governments political parties do not join with communal parties nor is Cabinet unity sacrificed for the purpose. The majority party takes in the members of the minority groups of its own free will but it does not allow any minority party a practical veto over its decisions. All these principles are violated when a demand for coalition is made in the provinces and the centre with a communal organisation like the Muslim League.

Concluding, Acharya Kripalani says that formation of Coalition Cabinets would complete the confusion now being experienced by the country as a result of communal electorates. Separate electorates were introduced in the name of unity and solidarity in India and "now communal Cabinets are sought to be introduced for the same high purpose of which both the Muslim League and the Government have given very tangible and conclusive proofs—the League by advocating the vivisection of India and the Government by refusing to grant self-determination even in the hour of its greatest peril."—*A. P.*

Bengal Provincial Text Book Committee

No one should be made a member of a text book committee who is not himself a literary man or who has not at least a literay turn of mind. But in the Bengal Provincial Text Book Committee 11 members are officials out of a total of 26. Officials everywhere are a very small section of the educated public, and every educated man is neither a litterateur nor gifted with a literary bent of mind. So it is rather surprising that the Government of Bengal, or rather the Bengal ministry, have made 11 officials members of a body of 26 whose distinctive qualification should be of a literary character. Out of the 15 non-officials again 4 are retired officials. So in the committee it is really the official element which predominates.

It is well known that, though the Hindus are somewhat smaller in number in the province of Bengal than the Muslims, the vast majority of our students, of our educated men and of our authors and other literary men are Hindus. But in the Bengal Provincial Text Book Committee, out of the 15 non-official members only 5 are Hindus and out of the total number of 26 members, official and non-official, the total number of Hindus is said not to exceed 9. Taking into consideration only the numerical strength of the Hindu population of the Province (which is a little more than 44 per cent.), ignoring their superior educational and literary qualifications, at least 11 out of the 26 members ought to have been Hindus.

The names and qualifications of all the members should be published. If that were done, all the absurd and unjust things done by the Committee would be seen to be a natural consequence of its personnel.

"Marsh's Seedless" Grape Fruit Cultivation In Sind

KARACHI, June 1.

Introduced 25 years ago, Sind now dominates other provinces in the cultivation of high quality grape fruits known as "Marsh's seedless."

A large plantation has been established at the Government fruit farm at Mirpurkhas while its cultivation is being rapidly extended in the district and budded plants are issued to zemindars in thousands every year from the farm.

Number of facilities have been announced by the Agricultural Department to encourage the cultivators to intensify its cultivation.

The income per acre is estimated to be Rs. 486 while the cost of cultivation is taken at Rs. 80 leaving a fair margin of Rs. 400 per acre.

On account of its delicious taste, the fruit is most popular all over India, and large quantities are being exported to other provinces.—*A. P.*

"Eat More Fruit"

The National Planning Committee have asked the people of India to "eat more fruit," which the doctors have been telling them for years past. In order to be able to carry out these instructions, they should, as a condition precedent, grow more fruit. We have seen abov how Sind has been doing its bit in this respect. The Panjab has been making earnest efforts to grow more fruit. Bombay grows certain varieties of mango. So does Madras. In the U. P. guavas are grown in large quantities and exported to neighboring provinces. Some districts of Bihar are famous for their mangoes and litchis. Maldah and a few other districts of Bengal grow good mangoes. The Himalayan slopes, included in the province of Bengal, from Siliguri upwards, are quite fit for growing all kinds of fruit of temperate and cold climates. Some districts of Assam are famous for oranges and Nagpur for fruit of the same kind called sāntrā. Pistachios, almonds, walnuts, pomegranates, etc., are exported by the N.-W. F. Province. It is not our intention to give an exhaustive and accurate list. It is enough if we have succeeded in indicating that numerous kinds of fruit are and can be grown in India. If their cultivation be extended and arrangements made for cheap internal export, the needs of our people can be fully met.

International Labour Office at Geneva To Maintain Full Normal Activity

SIMLA, June 19.

Approving the recommendations laid down in two reports of its emergency committee, the Governing

Body of the International Labour Office has decided that, even during the period of the war, the I. L. O. should endeavour to maintain the fullest possible activity and function in its present premises at Geneva, unless this proves impossible.

Owing to the war situation, it has been necessary to postpone the sessions of the Governing Body and the International Labour Conference scheduled for June, 1940. The direction, however, is convinced that it is precisely at a time when international meetings are becoming more infrequent and communications more difficult that the work of the I. L. O. at Geneva and of its representatives abroad assumes increased importance. It is just in these circumstances that the I. L. Office must continue to remain a world centre of information on labour and social problems, that the various publications of the office must be continued, and that all such activities as are not hindered by the war should be maintained unimpaired. This view is strongly held by the member States, and in particular by Great Britain and the U. S. A

The Indian branch of the I. L. O. will therefore maintain its activities unimpaired and continue to function in its office at New Delhi.—*A. P.*

The International Labour Office has done valuable work. Its decision to function normally even during war time, if it may, is welcome.

Why Italy Declared War

Italy's reasons for declaring war were, in the words of Mussolini :

"Western plutocratic democracies have always stopped the march of the Italian people. Italy has done all it possibly can to arrest this horrible war. Today, we have decided to confront the risks and sacrifices of the war. We are resolved to fight on the Continental and Sea Frontiers, where our people are suffocating."

"We are going to war against the plutocratic and reactionary democracies of the West, who have hindered the advance and often threatened the existence even of the Italian people. Events in quite recent history can be summarised in these words,—half promises, constant threats, blackmail and finally as a crown to this ignoble edifice the League siege of fifty-two States."

These reasons, supposing they are true, existed when Germany plunged Europe into this war. Why did not Mussolini then declare war? Because he wanted to avoid "the risks and sacrifices of the war" as much as possible and secure some of its spoils at the least sacrifice possible under the circumstances. He joined Germany when he thought that Hitler was on the point of becoming victorious unaided.

It is not true that Britain and France, the "western plutocratic democracies," as Mussolini called them, "have always stopped the march of the Italian people." It was with the help of Britain and France that Italy became united and free and the Italians one people. These two countries thus helped forward the advance of the Italian people. In Italy's war with Abyssinia Britain and France ought to have helped Abyssinia but did not. Friends of freedom all over the world can complain of British and French inaction in this regard, but Mussolini cannot make a grievance of it. On the contrary, he ought to have been grateful for the inaction of Britain and France.

It is not true that the Italian people are suffocating. If it were true it would mean that Italy was more densely populated than, say, Great Britain, Belgium, or Holland. But the area of Great Britain is 89,041 square miles and in 1931 its population was 43,176,621. The areas of Belgium and Holland are 11.775 and 12,692 square miles respectively and their populations 8,299,940 and 8,474.506 respectively. The area of Italy is 119,714 and its population 42,527,561. These figures show that Great Britain, Belgium and Holland are much more densely populated than Italy, but they do not complain of being suffocated. Nor can Italy complain of lack of foreign dependencies. The colonies and dependencies it possesses are mentioned below with their areas and populations.

Dependencies	Area	Population
Colony of Eritrea	45,754	600,573
Italian Somaliland	194,000	1,021,572
Libya	420,500	
Aegean Islands	770	105,039
Abyssinia	3,50,000	7,600,000

In these dependencies a much bigger area than that of Italy herself is fit for colonization and settlement by Italians. Their agricultural, forest and mineral resources are immense.

In the course of a broadcast from London on the 10th of June when Italy declared war, Mr. Duff Cooper, Minister of Information, said :

"Mussolini has timed the blow with characteristic cowardice and treachery. It will be remembered for generations as one of the vilest things in history. Mussolini had waited for more than nine months until France had fought desperately against great odds. At last an opportunity to stab an old friend in the back in an hour of that friend's greatest peril had proved too strong a temptation for Mussolini to resist."

In her struggle for independence in the last century she was assisted at every turn both by Great Britain and France. It was French soldiers and not Italians, who drove Austrians out of Italy.

On the 11th June, Mr. Attlee, Lord Privy Seal, said in the House of Commons in the course of a war statement :

"Never before in history can a decision to embroil a nation in war been taken so wantonly and with so little excuse. There is no quarrel between Italians and the British and French peoples. Since we became a nation we have never fought Italians. On the other hand when Italy so long divided and to a great extent enslaved by Germans, sought in the 19th century to

become a united nation it was British sympathy and help and French arms that enabled here to attain her desires. Great Britain and France have always been prepared to consider any real grievances that Italy might feel and right up to this declaration of war have sought in every way to prevent war spreading to the Mediterranean. They have been patient under every kind of violation and abuse."

Continuing, Mr. Attlee said:

"Why then has Italy declared war? I say for completely sordid and material motives, because Mussolini thinks he sees chance of securing some spoils at the expense of Western democracies now they are at grips with the brute forces of Germany Mussolini uses the argument of the jackal, which fancies the possibility of getting some scraps from another beast's victim. He puts forward the argument of a petty sneak thief, who hopes to rifle the pockets of the murderer's victim. This is an ignoble role that Mussolini has chosen for the Great Italian people, which has made such splendid contribution to European civilisation in the past.

"False to the finest traditions of the Roman Empire, which laid the foundations of law and order in Europe, false to Christian faith, false to the heritage of culture of renaissance and betraying men of Risorgimento, who struggled for freedom, Mazzini, Garibaldi Victor Emmanuel and Cavour, men, who made Italy a free nation, Italians are now to aid German barbarians in their attack upon civilisation.

"France, whose arms freed Italy from German domination is now stabbed in the back by the descendants of the men she freed Britain is to be attacked in the hope that from her destruction Mussolini may get some pickings for his new Roman Empire."

A Probable Result of Italy's Belligerency

If Britain finally comes out victorious in this war, as we hope and believe she will, one probable result may be the regaining of independence by Abyssinia. Thus good may come out of evil.

"Too Few Children" A Cause of France's Defeat

"Two few children, too few arms, too few allies"—this is Marshal Petain's summing up of the causes of France's defeat. He does not say how France was out-generaled. He does not refer to the grave strategical mistakes committed by the French high command which practically led to the encirclement of the Allied troops in Flanders and the north of France and the loss of all their arms and ammunition, and were the cause of the colossal military disaster at Dunkirk. The fact is France's military system was antiquated. French politicians in power were either ignorant of Germany's gigantic military preparations or disbelieved or underestimated them, and consequently did not make adequate counter-preparations. In saying that France had too few allies, Marshal Petain was unjust to Britain. In this war she has all along done her best for France and is prepared to do so even after the surrender of Marshal Petain's Government to Germany.

But it is not our intention to discuss all the causes of France's defeat. We wish to draw attention to one of the causes mentioned by the Marshal, namely, "too few children."

It is not children who fight a nation's battles. It is adults who do so. But unless children are born in a country in sufficient numbers, there cannot be a sufficient number of adults.

All the world knew, and France, too, must have known, that Germany would have her revenge for her humiliation in the last great war. So, she was one of the countries in which a premium was put on marriage and large families. Hence the population of Germany has been increasing satisfactorily. Owing to the increasing mechanization of armies, the mere numerical strength of armies may seem to be of not very great importance. But if a nation has a big mechanized army, its enemy nation must also have an equally big and equally mechanized army. But machines require men to use them. That shows that mechanization does not make man-power of no value, it does not displace or replace man-power, but increases the effectiveness of man-power. If a nation has 10,000 tanks and 20,000 aeroplanes, it must also have fighters to use them. It is true, men without machines are no match for men in mechanized divisions. But machines alone without men to use them are of no value.

Germany could bring to the field both more machines and more men to use them than France. This was due not only to the fact that the German Reich had a much larger population than France at the end of the last great war but also to the fact that, since the close of that war in 1919, Germany has been increasing her population at a much faster rate than France. More men have grown up to manhood in Germany than in France since the last war. Let us take the surplus of births over deaths in some recent years in Germany and France, according to the *Statesman's Year-book*:

SURPLUS OF BIRTHS OVER DEATHS

	France	Germany
1931	54,795	—
1932	62,594	285,484
1933	18,261	233,297
1934	42,840	473,592
1935	— 19,476	469,361

For decades France has had almost a stationary population. For instance, in 1931 it was 41,834,923, in 1936 it was only 41,905,908. That has not been the case with Germany. To prevent any one from assuming that there is more elbow-room in Germany than in France, and hence Germans are increasing faster, it is necessary to state that the density of population in Germany is 363 per square mile, whereas it is 197 in France. The populations of Italy, Holland and Belgium also have been increasing at faster rates than that of France though their density per square mile is greater than that of France namely, 355·2, 667·7, and 705 respectively.

These figures show that there is more elbow-room in France than in the countries mentioned above. Why then are there too few children in France? It is not that the fecundity of the French people is comparatively lower than that of other people naturally. The French Canadians are increasing not more slowly than other Canadians, rather they are increasing faster.

The fact is, as mentioned by Marshal Petain, the French people have become too pleasure-loving. French women in general do not like to bear children and French fathers are unwilling to take the trouble to bring up children, to the extent that other peoples do so. So they use contraceptive methods and contrivances, more than other people, to prevent the birth of children.

The patriotism, valour and tenacity of the French soldiers have extorted the respect and admiration of the world. But the French people in general seem to have become decadent and seem to be heading for national suicide.

In the long run it is not bullets so much as babies that enable nations to survive and hold their heads high.

French Defeat In Spite of Big Empire

A man may have a big body and large limbs. But if his nerve centre or his heart goes wrong, his big body and large limbs are of no use to him.

Similar has been the case with France and her empire.

The colonies and dependencies of France (including Morocco) have an area of 4,617,579 square miles, with a population of 64,916,975. In spite of such vast resources and man-power, the French Government have had to capitulate.

The Capitulation of France

We deeply sympathise with France in the very great calamity which has overtaken her.

The surrender of the Petain Government without consultation with and without the consent of Britain, France's great ally, is no doubt a breach of faith. But sitting safely in the quiet of a study in a country remote from the scene of the war, we have not the heart to judge France harshly in the day of her greatest humiliation and misfortune.

Innumerable Frenchmen, in France and abroad, and innumerable non-French residents of France's colonies and dependencies have felt the shame of the capitulation. Many of them have expressed the opinion that it was neither wise nor indispensably necessary.

LONDON, June 23.

Broadcasting in French in the European news last night, General De Gaulle, Chief of Military Operations in the Reynaud Cabinet, said, the French Government had no right to surrender to the enemy and that armistice would be not only capitulation but "submission to slavery."

General De Gaulle said:

"The French Government after having asked for armistice now know the conditions dictated by the enemy. The effect of these conditions would be that French land, sea and air forces would be completely demobilised and that our arms would be surrendered and the territory of France wholly occupied and the French Government would fall under the dependence of Germany and Italy. There are many Frenchmen who would not accept either capitulation or slavery. France has undertaken not to lay down arms except in agreement with her Allies. So long as these Allies continue the war, her Government has not the right to surrender to the enemy. A bad military system, faults committed in the conduct of operations, defeatist spirit of the Government during these recent combats made us lose the battle of France, but there remain to us the vast Empire, an intact fleet and much gold. There remain to us Allies whose resources are immense and who dominate the seas. There remain to us the gigantic possibilities of the American industry. Honour, common sense and the interest of the country demand that all free Frenchmen should continue the fight, wherever they are and by whatever means they can. It is, therefore, necessary to group, wherever this can be done, the greatest possible French force. Everything which will be gathered together in military units and in means to produce armaments should be organised wherever there are any such. I will undertake this national task in England. I invite leaders, soldiers, sailors and airmen of the French forces to get into touch with me. I invite all French people who wish to remain free to listen to me and follow me. Long live France, free in honour."—*Reuter*.

It is said the French Navy would not surrender. Britain is quite ready to find room in British ports for all the war vessels of France.

Britain is determined and prepared to help all liberty-loving Frenchmen to rally and fight for the freedom of their country.

LONDON, June 23.

Mr. Churchill in the course of an important statement, said His Majesty's Government had learnt with

regret that the French Government at Bordeaux had accepted the terms dictated by Germany and Italy.

His Majesty's Government could not think that such terms would have been accepted by any Government which had freedom to think for itself. The acceptance by the Bordeaux Government of the terms dictated by the enemy meant that the French Empire, Frenchmen and French resources would be used against the Allies and all French materials and resources would pass into enemy hands.

His Majesty's Government were determined to continue the fight and still hoped that victory would be theirs and when that victory came they would use it for the liberation of France and Frenchmen.

His Majesty's Government appealed to all Frenchmen no matter where they were who loved the freedom of France, not to help the enemy but to aid the efforts of Allies who were working for their liberation.—*Reuter.*

On the 25th June Mr. Churchill made another statement—a long one, to the same effect substantially.

The surrender of King Leopold of Belgium was a great blow to the Allies. The surrender of France is a still greater blow to Britain. But she must and will go on fighting till victory has been won.

China Again In Difficulties

China having been deprived of her own ports by Japan, had to overcome difficulties in importing arms and other requirements of warfare. She overcame these difficulties in part by importing them *via* Burma and Indo-China. Finding that France had become very weak, Japan demanded that France should stop the transit through French Indo-China of all war materials meant for China. France has had to agree to this demand. Ignoring France's compliance Japan has made naval and other movements and arrangements "to cut off by force" supplies to China through Indo-China. It is not known whether Britain would agree to stop Chinese import of war materials through Burma. Should she do so, China would have to depend on her own manufacturing resources, perhaps slender, and on supplies from and through Soviet Russia.

However, we hope and trust that, as the Chinese are a great and resourceful nation, they will be able somehow to overcome their fresh difficulties and win their way to ultimate victory and the complete liberation of their country. Dr. Atal, head of India's medical mission to China, is reported to have said that China can go on fighting for 20 years.

That the Chinese have been able to keep up their fight for freedom so long is due, among other things, to their very great numerical strength. Their casualties have been counted by hundreds of thousands. But they have never had to complain, like Marshal Petain, of "too few children." That they have not become addicted to the use of contraceptives has been a great blessing. If the Chinese had been a numerically small nation, they could not have held out against Japan even if equally well armed with the Japanese. Finland's fate proves this fact. The Finns were superior to the Russians as fighters. They were well armed too. But their numerical inferiority compelled them to yield.

Man Power Needed For Other Than War Purposes

It is not because we have any liking for men being used as cannon-fodder that we have been laying stress on the importance of man-power. Our point of view is that, when men are under the necessity of fighting, it is an advantage to have a very large population to draw upon for recruits.

But a large population is an advantage for productive and creative purposes also. A large population ensures an abundant supply not only of workers but of consumers, too. The industrial nations of Europe cannot consume all that they produce. They have, therefore, to reduce foreign peoples to either political or economic subjection or both forms of subjection to find consumers for their goods. Big producing nations need not be guilty of such unrighteous and immoral conduct. They can themselves consume most of what they produce and supply their surplus produce and manufactures, if any, to other nations by friendly arrangement.

China is not merely fighting. She has been developing and utilising her agricultural and mineral resources and promoting all her handicrafts. Her exports are increasing—not to subject peoples in dependencies but to such great and independent countries as the United States of America.

May India never be under the necessity of using her immense man-power for war purposes! She requires her vast population to develop her cultivable areas and her forest, mineral and river and maritime resources to the full. If that were done and there were an equitable distribution of all that was produced, India would be able to maintain in comfort according to a civilised standard of living even a much larger population than what she has at present. Apart from the moral objection to the use of contraceptives, it can be shown that

it is both harmful and unnecessary from the economic point of view.

College At Santiniketan

Like other colleges in Bengal, the college at Santiniketan opens its new session this month. Perhaps it is the only college in Bengal which is entirely residential. And as it is also a small college, it is practicable for the professors to pay attention to the individual needs of the students. There are various other advantages.

Though there are villages in the neighbourhood, Santiniketan is a village by itself. Those who live there have the advantage of breathing unpolluted fresh air in the midst of rural scenery, of taking long walks on the country side, and of being influenced by the changing seasons of the years, during which there are the unique seasonal festivals, creations of the genius of Rabindranath Tagore. Though a village, Santiniketan provides all those amenities of town life which are really required for health, culture and efficiency.

There are not many colleges which have so good a library as there is at Santiniketan.

Visva-bharati offers facilities not merely for such education as is required for passing university examinations. Its Kalābhavan, School of Art, teaches painting and modelling under the Master, Nandalal Bose. Many handicrafts are taught at Sriniketan, the seat of the Rural Reconstruction Department.

That leads us to observe that, India being predominantly a country of villages, the Indian nation lives in our rural huts and cottages. So when we speak of "nation-building" work we ought to understand by it work for reviving and reconstructing village life for the most part. How that is to be done is taught at Sriniketan by precept and example. Rural reconstruction work is absolutely necessary, particularly for a province like Bengal where only 73 persons per thousand live in towns and 927 in villages. There are opportunities for rural social service at Santiniketan and Sriniketan.

Sriniketan is also the home of Sikshāsatra, an educational institution where the pupils learn by doing or making things by following some handicraft.

At Santiniketan there is also a Sangit-Bhavan or School of Music for teaching Indian instrumental and vocal music. Rabindranath Tagore is pre-eminent as a Maker of Music. Nowhere are his songs so well taught as at Santiniketan.

In addition to the education which is necessary for university examinations, the students of Santiniketan College may by arrangement take advantage of other educational and cultural facilities provided by Visva-bharati.

In the course of his conversation with the Japanese philanthropist Kagawa Mahatma Gandhi said, "Santiniketan is India." In whatever other senses Mahatmaji may have made this remark, it is true in the sense that young men and women come to Santiniketan for education of various kinds from all parts of India. Hence Santiniketan is a place for rubbing off provincial angularities and becoming truly Indian. It provides also for means of contact with the great Chinese nation through Chinese studies at Cheena-Bhavan.

The learning and culture of ancient and medieval India can be studied at Vidyā-Bhavan under the great savant, Pandit Kshitimohan Sen Sastri, M.A.

Above all, there is the great privilege of living near Rabindranath Tagore, coming into contact with him and studying the great literature created by him under competent guidance.

Colleges are usually judged by examination results. In this respect, too, Santiniketan College can hold its head high. This year it sent up 40 students to the I.A., I.Sc., and B.A. examinations, of whom all but two passed. At the All India Debating Competition Miss Lilā Eappen of Santiniketan stood first along with a young man hailing from the Punjab.

In sports Santiniketan holds a high place among the educational institutions of Bengal.

A Tamil Translation of "Krishnakanta's Will"

The Madras *Guardian* (June 20, 1940) contains a notice of a Tamil translation of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee's novel "Krishnakānter Will" ("Krishnakānta's Will"). It is not said whether the translation is from the original Bengali or from an English translation of it which appeared some years ago in *The Modern Review*. It appears from the notice that Krishnakānta has become Krishnakāndan in Tamil. Is it because there is no dental 't' in Tamil? We do not know. The heroine's name in the original Bengali is 'Bhramar'. 'Bhramar(a)' is the Sanskrit name for a large black bee. In the Tamil translation it has become 'Pramra.' Why?

Resolutions of Forward Bloc Conference At Nagpur

Hindusthan Standard (June 22, 1940) has published a communication from its 'own correspondent' at Nagpur containing the text of the resolutions passed at the Forward Bloc Conference held last month at Nagpur. The first two paragraphs of the communication, printed below give the gist of the main resolutions.

NAGPUR, June 21.

"This Conference therefore resolves that in order to win independence for India as soon as possible and in order to preserve it the following steps be taken : (*a*) the struggle launched at Ramgarh be intensified and further widened in its scope under the slogan "All power to Indian people." (*b*) steps be taken to promote and develop national unity in as many directions as possible, (*c*) steps be taken to organize Citizens Defence Corps on a non-party basis and independently of Government for maintaining harmony and solidarity among Indian people themselves. (*d*) measures be taken to establish panchayets in every locality.

The Working Committee of the Forward Bloc be empowered to take necessary steps to meet any emergency or unforeseen circumstances that may arise in future."

Coastal Service Battery

Recruitment for the Bengalee Coastal Defence Battery is practically complete. The first batch of gunners has left for Ambala for training. The young recruits have been complimented by military officers as excellent material. They were given a hearty send-off at the Howrah station by Sir N. N. Sircar and some other prominent citizens and presented with suitable gifts by members of the Ladies' Committee.

Gandhiji on the Merits of Non-violent Resistance

In the course of an article on "How to Combat Hitlerism" Mahatma Gandhi writes in *Harijan* (June 22, 1940):

"As against this imagine the state of Europe today if the Czechs, the Poles, the Norwegians, the French and the English had all said to Hitler, 'you need not make your scientific preparation for destruction. We will meet your violence with non-violence. You will therefore be able to destroy our non-violent army without tanks, battleships and airships.' It may be retorted that the only difference would be that Hitler would have got without fighting what he has gained after a bloody fight. Exactly. The History of Europe would then have been written differently. Possession might (but only might) have been then taken under non-violent resistance, as it has been taken now after perpetration of untold barbarities. Under non-violence only those would have been killed who had trained themselves to be killed, if need be, but without killing any one and without bearing malice towards anybody. I dare say that in that case Europe would have added several inches to its moral stature. And in the end I expect it is the moral worth that will count. All else is dross."

We have a sincere desire to have faith in thoroughgoing ahimsā. We honour Mahatmaji for his wholesouled adherence to ahimsā, though we are not thoroughgoing ahimsāists. Our comments on the efficacy of ahimsā, do not, therefore, proceed from captiousness.

We admit that if the nations named by Gandhiji had acted in the non-violent way suggested by him there might have been or would have been (we are not sure which) less bloodshed than what the present European war has caused. But we are not sure that such non-violent resistance would have enabled the nations to maintain their freedom and independence, which many people value more highly than life or a whole skin.

As regards Europe adding several inches to its moral stature by non-violent resistance, we confess we doubt if a person who uses physical force, including armed force, in defence of his liberty and life and of those of his near and dear ones and countrymen is necessarily morally inferior to a non-violent resister in all circumstances. But let us assume that forcible resistance is always and under all circumstances ethically inferior to non-violent resistance. And let us also admit, what we believe to be true, that it is moral worth that counts and that all else is dross.

We have said above that we are not sure if national freedom and independence can be preserved by non-violent resistance to the aggression of enemies like Hitler and his hordes. Enemies like these would not rest satisfied with merely taking possession of things. They would put an end to the freedom of their subjects; for without the destruction of their liberty material possessions would not be safe in the hands of the enemy.

The Congress repeats year after year from a thousand platforms that subjection has ruined India spiritually, culturally, politically and economically. Professor Seeley has observed that "submission to a foreign yoke is one of the most potent causes of national deterioration." What the Congress means by spiritual and cultural ruin and what Professor Seeley means by national deterioration connote, among other things, moral degradation. So, if Europe could not maintain its freedom and independence by non-violent resistance, the addition to its moral stature by the adoption of non-violence could not be a *fait accompli* at all or

for long. Hence, to prove that the adoption of non-violent resistance would have raised Europe's moral condition permanently or for a long period, one must prove that the adoption of such means would have enabled Europe to preserve its freedom and independence. That has not yet been proved.

In order to prove his thesis Mahatmaji requires the fulfilment of a condition precedent, namely, the recourse to non-violent resistance by the Czechs, the Poles, the Norwegians, the French and the English. One who is not a ahimsāist, thoroughgoing or partial, may on his part try to prove the efficacy of armed resistance by requiring the fulfilment of another condition precedent, namely, the arming to the teeth of all the nations and their acting conjointly. He would say that if this condition were fulfilled, these nations would certainly prevail against Hitler. The ahimsāist might retort that the fulfilment of this condition was impossible or extremely unlikely. The advocate of armed force might rejoin that the fulfilment of Mahatmaji's condition was also impossible or extremely unlikely.

So the only thing which can be asserted is that non-violent resistance would lead to less bloodshed than armed resistance. Even this anticipation may sometimes be falsified. Nadir Shah massacred the non-fighting and non-resisting civilian population of Delhi in cold blood. In modern times scientific inventions have vastly increased the power of destruction. Modern aggressors have made the most ruthless use of such power by killing far greater numbers of non-fighting and non-resisting civilian populations in many European countries and in China than were ever killed by Tamerlane, Chengis Khan and Nadir Shah combined.

We have already said that it may be admitted that non-violent resistance would cause less bloodshed than armed resistance. But the numbers of deaths in battle are not the only deaths caused by the subjugation of one people by another. Vastly greater numbers of people die of famines, inanition and epidemics than in warfare. And deaths due to famine, malnutrition and epidemics are far greater in subject countries than in free self-ruling countries. Therefore, in order to prove the efficacy of non-violent resistance and its superiority to armed resistance it is not sufficient merely to show that the former involves less bloodshed than the latter, it has also to be shown, and it is more important to show, that the former can avert subjection to a foreign yoke which is the cause of untold moral and other evils. We have already indicated that it has not been proved that non-violent resistance can prevent subjection to the foreign yoke.

All armed warfare is not Hitlerism. When the War of American Independence was fought, neither party was guilty of Hitlerism. The victorious American colonies, now the U. S. A., and defeated Britain have not nursed feelings of mutual hatred. They are good friends now.

Force used by men like Hitler and his hordes in an unjust, unrighteous and cruel manner can and should be overcome by superior force applied in accordance with the dictates of reason, conscience (sense of right and wrong and justice) and humanity. After brute force has been thus overcome, those who used it should be treated with justice and generosity, without any attempt to humiliate them or to take revenge. This is not impossible.

Deenabandhu Andrews Memorial

The sponsors of the Deenabandhu Andrews Memorial rightly observe that his memory can be best perpetuated "by promoting true and lasting peace between India and Great Britain as independent nations and through their joint efforts, universal peace.

"But this work of reconciliation must find concrete form in some centre from which his influence can radiate.

"There could be no better memorial to him than that the place where he found his spiritual home and greatest human inspiration, should be so endowed as to enable it to fulfil his high hopes for it unhampered by the constant financial anxiety with which it is now burdened."

We fully agree.

The full carrying out of the programme of the memorial outlined by the sponsors (Abul Kalam Azad, S. K. Datta, M. K. Gandhi, M. M. Malaviya, Sarojini Naidu, Jawaharlal Nehru, V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, and Bishop Foss Westcott) will require according to their estimate a fund of at least Rs. 500,000 (£40,000). The programme has four items: (1) "Ensuring the permanence of the present established work" of Visva-bharati; (2) Building a small but properly equipped hospital, with an operating theatre, to serve the villages round Sriniketan; (3) Digging 'Deenabandhu wells' each year in the neediest areas of the Birbhum district; and (4) Establishment of a Hall of Christian culture the central purpose of which "would be the study of the teaching and character of Christ and its application to the solution of international problems."

These are all important objects. It is not very easy to estimate what each item of the programme would cost, and the signatories to

the appeal for the whole fund have not given any such estimates. In normal times it would not have been necessary to have such separate estimates, as the whole sum asked for could have been raised comparatively easily and different amounts required for the four items could have been apportioned. But in these disturbed times there is no knowing when five lakhs of rupees would be contributed by the public. So we suggest that an estimate be made and published showing how much would be required for the hospital and some Deenabandhu wells. Of the four items these would cost least, would meet an urgent need, would directly benefit the poor of the Birbhum district and would be most readily understood as appropriate memorials of 'Deenabandhu', the friend of the poor. It would gladden the hearts of all who loved and respected Sadhu Andrews if something were done to perpetuate his memory while it was still quite fresh.

Central Legislative Assembly's Life Further Extended

The life of the Central Legislative Assembly has been extended by the Viceroy by another year from the 1st October, 1940. The triennial re-election became due three years ago. There were three extensions before and this is the fourth. It is not perhaps easy and convenient to have a general election now Perhaps also the authorities think that before September 30, 1941, there can be no fresh constitutional developments The extension of the life of the present Assembly is advantageous to the Government in one respect. As the Congress members have been refraining from attending its sessions, the Government find legislation according to their requirements comparatively easy. But it cannot be positively asserted that the constituencies of the Congress members are satisfied that their interests and the interests of the country are being best served by the abstention of these members from attending the legislature. This can be ascertained by the members resigning and seeking re-election.

Swami Paramananda of Boston

Information has been received in Calcutta of the death on June 21 at Boston (U. S A.) of Swami Paramananda of the Ramakrishna Mission, Head of the Vedanta Centre, Boston, the Ananda Ashrama La Crescenta and the Ashrama, Cohasset, all in the U. S. A.

Swamiji who was sixty years old, hailed from the Barisal district and took monastic orders in 1900 under Swami Vivekananda. He worked at the Ramakrishna Math, Madras, for some years, after which in 1906 he was sent to New York for preaching Vedanta. Subsequently he established a Vedanta Centre at Boston in 1908 and gradually organised two other centres at La Crescenta and Cohasset.

He was the author of several English books in prose and verse.

An impressive speaker, Swamiji travelled widely over both the American and European continents and had a large circle of friends and devotees. In the intervals of his long period of preaching Vedanta in the West, he paid several visits to India. He inspired numerous men and women with the noble ideals of renunciation and service in this country and was instrumental in establishing the Ananda Ashrama at Dacca.—*A. P.*

Swami Paramananda's last visit to India was during the Ramakrishna Paramahamsa Centenary in 1938. He then looked younger than he was. His scholarship, broad outlook and personality created a favourable impression. Besides being the author of many books, he was editor of the *Message of the East*, a Vedanta periodical. The Ananda Ashram at Dacca, an educational institution for girls and women, owed its inception to the Swami and depended considerably on his help for its maintenance.

Loss of the "Pathan"

The loss of the patrol vessel "Pathan" is said to be due to enemy action. It was either torpedoed or struck a mine while patrolling off the Indian coast. This shows how far afield the Nazis have been active, unsuspected perhaps by the authorities in India. The incident recalls the adventure of the German vessel "Emden" off the Madras coast during the last great war.

Bank Failures

As banks of the modern western type are a comparatively new feature of business activities in India, bank failures naturally create greater panic in this country than in Europe and America. In reality, however, the rate of bank failures in India is not higher here than, say, in America. This will appear from some statistics given in the *Hindusthan Standard* by Mr. D. Ghose, M.A.

BANK FAILURES IN INDIA

Year	Number	Paid-up Capital Rs. (lakhs)
1925	17	18·7
1926	14	3·9
1927	16	3·1
1928	13	23·1
1929	11	8·1
1930	12	40·6
1931	18	15·0
1932	24	8·1
1933	26	3·0
1934	30	6·2
1935	51	65·9
1936	88	4·9

On this table the writer comments as follows:

It is to be noticed that the number of bank failures has been gradually increasing, but it should be considered only natural, for the rate of mortality must increase with growing numbers. The law of mortality thus prevails with equal effectiveness in the animal world as well as in the world of human institutions.

He adds:

That the rate of bank failures in India is not abnormal may be seen from the rate of bank failures in other countries. The example of America may well serve the purpose of comparison in this respect.

BANK FAILURES IN U. S. A.

Year	Number	Deposits in dollars (in millions)
1921	501	196·4
1922	354	110·6
1923	648	188·7
1924	776	213·3
1925	612	172·9
1926	956	272·4
1927	662	193·8
1928	491	138·6
1929	642	234·5

Comments on the American table follow:

This was, of course, a period of banking crisis in America, being the culminating point of a number of economic factors that had contributed to the development of the crisis. But such abnormal bank failures could not very much disturb the normal functioning of the various economic channels in the country. This should only serve as an object lesson to India that there is absolutely no reason for panic if only a few banks have to close doors under compelling circumstances.

Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan and the Khaksars

The manner in which Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan, chief minister of the Panjab, has been tackling the Khaksar problem in the Panjab shows wise statesmanship and firmness. It is lucky that it has fallen to a Mussalman administrator who is also a pillar of the Muslim League to put down this disturbing Mussalman movement. Had he been a Hindu, what he has been doing would have been another item in the Muslim League's fictitious tale of acts of oppression on Muslims. He has found proofs of the Khaksar leaders' connection with the Nazis. He has not said that the rank and file have any knowledge of this connection.

Had the U. P. Govindballabh Pant ministry shown equal statesmanship and firmness in dealing with the Khaksars in the United Provinces, the Panjab would perhaps have been saved much trouble. But the Pant ministry being a Congrses ministry and the Khaksars being Muslims, such firmness could not be expected.

Khaksars have made their appearance in Bengal, too—particularly in the Mymensingh district. It is not known how the Huq ministry is going to deal with them.

Months ago Dr. Amiya Chandra Chakravarty contributed to the *Asia* magazine of America a dispassionate article on the Khaksars based on firsthand knowledge. It revealed the true character of the movement. The well-documented unsigned article on the Khaksar Movement in our last issue also lays bare its military and aggressive character. The writer of this article calls himself "An Indian Student of Political Science." He is a scholar and writer of distinction.

Calcutta Municipal (Amendment) Bill, 1940

It is not necessary to read the Calcutta Municipal (Amendment) Bill, 1940, from the first section to the last, to understand that if and when it becomes an Act, there will be little of Local *Self*-government left in Calcutta. A look at the "Statement of Objects and Reasons" would be quite sufficient for the purpose. The declared object of municipalities is to implement and promote local *self*-government. How the new bill will do it can be understood if one does no more than read a mere extract from the statement of its objects and reasons, *e.g.*, the following :

The Bill accordingly seeks to make definite provision in the Act for—

(*a*) The supersession of a Department of the Corporation;

(*b*) The dissolution of the body of Councillors and Aldermen;

In case the Corporation has shown its incompetency to perform or has persistently made default in the performance of the duties imposed on it by or under the Act or by any other law or has exceeded or abused its powers;

(*c*) The appointment by Government of a Government officer as Chief Executive Officer of the Corporation and the conferment of certain important powers on him;

(*d*) The setting up of a statutory Service Commission, on the lines of the Provincial Public Service Commission consisting of a Chairman and two members to be appointed by Government and providing that no appointment on a pay exceeding Rs. 50 per month shall be made except on the recommendation of such Commission; and

(*e*) The transference of the power of making contracts on behalf of the Corporation from the Mayor or Deputy Mayor to the Chief Executive Officer, and authorizing the latter to sanction estimates and incur expenditure up to Rs. 10,000.

Why not suppress the Calcutta Corporation outright and make it a department of the Bengal Government ?

War Efforts of the Government

We are not opposed to the war efforts of the Government of India, so far as they go. But what Government is going to do now, in a rather leisurely manner, ought to have been done long ago. The proposed expansion of the land army and the air force is not adequate. Countries smaller than India with a much smaller population now count their fighters by the million, but the Government of a country which has a population of 400 millions proposes to add one lakh more soldiers to the few lakhs of fighters of different kinds at its command.

If the Government expects the people of India to co-operate with its war efforts wholeheartedly, enthusiasm should be infused into their hearts by making them self-ruling at the earliest possible moment.

Pictures Illustrating "Hindus Discovered America"

The pictures illustrating Srijut Chaman Lal's article "Hindus Discovered America" in our last number were all reproduced from his book *Hindu America*, which was then about to be and has since then been published. We are sorry, owing to oversight this debt was not acknowledged in the last issue. His article forms the first part of the first chapter of his very interesting work. We thank him cordially for allowing us to publish this part and the pictures.

Hitler A "Truthful" Brigand!

It was the practice of many notorious dacoits in our country to communicate to the masters of the houses which they intended to rob the date on which they would pay their unwelcome visit. The householders would thus choose beforehand either to surrender all they had in the house to the dacoits or put up a fight with them. Those dacoits were quite "sportsmanlike" in their own way!

Hitler appears to have followed this practice of our dacoits in his own way. He made a statement in advance in his book *Mein Kampf* about what he was going to do to Austria, Poland and Czechoslovakia. But he was taken to be a mere dreamer of dreams and a braggart. It was said: "This house painter envisions himself as a combination of Napoleon, Alexander, Genghis Khan and Attila." He was, however, lucky enough to be able to be as good as his word.

This success of Hitler ought to have been a warning to other nations to be prepared to thwart his other plans. This also he had made known, this time not in any book by himself, but through the medium of two books by another author. The editor of *The Catholic World* of America writes thus in the **May** number of his magazine (*the date of his writing being April 15*) about these two books:

> But there was another book, in fact two other books, not by the lunatic Hitler but by the quite rational Hermann Rauschning, former Governor of Danzig, a confidant of Hitler. His first volume, *The Revolution of Nihilism*, carries on the front page of the dust-cover the phrase, "Warning to the West," in white letters with a blood-red splotch as background. Sufficiently spectacular. The other book is called quite as ominously *The Voice of Destruction*. Both contain direct reports of conversations. For example, "The day of small states is past," said Hitler to Rauschning in 1934. "I shall have a Western Union of Holland, Flanders, Northern France *and a Northern Union of Denmark, Norway and Sweden*" (my italics)
>
> "I will take Denmark and Norway," says Hitler, and sure enough he sends convoys of troops into Oslo and Trondheim and Narvik. . . . . . .

Referring to the characterization of Hitler by a former financier of his as a man for whom "neither the objective nor the subjective truth exists," the Editor of *The Catholic World* adds:

> Yet the objective and subjective liar did tell the truth when he said he would go into Scandinavia. And *it was "sporting" of him, as the British say, to tell the world six years in advance.* (Our italics.—Ed., *M. R.*).

Again,

> Winston Churchill reads Hitler a lesson in history, reminding him of the fatal step taken by Napoleon when he went into Spain. Hitler seems however, not to be awed by the fate of Napoleon. "Nothing like what I will do has ever been attempted before", he told Rauschning. One more sign of madness? Perhaps, but he has been thus far a successful madman. Are the English and the French to admit that they have been not only outbullied but outguessed and outmanoeuvred by a mere paranoiac?

The Editor of *The Catholic World* takes cares to add:

> "All of which does not mean that the writer of these comments approves of Adolf Hitler."

Nor do we approve of him. Our object in calling attention to the three German books (which we have not seen) mentioned in this note is to observe that it would have been good if what Hitler had said six years ago had been taken seriously by Europe; also that if there be other such statements of his about his future intentions and plans which have not yet been carried out, it would be the part of wisdom not to consider to be of no importance but to be forewarned and forearmed.

No Compulsory Military Service For Indians Now

It is within the competence of the authorities in India to introduce compulsory service for military and, in certain cases, for certain civil industrial purposes with regard to Indian British subjects. But,

London, June, 26.

It is learned that the Government of India have full power to enforce compulsory service, whether in civil or military employ, for Indian subjects of His Majesty and some announcement of their intentions in this respect is shortly to be made in India. There is no intention at present, however, of introducing compulsory military service for Indians—*Reuter*.

India Emergency Bill

Lord Zetland, former Secretary of State for India, repeatedly said that the British Government did not want to dictate to the people of India; they were for doing things by mutual agreement, not dictation. Similar democratic sentiments have been expressed more than once by the present Secretary of State for India, too. But India was not consulted before the introduction in the British Parliament of the India Emergency Bill, which has become law in record time. This is the latest instance of dictation, not of mutual consultation and agreement. The most flagrant recent example of dictation was dragging India into the war without consulting her.

It has been said that Britain sincerely desires to confer Dominion Status on India, but that war conditions stand in the way of the British Parliament legislating now to implement that desire or even to make a definite Parliamentary promise to implement that desire within a fixed short period. But during this war important legislation, affecting Britain and affecting India, has been repeatedly undertaken and carried through in Parliament. The latest instance of such legislation, affecting India, is this India Emergency Act.

We need not enter into or discuss the details of the Bill, which is now on the statute book as an Act. Some parts of Reuter's long telegrams relating to it are extracted below to give some idea of its object and character.

Introducing the India Bill in the House of Commons Mr. Amery said some people may have been misled by newspaper headlines into expecting some measures of major importance.

"The present Bill has no constitutional significance. It is in the main a measure to ensure and make conditions for overcoming certain difficulties of a technical character in the event of complete interruption of communication between India and this country.

"It does, however, include one provision of importance. The Government of India have come to the conclusion that for purposes of urgent expansion of India's war effort it has now become necessary, indeed urgent, to follow the example of this country and introduce compulsory service for military and in certain cases for certain civil and industrial purposes.

To do so with regard to British Indian subjects is in the competence of the authorities of India and an appropriate Ordinance is to be issued very shortly by the Governor-General.

There is no intention at present, however, of introducing compulsory military service for Indians.

"It is, on the other hand, beyond the competence of the Government of India to conscript European British subjects."

The India Emergency Act gives the Governor-General of India the power to conscript European British subjects in India.

Mr. Amery's statement that the Bill "has no constitutional significance" is itself significant. He thereby re-assured all anxious British imperialists that India was not going to be made self-ruling by it!

In some circumstances this Act would enable the Governor-General to exercise dictatorial powers. The British Parliament could thus transfer dictatorial powers to one British man and make him the arbiter of India's destiny for the time being, but it could not think of transferring power to India's people and make *them*—of course humanly speaking, the arbiters of their own destiny. It is not that the British Parliament had not the power to transfer power to the people of India. Power it had and has. But it was afraid that transference of power to the people of India would injure British interests. There may also be want of confidence in Indian capacity in the minds of the generality of the British people. It is to be hoped, however, that Britain would not require the shock of a more critical situation than what she was already facing so manfully to be awakened to the full recognition of India's capacity and just rights.

It has been pointed out that the Government has the power to conscript Indians but does not intend to do so at present. This may please ahimsāists, real or pretended conscientious objectors, and those who are afraid of fighting. But the taking of power to conscript European British subjects in India and the non-use of an already existing conscripting power in the case of Indians has a significance which ought not to be missed. All Britishers in India of military service age may be called up compulsorily to serve as an army of occupation or a garrison, whereas the recruitment of

Indians may be kept within safe limits—safe limits from the British point of view.

Similar discrimination has already been made in calling up and registering European British subjects in India for military service, but not Indian British subjects for a similar purpose.

Congress Working Committee on Inefficacy of Armed Resistance

According to the statement on the present political situation issued by the Congress Working Committee at its Wardha session last month,

> "It ("the war in Europe") has demonstrated the inefficacy of organised violence on however vast a scale for the defence of national freedom and the liberties of peoples."

In our opinion it has done nothing of the kind, as the statements relating to France's defeat made by Mr. Churchill, Marshal Petain and General De Gaulle show.

In order to prove "the inefficacy of organised violence," *i.e.*, organised armed resistance, "for the defence of national freedom and the liberties of peoples," it would not be sufficient to cite only a single example of the failure of such resistance to defend national freedom and the liberties of peoples; it would be necessary to cite numerous instances of such failure from human history, ancient and modern : it would be necesssary in fact to show that such resistance in defence of national freedom has been always or almost always unsuccessful. But history does not support such a sweeping conclusion. Numerous instances of successful armed resistance in defence of freedom can be cited from the world's history.

Leaving aside the consideration of other cases of armed resistance in defence of freedom, whether successful or unsuccessful, and confining attention only to the case of France, the most powerful among the defeated countries in the present European war, it cannot be said that France has suffered defeat because of any inherent inefficacy of organized violence on a vast scale for the defence of freedom. She has been defeated because her defence preparations were not on an adequately modern and vast scale and because of her antiquated military system, the bad strategy of her generals in the beginning, insufficient mechanization, too few tanks, too few aeroplanes, etc. Addressing Marshal Petain, what does France's General De Gaulle say ? Says he :

> "In these hours of shame and anger one voice must answer you. France was struck down by the enemy's mechanised force. If France had not got this mechanised force whose fault was it ? You presided over our military organisation after the War of 1918; you were Generalissimo until 1932; you were the Minister of War in 1935; you were the highest military personality of our country. Have you ever demanded the indispensable reform of the rotten system ? In order to accept the act of enslavement there was no need for the Victor of Verdun, anyone would have done it. You renounced the resources of the British Empire and immense American aid; you played a losing game and threw down the cards as if we had no trumps left. How do you expect France to rise again beneath the German jackboot and the Italian dancing slipper ?
>
> "But France will rise again in liberty and victory. Our arms joined to those of our Allies will return in triumph and we shall recreate France."

The Working Committee add in their statement :

> "It (the European war) has shown beyond a doubt that warfare cannot lead to peace and freedom and the choice before the world is uttermost degradation and destruction through warfare or the way of peace and non-violence on a basis of freedom for all peoples. Mahatma Gandhi has presented to the peoples of the world crying for relief from the crushing burden of war a weapon in the shape of organised non-violence designed to take the place of war for the defence of a people's rights and freedom against armed aggression."

In order that organized non-violence can take the place of war as a weapon for the defence of a people's rights and freedom against armed aggression, it is not enough to refer to the spiritual superiority of the former to the latter, which is admitted; the efficacy of organized non-violence for the attainment of the object in view must also be proved. It *may be* proved in course of time, but it has not yet been proved.

In human nature—in its present stage of evolution at any rate, there is both animality and spirituality. In dealing with the brute in man, particularly in dealing with the brute in masses of men a purely spiritual weapon alone cannot be depended upon. For overcoming and curbing the first onslaughts of brute force, the use of the same kind of force in greater volume or higher degree or in a better organised form appears to be indispensably necessary, at least in the present state of human civilization. When the first onslaughts have been overcome and brought under control, the ethical and spiritual element in human nature can and should be brought into play by the victors and appealed to in the vanquished. In the dealings of nations with nations, therefore, both the weapon of war, used in the righteous and humane manner prescribed in the Mahābhārat, and the weapons of peace may have to be used occasionally in furtherance of the cause of human uplift and progress.

Congress Working Committee's Difference With Gandhiji

Continuing their statement, the Congress Working Committee say :

He (Mahatma Gandhi) feels that at this critical phase in the history of man the Congress should enforce this ideal by itself declaring that it does not want that India should maintain armed forces to defend her freedom against external aggression or internal disorder.

Mahatma Gandhi is entitled to the sincere respect not only of Congressmen but of all others for his unflinching and utter devotion and firm adherence to the ideal of ahimsā or non-violence under all circumstances.

The statement proceeds :

While the Working Committee hold that the Congress must continue to adhere strictly to the principle of non-violence in their struggle for independence, the Committee cannot ignore the present imperfections and failings in this respect of the human elements they have to deal with and the possible dangers in a period of transition and dynamic change until the Congress has acquired non-violent control over the people in adequate measure and the people have imbibed sufficiently the lesson of organised non-violence.

The Committee have deliberated over the problem that has thus arisen and have come to the conclusion that they are unable to go to the full length with Gandhiji but they recognise that he should be free to pursue his great ideal in his own way and therefore absolve him from responsibility for programme and activities in India in regard to internal and external disorder.

Many of the problems which the Working Committee have considered in this connection are not of the present though they may be of the near future. The Committee wish to make it clear that the methods and basic policy of non-violence in the national struggle for freedom continue with full force and are not affected in the least by the inability to extend it to the region of national defence.

The Working Committee's decision in relation to Gandhiji is commendable for its reasonableness and its respectful attitude towards him.

So far as external defence is concerned, Congress has been and can continue to be consistent in adherence to non-violence in practice. But in tackling the problems of internal security and tranquillity Congress has not been able to eschew the use of force entirely. Its ministers were in charge of the administration of most of the provinces. Defence (external) not being a provincial subject, they were not called upon to take any decisions with respect to the Army, the Navy and the Air Force. But even in the administration of the provinces some of them had sometimes to call in the help of troops. That was resort to legalised force. And the help of the Police also could not be dispensed with. That also was use of legalised violence.

If the Congress ever succeeds in winning Purna-swarāj or full freedom and independence and thus comes to have charge of the Central Government, it will not be able to dispense with the Army, the Navy and the Air Force. If any thing, all these arms will possibly have to be greatly expanded.

Thus the Congress, when in charge of the affairs of the State in many provinces in the past, has not been able in practice to follow Gandhiji's ideal of non-violence fully, and if it comes to have charge of the Central Government in the future it will not then also be able completely to keep to that ideal. Hence, so far as the past and the future are concerned the Congress Working Committee has done well to practically admit Congress nonconformity, at least in part, to Gandhiji's ideal and to absolve him from all responsibility for it.

But what of the present ? The statement adds :

"The War Committees that are being formed are definitely aimed at increasing the War effort. In view of the Congress policy they cannot be supported and Congressmen cannot participate in them or contribute to War funds, nor can Congressmen associate themselves under the present political conditions with Government-controlled Civic Guards.

"Congress Committees should organise wherever necessary people in villages and other areas, for self-defence and in order to maintain a sense of public security in their respective areas. This should be done on a non-communal basis and in full co-operation with all other groups interested in this task."

It is probably meant that it will be permissible for these "self-defence" parties, independently organized by Congress Committees, to use, when necessary, such physical force as the law allows, "for self-defence and in order to maintain a sense of public security." That seems also to be the implication of what Sj. Surendra Mohan Ghosh, President of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee, said in Mymensingh in reply to queries :

"......many people were asking what were the people to do under the present uncertain condition. His reply was that the people organised under the Congress must be ready to protect themselves.

"Sj. Ghosh exhorted the young and the old to come out with their full manhood to defend their hearth and home."

Congress To Continue To Have Gandhiji's Help

We never thought that what the Congress Working Committee decided with regard to Gandhiji marked a parting of the ways. Nevertheless it is good to be re-assured by

recognised Congress leaders that, whenever necessary, the Congress will seek and receive Mahatmaji's advice and guidance.

Arrests Galore

The British authorities in Britain and India have expressed a desire that India should have self-rule, which they call Dominion Status, though others may use a different name. Such being the case and as internal tranquillity at the present crisis is very valuable, workers for freedom should not be interfered with. Only direct and indirect helpers of the Nazis, if any, may be arrested. But the general impression is that the persons being arrested in all parts of the country are innocent of any contact with the Nazis. The present repressive policy of the Government is ill-timed, unstatesmanlike and uncalled for.

Man's Animal Heritage and His Spirituality

Whether men in the mass will ever outgrow their animal heritage and become completely spiritualized, cannot be foretold. But as things stand at present, a certain amount of healthy animality is necessary for national survival in a state of freedom. It is not only sensuality and voluptuousness which induce the softness and weakness that make a people fall a prey to nations having more of the barbarians' brute strength in them. What may be called over-refinement, over-civilization and over-spiritualization, may also lead to national enslavement. The enslavement of India was probably due more than once to both sets of causes. This was the case with Greece and Rome, too.

How to strike the golden mean between extreme animality and extreme spirituality is a difficult problem. But on its solution depends the perpetuation of freedom and civilized order.

Poona Hindu Widows' Home

We thankfully acknowledge the receipt of the 44th annual report of the Hindu Wodows' Home Association of Poona. Professor Karve's Widows' Home has rendered signal service to the cause of Indian womanhood and humanity. It deserves unstinted help. Dr. Bhaskar Dhondo Karve, its Secretary, writes from Hingne Budruk, Poona :

"In spite of the solid work that this institution has done in the field of women's education, we have always felt financial stringency, because as the field of work expanded this parent institution could not attract as much public attention and financial support as it deserved. Owing to this reason the number of free students (mostly widows) maintained by the institution which was nearly 100 at one time has come down to 70 owing to want of funds and every year a number of applications from poor deserving students have to be turned down.

"It is estimated that there would be a deficit of about Rs. 5,500 during the current year and how to increase the income is a great problem. You are requested therefore, to help the institution substantially. I have also to request you to become an annual subscriber. We shall be very grateful to you for your timely help."

We appeal to every reader to promptly respond to this request.

Steps Which Nullify Appeals For Unity

The British rulers of India have appealed to Indians to sink their difference for the moment. Their official Indian colleagues, such as Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan and Maulvi A. K. Fazlul Huq, have dittoed these appeals. But in Bengal the imminent introduction of Bills like the Calcutta Municipal (Amendment) Bill of 1940 and the Secondary Education Bill, which have already created great excitement among the Hindus, does not show that there is much reality and sincerity in these appeals for unity. The aforesaid Bills are not part of war emergency legislation and could very well have been put off for quieter times.

Suggested Removal of Holwell Monument

The demand that the Holwell Monument should be demolished or removed is not new. Years ago impatient young men, not content with merely demanding its demolition, tried to break it, hammer in hand, and suffered in consequence. There is no question that it should be demolished or removed.

Russia Takes Bessarabia And Bukovina

After obtaining control over the Baltic countries Soviet Russia has annexed Besserabia and Bukovina, which had belonged to Rumania since the treaty of Versailles but were formerly parts of Russia. It seems as though the continent of Europe were going mostly to be partitioned between Germany and Russia, Italy getting a jackal's share.

Industrial Conscription For India

Whether even in free countries there ought to be conscription for military service is a debatable subject. But there is no question that conscription and political subjection ill go together. Conscription in a subject country aggravates the irksomeness of the foreign yoke. If there is to be conscription in India for military purposes, self-rule ought to precede it. It is good, therefore, that the authorities are not thinking of military conscription for Indians at present. Even industrial conscription should follow self-rule, though there is much to be said in favour of the ordinance issued recently :

SIMLA, June 28.

Compulsory national service for skilled Indian technicians to supplement voluntary recruitment of technical personnel for factories engaged in war production is provided in an ordinance issued today.

Over 4,000 skilled and semi-skilled technicians are to be compulsorily recruited to meet the requirements of these factories during the next few months.

COMPULSORY RELEASE

If these technicians are at present employed, the ordinance gives the Government power to compel the firms concerned to release the men for employment in war production work.

The ordinance also gives power to enforce the reinstatement of these technicians in their former jobs after the emergency is over.

COMMITTEE SET UP

In order to replace men, thus removed from their present employment, a departmental committee has been set up to report within a month on steps necessary to fit existing technical institutions to train skilled artisans.

The terms of reference of the Technical Training Committee are :

1. To examine the training at present imparted in the Technical Institutions in India and to report :

(*a*) In what respects this training is defective for the needs of war time industry, and for what reasons;

(*b*) How the training can be brought up to such a standard as will fit the students for employment as skilled artisans as quickly as possible, and;

(2) To consider and report :

(*a*) What institutions could most usefully be assisted and whether particular institutions should be asked to train for particular industries;

(*b*) What form the assistance should take, *e.g.*, financial or advisory or both, and;

(*c*) What requirements if any should be fulfilled as a condition for the grant of such assistance.

The object of the inquiry is not to review technical education generally but to ascertain, to what extent technical institutions can be used or adapted for training skilled men for industrial purposes.

Floud Commission Report on the Co-operative Movement

In discussing the main problem on which the Floud Commission was asked to put up a report, it has also dealt with a number of important interconnected subjects. One of these is the co-operative movement as it is worked in Bengal. The views that the Commission has expressed deserve serious consideration, especially in view of the fact that the new Bengal Co-operative Bill comes up for consideration in a few days before the Bengal Legislative Assembly. In discussing the present position of the movement in Bengal the Report, among other things, states :

293. CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES BILL.—Legislation in Bengal dealing with agricultural credit and the co-operative movement consists of the Co-operative Societies Act and its Amending Bill of 1939, the Money-lenders Bill of 1939, and the Agricultural Debtors Act of 1935 with the Amending Bill of 1939. The Co-operative Societies Bill gives wider powers to the Registrar to control societies, if the rules are contravened, or if there is mismanagement. In order to control alienation, it compels members of societies to report sales, mortgages, or transfers of any kind, and it limits loans to the maximum credit of each member, at the same time providing a penalty for the issue of loans in excess of the stipulated amounts. A Land Mortgage Bank is empowered to apply for the distraint and sale of crops if any instalment has remained unpaid for more than one month. Though the tendency in European countries has been to substitute limited liability, and the same proposal is being considered by the United Province Government, joint liability has been retained. The Bill does not separate supervision from audit Although the Select Committee were in favour of separation in principle, they were unable for financial and other reasons to recommend it. The Royal Commission on Agriculture pointed out the desirability of separating these two branches of co-operative work, and we think it desirable that this recommendation should be put into effect as early as possible.

We are also doubtful whehter it is a sound principle to limit loans to the maximum credit of members of societies, rather than to their maximum income. Their maximum credit is the total value of their property. If they fail to repay their debts, they may lose their entire property; but if their credit is restricted to the amount of their income, this is not the case.

Some of the suggestions made by the Floud Commission, such as a thorough overhauling of the present system of co-operative audit, which has almost universally been condemned, the separation of audit from supervision, an encouragement and extension of the principle of limited liability in place of unlimited liability, which has proved a complete failure, have been discussed in these columns. There are other basic matters in which also the bill departs from sound co-operative principles. There is nothing in the Bill excepting the term "Co-operative" appended to its title to indicate that it deals with, and proposes to further, co-operative principles. It is more like a disciplinary police measure with which to

chastise and punish non-official co-operative workers, than one for the promotion of the co-operative movement. By the introduction of the extremely retrograde provision regarding powers of rule-making, by investing the Registrar with dictatorial powers, by attempting to exclude many co-operative matters from the intervention of courts, by introducing penal clauses of stringent character, by not defining precisely what really constitutes co-operation, by extending official control to the fullest extent and divesting co-operative societies of their autonomous character, and by introducing many other provisions of a stringent character, the bill has been completely divested of the co-operative character.

As has been repeatedly urged, in view of the extremely unsatisfactory condition of the co-operative movement in Bengal and of the serious charges levelled against the department in this connection, which it has not been able to meet, there should be a thorough enquiry into the whole matter before the Bill is placed on the Statute Book.

An Official Defence of Co-operative Policy and Administration in Bengal

Since Mr. Narendra Kumar Basu moved in the former Bengal Legislative Council his resolution on the working of the Co-operative Act in this province, on the eve of the introduction of provincial autonomy, the policy and administration of co-operative authorities in Bengal has been severly assailed in the legislature and in the press, time after time. Allegations of a grave nature have been made repeatedly by responsible persons before responsible authorities, but the authorities concerned do not appear to have so far been able to meet the charges in any proper, suitable or satisfactory manner. Charges of a specific nature have been made, but these have been almost wholly ignored. At long last we find that the *Bengal Weekly* published under the auspices of the Bengal Ministry has come out with a defence of the Co-operative Ministry and Department. In its leading articles in its issues of the 6th, 13th, and 20th May, 1940, it gives a glowing account of "the good work" done by the Co-operative Department during the last three years. "*The Bengal Weekly*, is", we are told, "published by the Government of Bengal", and it claims further that the object of the publication of this valuable journal "is to furnish the public with accurate information relating to the activities of the various Government Departments and to the other matters of interest to the Government and the public." We are not concerned here with any discussion as to how far *The Bengal Weekly* has succeeded in achieving its very laudable professed object to furnish true information alike to the Government and the public. We have, however, no hesitation in stating that so far as the articles in the *Bengal Weekly* referred to above are concerned, it has utterly failed to fulfil the very praiseworthy object that it has set forth for its guidance. We are informed by a member of the Bengal Legislative Assembly that as soon as the articles came to his notice he addressed the editor a letter enclosing a rejoinder in which he exposed the wrong line taken by the writer or the writers of the articles in certain very important matters, asked for its publication and promised a further rejoinder on the remaining matters not dealt with in his first rejoinder. Mr. Satyapriya Banerjea, M.A., B.L., M.L.A., the writer of the rejoinder, informs us that up to the time of our writing, (June 27th, 1940), the *Bengal Weekly* has not only kept his rejoinder unpublished but has not even thought fit to acknowledge his letter. Is it thus that the *Bengal Weekly* fulfils its duty of disseminating truth to Government and people alike? The articles in the *Bengal Weekly* may mislead the uninformed, misguide the ignorant, or delude the gullible, but they can neither deceive any intelligent and informed person, acquainted with the way in which co operative policy is followed and co-operative administration is carried on in Bengal, nor delude those who still have full faith in a proper application of the principles of co-operation.





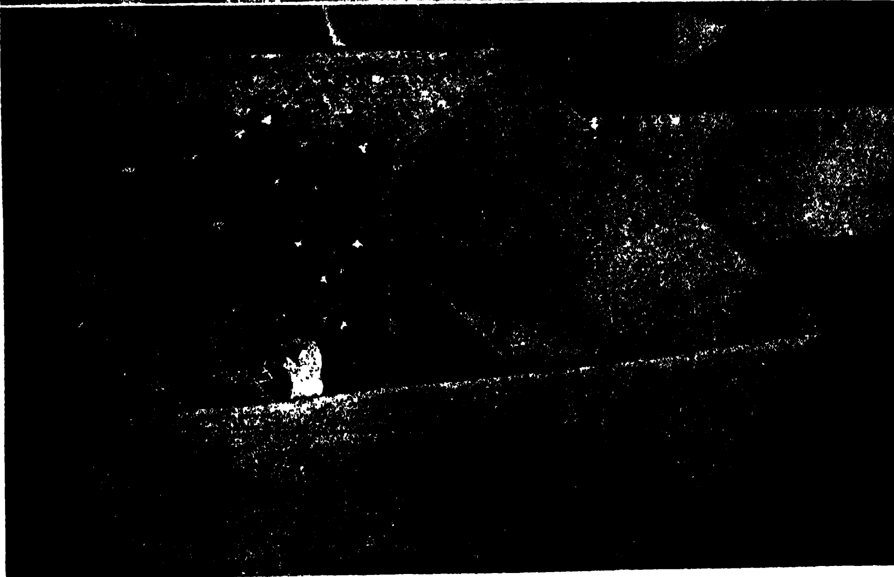
Siva, the god of destruction
By D. P. Ray Chaudhuri



Homeward Bound
By Amalraj



Huts
By Sushil Mukherjee



Watering the Tulsi plant
By Paritosh Sen



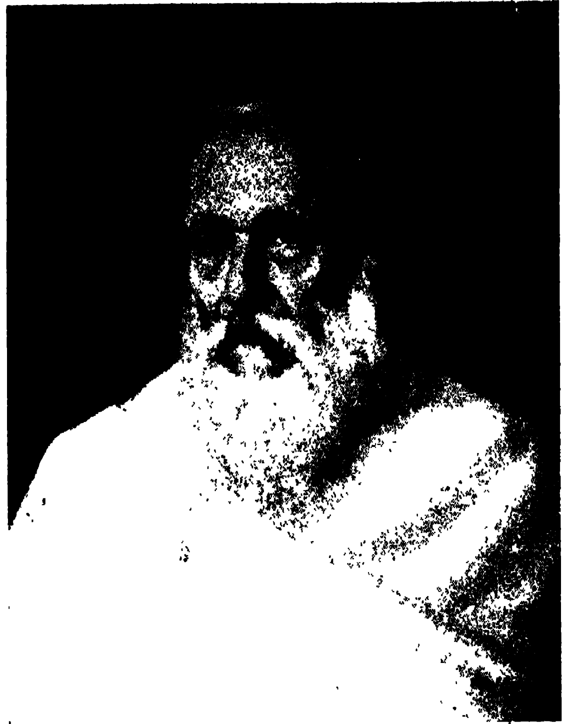
Ferry By D. P. Ray Chaudhuri

Devotee By D. P. Ray Chaudhuri

PORTRAITS AND STUDIES BY ATUL BOSE



Nandalal Bose



Ramananda Chatterjee



A portrait study



A girl from the Hills

SOME RECENT REACTIONS TO THE COMMUNAL AWARD

By H. C. MOOKERJEE, M.A., Ph.D.,
Fellow, Calcutta University; Member Legislative Assembly, Bengal; President, All-India Conference of Indian Christians

It is not my intention in this article to make any attempt at apportioning the blame for the Communal Award to any party. We all recognise the Communal Award as an accomplished fact and view with regret the mischief it is causing. My only desire is to draw the attention of my readers to certain incidents which have happened very recently and which, I maintain, are due to this Award and incidentally to suggest that the time has come when it is to the interest of every social and religious group to arrive at a common understanding among themselves and to unitedly demand its annulment.

The Communal Award & the Schedule Caste Community

Every one familiar with the history of the political evolution of India is aware of the epic fast of Mahatma Gandhi which led to the Poona Pact as the result of which the so-called depressed castes were persuaded to forego their separate electorates and incidentally to enjoy practically double the number of seats granted to them under the Ramsay MacDonald Award. Caste Hindus who had sacrificed those extra seats as also Nationalists, took it for granted that this would at least have the effect of preserving the solidarity of the Hindu community and of preventing further inroads of selfishness masquerading as a desire to safeguard the interests of particular social groups within the Hindu community.

(a) The Mahishya Demands

And yet on the 14th December, 1938, a member of the Mahishya community wrote to the *Statesman* stating that the claims of his community to Government patronage in the shape of reservation of seats had been overlooked. He pointed out that his community which constitutes about 5 per cent of the total population of Bengal and the highest among all Hindu communities in our province, is backward both economically and educationally and claimed special and favourable treatment in order to stimulate education among the members of the community by creating definite opportunities for the educated among them for entering Government services.

(b) The Satchasi Demands

Quite recently, the Satchasi (cultivator) caste people held a meeting in Calcutta where they urged that in the next census, that of 1941, they should be regarded as a "cultivating class under a distinct column of its own." They also expressed the desire that, as the Satchasi and similar other communities stand between the three Higher Castes and the Scheduled Castes, they should be known as the Intermediate Hindu Caste thus forming a new group inside the Hindu hierarchy. By another resolution, they entered their claims for

> "a certain percentage of posts in the services out of the 35 per cent available for the Caste Hindus and also that they should be given preference in case any of the posts under the 15 per cent reserved for the scheduled castes remain vacant for want of suitable candidates."

These instances prove that the Communal Award has tended to encourage the creation of sub-divisions inside the Scheduled Castes and that some of them under the leadership of men who can by no means be credited with the possesion of political foresight are making an attempt to reserve for themselves a certain percentage of rights and privileges out of what has been allotted to the social group to which they belong. It is of course obvious that such demands are put forward because of one or other of the following reasons. One of these may be the present economic situation which makes it imperative for the leaders to create openings for their castemen. The other may be that they feel that unless there is some reservation in their favour, leaders will never be able to either secure political importance as the accredited mouthpiece of their group or to provide posts under Government for their proteges and relations. The tragedy of the situation lies in the fact that they are prepared to sacrifice the efficiency of the administration for what amounts more or less to personal gain. No criticism

of this type could have been levelled against them if they had confined their demands to the enjoyment of special treatment in matters educational in order to enable them to come up to the standard required for the proper discharge of the duties which might hereafter be entrusted to them.

If these people are able to secure what they want, there is not the slightest doubt that it will lead to similar demands from other sub-groups which are now silent only because they are watching how far these two attempts are successful. The net result will be the disappearance of that unity which today is binding together the different sub-groups which constitute the Scheduled Castes.

Our Leftist friends maintain that this is what was foreseen by the bureaucracy who know that the larger the number of contending factions, the more the chances of balancing them against one another and of maintaining non-Indian supremacy.

The attitude responsible for meetings and resolutions such as those referred to just now, gives me great pain. To my mind they merely point the way the wind is blowing. These poor and probably ignorant people have learnt the lesson of selfishness from their social superiors and former leaders. It is only too probable that they will be better than their teachers at this game. And so unless something is done, India is likely to become a battle-field where questions will be decided not on their merits but on communal grounds. I shudder to think of the time when instead of Caste Hindus, Scheduled Caste Hindus and Mussalmans we shall have, two or even three dozen parties all out to get as much as they can in the struggle for the spoils of office. It may be that our countrymen are constitutionally more selfish than, for instance, the Englishman, the Frenchman or the American. I am, however, certain that their appetite has been more keenly whetted by the Communal Award than could have been done by any other device. And I am also equally certain that this cannot but lead to disunion which can be profitable only to interested parties.

The Communal Award & The Mussalman Community

No one should imagine that this tendency towards disintegration is confined only to the Scheduled Castes among the Hindus. Under this section, I shall refer to certain events which have happened quite recently.

(a) The Shiah and the Sunni Demands

The All-India Shiah Political Conference was held at Chapra, Bihar, on the 26th December, 1939, and the following days. Maulvi Sajjad, Chairman, Reception Committee, in the course of his speech welcoming the delegates is reported to have said :

> "The aim of the Shiah Political Conference is to live and die for the nation and the country, and to do all and stake all for the attainment of the freedom of our land. It is to the credit of this Shiah Political Conference that it sounded its strong note against the separate electorate system and it considers this system as the worst evil and detrimental to the interests of the country. It is, again. to the credit of the Shiah Political Conference that at the time of the preparation of the Nehru report, it suggested a solution of the political problems then facing the country which was adopted later on and was called as Muhammad Ali formula. It is regrettable that that formula was not pursued vigorously then and therefore met its death at an early date."

Here Maulvi Sajjad was merely repeating the nationalistic views of a majority of his community as is evident from what the Secretary of this organisation had said the previous year, to be precise, on the 22nd December, 1938. He observed :

> "The Shiahs have it to their proud privilege that they never supported separate electorates."

The Shiahs, he added, had always believed that joint electorates are the only cure for all communal ills and that the system is absolutely essential for the growth of nationalism in our motherland.

These two quotations to which others of a similar purport could be easily added, represent the views of the nationalist Shiahs but a fairly large number among them who believe in the practical utility of the Communal Award are members of the Muslim League. This organisation was taking no active steps to compose the differences between Shiahs and Sunnis over the Madho-Sahaba and the Tabarra controversy. The Shiah members of the Muslim League who wanted to show their displeasure adopted tactics which possess great interest for the student of human nature.

According to the United Press, on the 21st May, 1939, there was a meeting of the Shiahs at Lucknow convened by some prominent Shiah members of the Muslim League. Here the discontent of the Shiahs with the Muslim League on account of its policy of non-intervention was voiced. As a condition of their remaining within the Muslim League, they demanded

"the inclusion of Shiah ministers in the Punjab and Bengal Cabinets forthwith, lending support to Shiahs in their demand for the inclusion of at least one Shiah minister in every Congress province and particularly in the provinces of Bihar, U. P. and the North-West Frontier and agitating for a separate electorate to Shiahs or reservation of seats by mutual consent."

When nothing was done by the Muslim League to give effect to the resolution accepted by the Lucknow Conference of Shiahs just mentioned, their displeasure vented itself at a meeting of the Central Standing Committee of the All-India Shiah Political Conference which met on October 31, 1939, that is about five months after, where the following resolution was accepted :

"That this Conference denies the right of the Muslim League to represent the entire community of India. Although the League has been claiming protection for minorities and specially for the Muslim minority, it has failed to protect the rights of the Shiahs. The attitude of the League during the recent tribulations has been that instead of admitting the just claims of the Shiahs, it has ignored them in order to appease and please the majority of the Muslims."

When the Muslim League took no notice of this resolution, the discontent of the Shiah community naturally grew greater. This was reflected two months later in the speech of Mr. Syed Kalb-i-Abbas, M.L.C. (U. P.) in his presidential address delivered on the 29th December, 1939, at the All-India Shiah Political Conference. He is reported to have said

"that the Shiahs numbered 25 millions out of a total of 90 million Mussalmans and urged that they should get the same representation as the Muslims had got against the Hindus in the different provinces."

It seems that this demand of the Shiahs for separate representation within the All-India Muslim representation had been brought to the notice of some prominent British politicians probably in an informal way who had said, and I maintain said rightly, "We cannot create a minority within a minority". The President elect contended that the Muslim League which was demanding certain specific safeguards as against the Hindu majority in order to protect religion, culture, language, etc., was guilty of denying similar safeguards to Shiahs who contributed nearly one-third of the total Mussalman population of India. If these were regarded as "essential and indispensable" in the case of Mussalmans in general, they were equally so in the case of the Shiahs.

The story, however, does not end here. For as soon as the Mussalmans of the rival sect, the Sunnis, with whom the Shiahs had a difference of opinion, came to learn about their meeting of the 21st May, 1939, in which the latter had demanded special privileges as Shiahs, they also met and put forward a similar demand. The special correspondent of the *Statesman* writing from Naini Tal on the 3rd June, 1939, said that at this meeting

"Some Sunnis had demanded separate electorates and reservation of seats in the services."

From what has been said just now, it is evident that the misunderstanding between these two wings of our Mussalman brethren is due to theological differences—a matter which concerns them alone and on which no non-Muslim has any right to make any pronouncement. What interests me is that when those of our Shiah brethren who had joined the Muslim League found that their grievances were not being redressed by this organisation, they immediately put pressure on it by threatening withdrawal unless Shiahs as such were given seats in the cabinets of the Muslim majority provinces and efforts were put forth in their behalf to get them included in the cabinets of the so-called Congress provinces.

Even the nationalist Shiahs who had not joined the Muslim League and who had consistently stood for joint electorates could not resist the subtle temptations of communalism. They accused the Muslim League of injustice towards the community as such and ended with a demand for separate representation in various spheres including the legislatures, local bodies, services, etc. The Sunnis who, on the whole, had never claimed to be nationalists followed suit and entered similar demands with the result that the theological differences over which the dispute had hitherto turned more or less receded to the background and the struggle degenerated into a sordid fight for economic gain and political prestige. This surely proves the infinite capacity for mischief which underlies the Communal Award and also the ease with which it can be utilised as a handy weapon for embarrassing one's opponents.

(b) The Momin Demand

The Momin community comprising many sub-groups within itself according to some of its accredited leaders corresponds to the depressed castes in the Hindu community. It has recently organised itself on an All-India basis under the name of the Jamiat-ul-Momineen with the object of bringing the community "on one common platform to attain its political rights and claims which are being usurped by

the capitalist and upper class Muslims" who it is said, are carrying on propaganda to crush this movement of the poor and down-trodden section of the Muslim community.

Towards the end of May, 1939, the 24-Parganas Momin Conference was held at Kankinara, an important railway centre close to Calcutta. It is said that it was attended by about 30,000 Momins. The president elect was Mr. Abdul Quaiyam Ansari, the Bihar Momin leader. Speeches were also delivered by Mr. A. A. Md. Noor, M.L.C. (Bihar), Maulana Asim Bihari and Maulana Quazi Md. Usman of Dharbhanga.

In his presidential address, Mr. Ansari remarked that Muslim rule had failed in India owing to

"the utter selfishness and love of power of upper class Muslims who had for their own interests turned a vast majority of the followers of Islam in this country into a low and backward community."

Owing to their selfish attitude, Muslims were unfortunately divided today into "Shareef" that is upper and "Razeel" that is lower sections. The Shareefs had constituted themselves into the guardians of the Razeels and had compensated themselves by "usurping all rights and shares of the latter." Today out of the 9 crores of Mussalmans in India 8 crores were poor like the Momin community. They had been systematically exploited by the Muslim politicians all of whom belonged to the "Shareef" or upper class. These rich and well placed men had demanded and secured special privileges in behalf of the poor 8 crore Mussalmans and had then proceeded to enjoy these themselves. Continuing Mr. Ansari observed that the truth had come out and the Momins and the other poor exploited Muslim masses demanded "their rightful share in seats of legislature, local bodies and in Government jobs on their numerical strength." In order to discredit them, the Shareef Muslims who are guilty of "creating un-Islamic divisions of castes among Indian Muslims for their own interest," were questioning the genuineness of the Momin movement and accusing the Momins of having created dissensions among Mussalmans Mr. Ansari refused to recongnise the Muslim League as the sole representative and champion of the Mussalmans of India. The Muslim League leaders who professed such concern for them were so heartless "that they did not even use the hand-woven Swadeshi cloth which was the chief main-stay of the Momin community." When they are disinclined to help them in this particular way, it is no wonder that their sympathy is only lip-deep.

Mr. A. Mohamad Noor, M.L.C. (Bihar), asked the Momins to join the Momin Conference and never to think of joining the Muslim League which had not done any good to the poor, toiling Muslim masses. Mr. Ansari, the President, in his concluding speech delivered on the 31st May, 1939, said that the Muslim League was

"a rendezvous of Muslim Knights. Nawabs and aristrocrats and the poor Momins could, therefore, have naturally no confidence in such a body."

The President of the Bijnor District Momin Conference speaking on the 10th October, 1939, said that the claim of the Muslim League to be the only representative of the Muslims was not admitted by all the 9 crores of Indian Mussalmans. According to him, a majority of the Muslims of the N.-W. F. Province and Sind, the Ahrar, the Nationalist Muslims, the Krishak-Proja Muslims, the Jamiat-ul-Ulema and the four and half crores of Momins (Ansars) who by themselves constituted about 50 per cent of the Muslim population of India "did not subscribe to the creed, policy and programme of the Muslim League."

Shortly after this, Mr. Abdul Quaiyam Ansari, Vice-President, All-India Momin Conference, addressing a very large Momin audience in the Town Hall lawn at Moradabad, U. P., is reported to have observed that

Any negotiation "between the Congress and the Muslim League would prove fruitless unless the All-India Momin Conference was also consulted. The Muslim League did not represent the Momins and it was necessary for the success of a communal pact not to neglect or ignore the interests of the four and a half crore Momin-Ansars."

Proceeding, Mr. Ansari said that

"If, however, the Congress entered into a communal agreement with the Muslim League, considering it as the sole representative of the Indian Muslims and overlooking the Momins who had nothing to do with the League, then that agreement would not be binding on the Momin Community."

When the Viceroy called Mahatma Gandhi and other Congress leaders for a conference, the Vice-President of the All-India Momin Conference sent the following telegram to Mahatma:

"The Momin community comprising four and a half crores of Muslims does not accept the Muslim League as its representative and wants separate representation in all matters. Any agreement concluded between the Congress and the League by ignoring Momin interests will not be acceptable to the Momin Conference. Kindly keep this in view while meeting Mr. Jinnah."

A very frank expression to the demands of the Momin community was given in the presidential address of Mr. Zahiruddin at the last All-India Momin Conference held at Gorakhpore. In it he said that

"The Jamiat-ul Momineen aimed at winning for the Muslim depressed classes at least the same privileged treatment, the same chances of social uplift, the same kind of political recognition, and last but not least, the tangible amenities and advantages which would flow from such recognition and status as had been conceded to the scheduled castes among the Hindus.

"The terms equality and fraternity must henceforth have a new meaning and a new significance. They must in future connote an undisputed right to a proportionate distribution of the loaves and fishes of Government service, official patronage, material gain, commercial advantage, social privilege and political status for all communities constituting the entire Muslim body politic.

"To the Government we may say: 'Give us recognition as one of the major sub-communities of the Muslim nation and provide for our representation in all the spheres of administration and thus make sure of our willing and full co-operation at all times'"

But probably the bluntest and most vigorous defence of the Momin position was made in the statement issued by Munshi Taj Mohamad, General Secretary of the Jamiat-ul-Momineen, in which he said:

"The Muslim League leaders always look down upon our Momin movement calling it a communal body as we demand the rights and privileges of the Momins, but they fail to find the same spirit in themselves when they demand everything on a communal line from the Government and the Congress. It seems as if they alone hold the monopoly to demand things on a communal ratio. That is why they are enraged to find the poor Momins using communal ratio in demanding rights."

The demand of the Momins for separate representation on the group basis inside the general ward for our Mussalman brethren is obviously inspired by their sense of two major grievances of which they claim they are the victims. The first and to my mind, the more galling of the two is what they regard as the denial of social justice to them by their better-off and more educated brothers in faith. They hold that there is no place for a depressed class like themselves inside democratic Islam. Their second complaint is that their more fortunate brothers in faith have been systematically exploiting them for their own special benefit and to this they are not prepared to submit any longer. It is therefore that they have organised themselves on an All-India basis in order to prove that they are quite capable of looking after and safeguarding their special group interests.

It thus appears that in this particular instance, the principle underlying the Communal Award is sought to be utilised for the redress of social and economic grievances but it should not be forgotten that incidentally, and probably unconsciously, it is acting as a kind of wedge breaking a hitherto united community into a number of smaller groups each seeking its own group interests even when this can be secured only at the expense of another group hitherto regarded as an integral part of the same great community.

(c) THE POSITION OF THE AHRAR-E-ISLAM-I-HIND

This organisation passed a long resolution at its meeting held at Patna on the 1st November, 1939, under the presidentship of Maulana Asgar Imam from which the following is an extract:

"The leadership of the League consists only of the Knights, Nawabs and Khan Bahadurs.

"They always tried to shelve the issue of communal settlement. Last year the Congress wanted to discuss these matters with Mr. Jinnah. He did not proceed further in the matter and demanded the recognition of the League as the only representative body of the Muslims which is the negation of democracy and realities in India. There are Jamiat-ul-Ulema, Majlis Ahrar, Khudai Khidamatgers, Shia Conference, Momin Conference, Sindh Government Party and others who have their separate identity.

"The statement of Mr. Jinnah which has recently been published in some English papers reveals that he even does not want to give the power of election to the masses of India whom he considers as dumb driven cattle to follow him and men of his way of thinking who consider their sole right to dictate to the Muslim masses. Muslim masses should even now awake and know that the Muslim League as stated by Mr. Jinnah does not want democracy but wants a form of Government which would be run only by Rajahs, Nawabs, big and wealthy people of India, while the Government is solely formed for the well-being of the masses. Such is the anti-Islamic ideology of those who prefer themselves to be the sole representatives of Muslims while Islam teaches us democracy in which the Calif and an ordinary Muslim are governed by the same law. According to the President of the Muslim League these illiterate men should have no voice in the selection of their representatives either for framing the future constitution or running the future Government of India and Provinces" . . .

This particular organisation has all along been regarded as strongly nationalistic in its outlook. As such, it starts by challenging the claim of the Muslim League to speak for the whole Mussalman community and expresses very clearly its opinion that the Muslim League being under the leadership of Knights, Nawabs and Khan Bahadurs is concerned only with conserving and extending the privileges enjoyed by the Mussalman community merely with the

object of appropriating them for the benefit of the top layers of the community. Referring to some statement issued in England by the President of the Muslim League, it says that the Muslim League is not the democratic organisation it claims to be.

What one would infer from the above is that once the views of the Ahrar organisation are preached and accepted by the Muslim masses and, in my view, it does not make the slightest difference to what particular social sub-groups they belong, there is bound to be something like a class war in which the Mussalman classes and the Mussalman masses will be arrayed against one another. Probably I shall not prove an erring prophet if I predict that the first and the most obvious step which will suggest itself to the Muslim masses to embarrass their old leaders as well as to get what they consider their dues, will be a demand for the special representation of each sub-group inside the Mussalman community. This tendency has already manifested itself among the Momins and is bound to gather momentum hereafter. It need hardly be added that such a move is comparatively easy only in a country where the system of separate electorates is in operation. The result will be that the bond of a common faith which has hitherto kept these sub-groups together will cease to act and the Mussalman community will lose that solidarity which has characterised it hitherto.

Non-Domiciled & Domiciled Europeans & Anglo-Indians

A European whether domiciled or not is ordinarily understood to be a person both of whose parents are Europeans. The Government of India Act, however, defines the term as one whose father or any of whose ancestors is or was of European descent. The term Anglo-Indian turns on the fact whether a person is or is not a "Native of India". It may be added that a native of India includes any person born and domiciled in India or Burma of parents habitually resident in either country and not established there for temporary purposes only.

It thus follows that if two European born of the same father and mother come to India to earn their living and if one of them does not make India his permanent home, he is a European and if his brother settles in India permanently he is a "Native of India". The Anglo-Indian who of necessity has made India his home is of course a "Native of India." A number of Europeans in the popular acceptance of the term who have settled in our motherland have been known as domiciled Europeans. These have all along been distinguished from the Anglo-Indians who had only a male European progenitor. Every one will probably agree with me when I say that the domiciled European was regarded as the equal of the non-domiciled European in everything except in the matter of social intercourse where he occupied a somewhat inferior position.

The following appeared in *The Monthly Review* of the European Association of Calcutta for May 1939:

> "The European Association did not seek members from the Anglo-Indian and the Domiciled European Communities and, ordinarily speaking the Association would not be able to assist such members, who would therefore be advised to join their own Association, working to the same ends among their communities as does the European Association among Europeans."
>
> "Both Associations are out to work together, both accept the definitions of their respective communities as laid down in the Government of India Act, and both propose to work together in any revision of Election Rolls which might periodically take place."

Serious objection was taken to this clause by a very prominent member of the Domiciled European Community who resigned from the European Association. According to another version of the story, it was the European Association of Calcutta which

> "intimated to a Domiciled European who had been long one of its members, that he should resign and join the local Association of Anglo-Indians, as his community was grouped with the latter for electoral purposes."

The President of the European Association, Bombay, suggested a rather curious way out of the difficulty. If any domiciled European or Anglo-Indian declared that after retirement he proposed to settle in Europe, he became in the eyes of law a European and could therefore be put on the European electoral roll.

I am not, however, concerned with the official views of either the Calcutta or the Bombay European Association. What interests me is the reaction of the domiciled European who according to one version of the story had been asked to resign from the European Association. It appears from a letter dated the 14th July, 1939, written by the President of the Domiciled European and the Anglo-Indian Association that a proposal was made to start a separate association the membership of which would be confined to domiciled Europeans only.

That no love is lost between the typical domiciled European and the Anglo-Indian is evident from a letter dated the 23rd May, 1940, published in the *Statesman*. It appears that

the writer, a domiciled European, served with distinction in two branches of the army and in three theatres of war. His service found recognition by his receiving the 1914-15 Star, the General Service and Victor medals and also the medal for the campaign in Afghanistan in 1919. It also seems that, on the eve of his discharge from the army, he had reached the full rank of captain.

When the present war broke out, this gentleman volunteered his services. He had been duly registered as a British subject and yet at the last moment he was rejected on the ground of domicile which naturally enough has given rise to some irritation. His real grievance is against the definition of the term "European" laid down in the Government of India Act, 1935. But he goes on to say :

> "I am one of those who, although of British parentage, have had the misfortune of being dubbed an Anglo-Indian owing to the mere fact that I have been born and have spent the greater part of my life in this country."

This account of a not very important incident has been referred merely to show that the domiciled European who does not find a welcome in the European Community or the European political organization is quite unwilling to merge his identity with the Anglo-Indian. It is therefore natural to think that he will be tempted to form an association of his own.

I do not have any information as to whether any steps have been actually taken to start a separate association for domiciled Europeans only. At any rate, there is little doubt that if such an organisation on an All-India basis is formed and if the lead is taken by energetic and hard-working men, it is likely to be a formidable competitor both of the European and the existing Anglo-Indian Associations. Unless its leaders possess a large measure of political vision, there is also the chance that the domiciled European Community might be tempted to put in its demands for special rights, special privileges and special representation in the legislatures, self-governing bodies, services and so forth, in this way repeating the mistake made by the Mahishyas and the Satchasis among our Scheduled Caste and the Shiahs, the Sunnis and the Momins among our Mussalman brethren. Such a move would not surprise me at all for the desire to safeguard one's interest is quite natural in a country where the Communal Award has put a premium on selfishness and greed.

Abolition of the Communal Award

In view of what we are seeing every day in our motherland, it is not impossible that the same disruptive force will manifest itself in the Sikh community. It would not surprise me if, in future, we find a demand put forward for separate seats for Hindu and Muslim representatives of labour. Nor shall I feel surprised if, under the pernicious influence of communalism, Europeans, Anglo-Indians and Indian Christians demand separate seats for Roman Catholics and Protestants. In fact there can be only one effect of this most mischievous of measures and that is the creation of contending groups and factions, all equally grasping and equally selfish, all equally blind to the claims of fair play and justice and all equally determined to secure as large a share as possible of special rights, special privileges and special representation in every sphere of activity.

This I regard as inevitable in view of the fact that under the Communal Award only he who can appeal to the selfish, the fanatical and the greedy instincts of man enjoys the best chance of representing the masses. When such people come to occupy responsible positions and are therefore able to distribute patronage, they are naturally enough expected to look after the interests of those whose support has enabled them to secure their predominant position. They have somehow to redeem at least some of the glowing promises they had previously made to their followers and this they find comparatively easy if they act under the plea of safeguarding their communal group interests or of enlarging them if they had not been enjoying them to what is regarded as their legitimate extent. This again tends to stimulate the communal spirit among those who regard themselves as the injured party, and they are tempted to adopt communalism as a measure of self-defence. The result is that the spirit of communalism spreads in everwidening circles and, with everyday that passes, it cannot but create more and more misunderstanding and ill-will and stimulate the appearance of innumerable self-seekers each leading a party of his own.

The facts which I have just placed before my readers undeniably prove that in actual working, the Communal Award is leading not only to disunity but also to ill-feeling among all communities—Hindu, Muslim and Christian. In the past, all agitation for rescinding it was conducted by the Hindu majority which has been very quick to realise its underlying capa-

city for national and social disintegration. Today, the evil effects of this most pernicious of measures are being experienced by every social and religious group in our motherland. The time has therefore come when it is to the interest of every community and of every lover of India, Indian and non-Indian, to join hands with one another in removing this obnoxious measure from the statute book.

Let us hope that very soon the real nature of the Communal Award and its infinite capacity for political disunion may be driven home into the mind of every Indian. There is little doubt that we can expect changes in our constitution immediately after the war. This is our opportunity for coming together and making a united demand to the British Parliament to abrogate it. And this demand cannot be refused for Ramsay MacDonald immediately after making the Communal Award stated :

"Government were prepared to accept any better scheme to which all parties concerned might later give their full concurrence but they would not listen to any sectional representations."

JEAN-JACQUES ROUSSEAU

Precursor of the Great French Revolution

By ROMAIN ROLLAND

JEAN-JACQUES ROUSSEAU is an example of striking influence on the society not only of his day but on that of the century which followed him. Both were transformed by his revolutionary ideas. It is to him and Voltaire that all the drastic changes, which took place during the 19th century, are to be attributed.

Of the two, however, Rousseau was by far the more important. Voltaire was the shining 'star' of the 'Encyclopédists', whereas Rouseau lived and worked alone despite the opposition of the Encyclopédists whose morals he disproved and whom he excelled socially. Voltaire and his co-workers, Diderot, D'Alembert, D'Holbach and Helvetius, represent the negative or destructive side of the trend against the abuses and the prejudices of the old world. They were the forerunners of liberal and fecetious reasoning in criticism. Rousseau, alone represents constructive reasoning, or the affirmation of the law of nature. He is the 'herald of the Republic'. It is his genius that gives shape to the 'Great French Revolution'.

There is nevertheless every reason to believe that Rousseau, like Voltaire, had denounced the Revolution which claimed him. Great works are always beyond their authors. Their ideas bring about reactions which are unforeseen. Any protest against the role assigned to them is of no avail.

Rousseau's talent was also quite out of his control. It resembles something like a transient gift from heaven. For twelve years he seemed to be lifted to the realm of a genius, but at the end of these twelve years he replased into day-dreaming, a balm for his sadness, and regrets for his lost genius. Rousseau was several personalities in 'one', and each artist in him was entirely different from the other.

He was a master of the 'art in time', a dreamer who while examining his soul makes a confession in a low voice. His power of psycho-analysis, which was at the same time his genius and his disease, was essentially a part of him. He wrote about himself without giving a thought for society or literature. No one up to that time, had made such close observations of himself, except perhaps Montaigne whom Rousseau accused of posing before the public.

The indulgence of giving expression to his feelings in an unrestrained manner, exposing things which thousands of people of his day had been obliged to suppress or condense, virtually brought in the liberation of the modern soul. It taught the soul how to break its bonds and express itself.

In order to express himself freely he was obliged to create a new language of a liberal and varied nature :

"I go my own way in the matter of style as well as in other things. I shall not try to make it uniform; I shall always have the one that comes to me; I shall change it according to my fancy, without any scruples; I shall say each thing as I feel it, as I see it, without research, without embarrassment, without wracking my brain about the dress. By abandoning myself to the souvenir of an impression received and to present

sentiment, I shall doubly depict the condition of my soul, know the moment at which an event happened to me and at the moment at which I wrote it; my uneven and natural style, which is sometimes rapid and sometimes difuse, sometimes good and sometimes insane, sometimes serious and sometimes gay, will in itself be part of my history.'

Rousseau's wealth of emotion and sense of rhythm might all have been hopelessly muddled had he not at one time directed an orchestra. In a letter to his printer in 1760 he said that "as regards style harmony was of so great importance that he should place it immediately after clarity and before proof-reading."

He would have sacrified truth if necessary. He did sacrifice grammar in order not to compromise harmony. Rhythm came to him before his ideas. He, the precursor of modern romanticism no less in rhyme and metre than in sensibility and ideas, sang his sentances inwardly before giving them shape and putting them down on paper. Chateaubriand and Lamartine were his disciples. Michelet and George Sand were influenced by him.

He, who himself was so weak, as a guide showed the way to the mind that was clear and firm without being inflexible. He had a generous instinct for true and healthy morale, one that was neither dogmatic, nor abstract, nor bound by principles. nor by single "credo". He adapted it to honest needs and weaknesses that were profoundly human.

A peculiar and remarkable thing to observe in a mind that is classic, and very logical, is that all his legal severity is permeated by an entirely modern relativism, which is in agreement with his passion for tolerance. In his *Lettre à D' Olembert* we find the principle of relative reasoning, relative judgment and historical relativism. His keen sense of movement, a dynamism which contrasted with the static rationalism of former times, motivated the modern idea of Goethe's *Stirb und Werde* ("die and become").

He revealed to literature the riches of the subconscious mind; the secret movements of a being that were heretofore ignored or supressed. His "libido" constituted a source for Freudism.

Tolstoy was inspired by him. As an adolescent Tolstoy carried a protrait of Rousseau around his neck in medal from like the picture of a saint. His moral reforms and his Iasnaia Paliana school proceed from Rousseau's doctrine and examples. He did not cease to make use of Rosseau. Their similarity are no less striking in the field of art than in that of religion.

Rousseau has not yet ceased to enrich the modern mind.

[*Translated by Tarapada Basu, Paris University.*]

POEM

BY RABINDRANATH TAGORE

Let them desert thee
who are thine own,
be not dismayed.

The tree of thy hope may wither
and the fruit lost,
be not dismayed.

Even if overtaken by dark night
in the middle of thy path
walk on,
even if thou failest in thy efforts
to light thy lamp
be not dismayed.

The hearts of thy kinsmen
may remain stone-deaf
to the voice that enchants
even the prowlers of the forest,
be not dismayed.

Never go back baffled
if gates are shut against thee;
and if they refuse to yield to thy knocks,
be not dismayed.

HELL LET LOOSE

By Major D. GRAHAM POLE

So MUCH has happened since my last monthly article was written when it was still All Quiet on the Western Front! Holland and Belgium have been invaded and overrun. The German invaders have broken far into France, dividing the main body of the French Army from the Allied Armies in Belgium and Flanders. These Allied Armies, out-numbered and declared by the German High Command to be encircled, have fought their way through to the sea and transformed a near defeat into the most heroic exploit known to their history. It is true to say that this Retreat has raised the prestige of the Allies in every land where it is known. Nevertheless, at the moment of writing, it appears that Italy has chosen this moment to intervene openly on the side of the Germans. By the time this reaches India, then, will Germany have attempted the invasion of England? It looks as if that might be—since Signor Mussolini's mouthpieces have made it quite clear that whenever, in the opinion of the Dictators, England's zero hour has come, then at that hour Italy will strike against England too.

When all Europe is getting drawn into war, when the Nazi oppressor has reached the Western coasts from Norway to Dieppe, so many things have happened and may happen that it is hard to give every happening its true value. History will have to compose the picture. But a few comments, a few tributes and regrets, must be made in passing. First let us not forget the night that has descended upon Holland. Someone writing from Holland has stamped the scene on the imagination as vividly as might any Dutch painter. She speaks of that low-lying country "where dead men lie in heaps among flower fields and windmills". . . But for the living, there is the Nazi prison-house. How completely they must have guessed their fate when they learned that Hitler had made Dr. Seyss-Inquart, the traitor who brought the Nazis to Austria, the Reich Commissioner for Holland. He has lost no time in enunciating his twisted view of right dealing. After telling the Dutch people that they will be taxed to help the German war effort, he warns them what will happen if they are not docile. "Dutch laws," he says, "will remain in force as far as possible. The question, however, of how long the Dutch Government institutions *and the courts of justice* will remain in being depends upon the acceptance by all of the rightness of the situation as now created." The Courts of Justice! . . . The Nazis have made many holocausts of what they consider dangerous literature. But the day will come when Germans will weep to think that no fires can obliterate the fact of such decrees as this.

I will not say much of the Belgian tragedy and the King's surrender. He is not the first King in history who has surrendered and, like many of them, he seems to have been at the mercy of his own psychology rather than of events. The mistake was to have allowed him to be the Supreme Commander of the Belgian Army. And dearly have the Belgian people paid for that mistake. The consequences, however, of leaving the direction of Belgian defence policy in his hands are most costly to the Allies. So costly, in the event, and so advantageous to the Nazis, that the clear-sighted French cannot escape the conclusion that King Leopold's surrender was the result not of his personal failure but of actual contact with the enemy . . Well a King who would betray his own Army would be a new infamy. But these are the ways in which, wittingly or unwittingly, he played into Nazi hands. First of all in 1936 he shook off the old understanding with France and England and in a public declaration refused contact with their General Staffs. At the end of last October (why didn't we read the irresponsibility of such a view?), he informed the French Government that the construction of important fortifications from Montmedy to Dunkirk would be regarded as an "unfriendly act." Once war was joined, he refused to fall in with the Allied plan of campaign. He insisted on the Allies holding Antwerp too long. He insisted on holding the Scheldt line when the Allied command favoured a gradual withdrawal along the Lys to the Dutch frontier, with the object of forming a straight front covering all Belgian ports. In fact he so bedevilled their counsels that the last betrayal—that clause in the German terms for

surrender, that the German armies were to be allowed to pass right up to the sea—was all of a piece. But what is the explanation behind it all? In Paris it has been said that the Nazis propose, when they have won the war, to make Leopold ruler of a German Protectorate comprising Holland, Belgian, Luxembourg and part of French Flanders. This offer constituted the thirty pieces of silver . . . It is impossible to believe that, or to entertain the idea that Leopold saw his surrender as a sale. But it is just as impossible to understand how, after inviting the Allies to come to his assistance and leave their own strongly fortified positions, he could desert them in the midst of the battle. Quite apart from the fact that, earlier on, he had invoked the spiritual aid of the Pope—and urged his own garrisons at Liege and Namur to hold out to the end! No, whichever way you look at it, there is no coherence in his actions. The explanation must be found in his tragic situation As a boy he was in the trenches His father and his wife both met with violent deaths. In the lonely years that followed, he had made his Army his principal interest And seven-eighths of that Army were now facing possible destruction The strain was too great for him. He could not allow others to decide the fate of his Army—and thus he betrayed it.

On the evening of King Leopold's surrender one London newspaper headed its leading article *King Quisling* The quislings, of course, are the most striking and most disturbing feature of the present war The Nazis, who at home set out to corrupt their own children with the first spelling-book they put in their hands, have found the secret of corrupting men in high places in other lands It was the quislings who let in the enemy in Norway and Holland So prevalent were they in Holland that it has been said that the atmosphere was in some places not that of a country at war but of *civil war*. Soldiers returning from Flanders tell the same story Spies are everywhere and whenever a move is made to a new position, that position is thereupon bombed . . .

Incidentally apropos of the return from Flanders, I do hope the Ministry of Information has not missed a tremendous chance The Nazis, it will be remembered, made a film of their invasion of Poland So terrible was this film that they have exhibited it to picked high-up audiences in Rome and elsewhere, as a reminder of how wise Neutrals will be if they continue to toe the Nazi line . . . May we not retaliate with a film of the return across the sea? Can there ever have been such a varied and romantic fleet. The Admiralty sent out a call for any and every kind of craft wherewith to evacuate the B. E F. For three days and nights—and at the moment of writing it is still going on—trawlers, barges, yachts, tugs, motor-boats, in the proud company of the Royal Navy, have crossed and re-crossed the Channel, indifferent to German bombers and all engaged togehter in rescuing troops. It is even said that City Stockbrokers have been playing their part. When the *Altmark* prisoners were rescued, they were hailed with words that have passed into history—"The Navy is here". But on this occasion it was even more moving. The hail might almost have been "We are all here."

Well, by the time this reaches India, all of the B E F that can be evacuated from Flanders, together with their French and remaining Belgian comrades, will have left. One famous chapter will be closed The scene may have shifted to the Somme, to the Mediterranean, to England—and perhaps to all three. But France and England will have no regrets. English soldiers know very well that when General Weygand decided not to counter-attack in an attempt to relieve the pressure on them, he had good reasons for his decision They know that the conduct of the war required that he should consolidate his position on the Somme They are also aware that more French soldiers than British were stranded with them in the North—and that to the last a French division has been covering the retreat to the sea German propaganda can break in vain against this shared and unforgettable experience.

If only we could gauge what has been achieved in Flanders The successes of the Royal Air Force have been legendary In this realm the only one in which personal gallantry and daring and initiative can have full vent in modern war our airmen have won all the victories Reporters at the Front have been beggared of adjectives in trying to describe their exploits I have a sheaf of cuttings beside me as I write and the head-lines are next door to unbelievable One New Zealander has shot down forty enemy machines Twelve British Defiant fighters shoot down thirty-seven Nazi aircraft Eleven Hurricanes take on no less than A Hundred and Eleven enemy planes—and the enemy planes turn tail and flee It is exploits like these that fill the heart with confidence—and gratitude They also, surely, are the work of men with a long tradition behind them The Nazi wholesale piracy at sea, their indifference to the freemasonry of sea-going nations which makes them the only nation that

leaves sailors to drown, has often been commented on. They are a people, it is felt, without sea-going traditions. It is the same in air warfare. They fire on helpless refugees, but never attack their opposite numbers in the air unless they are overwhelmingly stronger—and even then they turn tail. English people, on the other hand, from their parrot days in the school-room, have been taught to disregard the odds against them. "The fewer men, the greater share of honour" like other trite but true things to be found in Shakespeare, have passed into the make up of the English character. . . All the same, why are there such odds against our airmen? Will history forgive the complacent politicians, and their timorous trusting supporters, who allowed the Nazis to grow so great in planes. How we cling to our young airmen, and how we clung to the Government that let them down!

How much have the Germans gained and lost by the battle in Flanders? They have won the Channel ports. Aeroplane bases, submarine bases will now threaten us across only twenty miles of Channel. By the same token, the Government have warned us to expect air-raids any moment now. (This is the very last day for registering the still unevacuated children.) Indeed the other night they put up the Minister from the Hague to warn us, over the wireless, of the havoc caused in Holland by the descent of troop carrying planes. (Planes which carry tanks, incidentally, are said to be Hitler's latest secret weapon). Well, if the blow falls at once, it is comforting to think that the battle-tried soldiers from Flanders are here to stiffen our defences. We can also reflect that if the enemy has come much nearer to our shores, he has come within closer range of our Navy and Air Force. Also, it has all happened before. In the Elizabethan Age England was threatened by the all-conquering Armada—and she had an equally dangerous Fifth Column in the Catholic faction The defeat of that Armada broke the heart of Philip II and Spain itself declined from that very day. Please Heaven history will repeat itself in every particular.

I would like to digress for a moment here. It will be remembered that the medal struck to commemorate the defeat of the Armada bears the inscription "Flavit et dissipati sunt". God blew with his winds and they were scattered. The Elizabethans had no doubt that the storm, which completed the discomfort of the Armada was heaven-sent. Similarly in our own day, because they are on the side of rightness and sanity, the Allies have no doubt of their eventual triumph. But there are publicists today, notably the well-known French novelist, Mme. Odette Keun, who are aghast at the complacency of such thinking. The story of mankind, she roundly asserts, does not support such a belief in any manner. And yet, if that is the case, why has not history been one unbroken Dark Age?

By the time this reaches India, we shall know with greater certainty the extent of the Nazi menace. For the moment, there are elements which are reassuring—always supposing, of course, that Hitler has not in reserve some especial weapon, such as the afore-mentioned tank-carrying plane (which, anyhow, would be a wonderful target). For one thing, it appears that the Nazis have been using up all their available air squadrons. The German Air Ministry reported 2,237 machines *of all types* lost between September 1st and May 17th. Since May 10th, according to another report, of 5,000 bombers and fighters thrown into action on the Northern Front, 40 to 50 per cent have been destroyed. The loss in personnel is believed to be prodigious. Recently German pilots have been captured who had only from 12 to 15 hours flying to their credit. And there is the mystery of the German plane that crashed with two girls as gunners. All the signs suggest that either the Germans have lost their best pilots—or they are keeping them in reserve.

There are other straws in the wind—though they may be red herrings. The Nazi Armies hitherto have gained all their ground by the swift advance of their mechanised forces. But the Chief of Staff of the United States Army, Gen. G. C. Marshall, estimates that the Nazis have lost 40 per cent of this equipment. If that is really the case, what hope has Germany of maintaining her initial superiority in this field? The Allies are still in the opening stages of their armament production. But an industrial speed-up has been going on in Germany for years and must soon be touching the law of diminishing return, if it has not done so already. In fact, so gruelling has been the pace that the accident rate has increased from 33 per cent in 1932 to 59 per cent in 1940.

All these mechanised forces, moreover are dependent on Oil. What hope has Germany of keeping up a sufficient supply, blockaded as she is? Oil can only come to her by the long, tortuous, European routes. And these same routes, in a few months time, will be needed also to carry food supplies to Norway, Denmark, Poland, Holland, Belgium—all the territories the Germans have stripped and must soon

keep alive. When Germany's partner, Italy, at last comes into the war, this self-blockade, as it is in effect, will be even more serious.

Rightly or wrongly, in fact, the Allies are persuaded that if only they can hold out for a few months, the tide of war will turn in their favour. Hitler's weapons, as someone has pointed out, are all really psychological. The Quislings, the parashoots, the tanks that race away into enemy territory, the bombers that bomb refugees, the tanks that scrunch women and children—all are designed to appal the imagination and paralyse the will. But devilish shocks like these only work at the beginning. Men recover their balance and with it an ever greater conviction that such evil devices must be brought to naught. The wild beasts which are devastating France will be put back in their cages.

I have spoken of the self-blockade which the Nazis have created by over-running so many neutral countries. But is it to be compared with the *moral* self-blockade which her barbarities have evoked? Germany has now not a friend in the world, whose friendship is grounded in anything but apprehensive self-interest. Self-interest or not, she would be completely without friends if the common people everywhere enjoyed a free press and could make up their minds for themselves. The Allies, on the other hand, are encouraged and re-inforced by all the countless evidences of goodwill that have been pouring in form all over the Empire, from their ally Turkey, and from the two Americas. They know that even if the *blitzkrieg* is to descend on London and Paris in unimagined horror, the world's cause is their's and their's is the world's.

Germany's principal "friend," Italy, for about the fifth time since the War started, is about to come into it. The Italian Cabinet Council meets tomorrow and it is expected that war will thereafter be declared. On Tuesday, in the words of Signor Pantaleoni, the head of the Italian tourist office in New York, Mussolini starts on the one-way ride with Hitler which will end in disaster for Italy.

As Hitler is at present mortally engaged with the Western Democracies, it is to be presumed that Mussolini's attention also will be turned to France and the Western Mediterranean. And the cry of Corsica-Tunis-Nice has been raised again in Milan. The Prince of Piedmont, Commander-in-Chief of the Northern Area, has gone to Turin. War may break out at any moment on the Franco-Italian frontier. Simultaneously, Germany is expected to invade Switzerland—another easier way into France and another crime. On the other hand, the recent visit of Count Ciano to inspect "workmen" in Albania, and their extremely bellicose demonstrations, suggest that Italy intends to strike in the east also. From Albania, along the motor roads which his "workmen" have been making Mussolini says that he can reach Salonica in two days. And finally, there is a report that Russia has told the Axis that they may help themselves to Greece (which of course is guaranteed by France and England), so long as they regard the Black Sea and the Danube Estuary as the Russian sphere of influence.

Well, let the blow fall soon or late. The Allies have done all they can, and especially in the last weeks, to keep Italy and Russia on the side of stability. And it remains to be seen if Italy is more of a menace in open war than she has been in the selfish, silent war she has in fact been waging on Germany's side. (Silent as to guns, of course, but not as to heady, outrageous, insult.) She has boasted that she has immobilised nearly a million and a half men on the Franco-Italian frontier. She has immobilised a considerable part of the Allied Fleets in the Mediterranean, at a time when the Nazi menace has been spreading along their shores. She has immobilised those large French and Allied Armies which General Weygand had been building up in the Middle East.

And she has forgotten that Italy, whose unification is not yet a hundred years old, owes a great debt to England and the liberalism of the nineteenth century. In that long century, how many Italian and other European revolutionaries, found sanctuary and encouragement on English soil. . . But has she forgotten also that Garibaldi laid a curse upon any Italian who should ever fight the English?

London,
3rd June, 1940.



THE PLACE OF REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS IN THE EDUCATION OF CHILDREN

By Miss USHA BISWAS, M.A., B.T.

Now that the old and conventional theory of discipline—"spare the rod and spoil the child"—has been exploded, the question arises as to whether discipline can be altogether dispensed with in the education of children. As we know, children are born with certain instincts and reflexes, out of which they develop their habits—morbid or healthy—through the influence of the environment in which they find themselves, and the training that they receive. A child must be made to conform to some implicit moral and social code, although we may not let it feel any compulsion imposed upon it from outside We must try to fit and equip it for the world. To guide and direct the natural instincts of children on the right lines should therefore constitute an important duty of an educator. Left to themselves, children cannot choose between the right and the wrong. Even Rousseau the great advocate of naturalism holds that severe forms of punishments sometimes need to be resorted to for securing and maintaining discipline. So the modern educationist never tries to dispense with discipline, although the methods of securing it have been altogether revolutionized. The right discipline should therefore, consist not in the exercise of external compulsion, but in the formation of certain "habits of mind which lead spontaneously to desirable rather than undesirable activities." Much depends on the wisdom of parents and teachers. They must needs be good psychologists, so that they may know how to appeal to the mind of children—how to make them respond to their modes of training. A sound knowledge of child-psychology will therefore stand them in good stead. The mind of children being quite plastic, it can be moulded in any way they like. To promote the development of the healthy instincts of a child and to inhibit its bad instincts should be the true end of education.

This leads us to the question as to what should constitute the object of punishing or rewarding a child. When administering the punishments, children should never be made to feel that their elders are being prompted by the vindictive motives to chastise them. All moral instruction should aim at bringing about certain immediate and concrete results. So children, when punished, should not feel inclined to look upon the punishment as anything other than a natural consequence of a particular lapse from good conduct. The punishment is to be discontinued as soon as the desired effect is produced. Children should never be led to think that a punishment for the sake of punishment is being meted out to them. It must invariably be borne in upon them that the punishment is intended for their own good, and that it is a piece of moral instruction, which will ultimately redound to their own benefit. Too much time should not be made to elapse between the offence and the punishment. As a rule, the punishment should immediately follow the offence committed, so as to enable children to know what sort of conduct leads to such unpleasant consequences—what they are being punished for. The object of punishments should be twofold—deterrent and reformative. We punish a child with a view to refoming it and preventing others from doing the same thing. In no case should children be made to feel that the punishments are ends in themselves, but only a means to an end. Care should be taken that children never cease to entertain genuine feelings of respect and affection for the persons who punish them. If the object of punishments is made clear to them, parents and teachers will never fail to inspire respect and confidence. In the matter of rewards too, a good deal of caution is to be exercised. Some eminent educationists are of the opinion that rewards should not be given to the school children on the results of the class examinations, inasmuch as the present system tends to give rise to undue jealousy and pride on the part of the competitors. This is certainly true to some extent. The candidates who top the list at every examination and carry off all the prizes may very naturally feel inclined to think too much of themselves, and to look down upon their less fortunate friends who have not been able to secure a prize. This may occasion jealousy in the minds of the latter too. So the present system of prize-giving is very likely to

engender unhealthy feelings of jealousy and pride among the school children. Some edcuationists therefore suggest that the roll of honour should be substituted for prizes. In that case too, the same problem arises. There is considerable difference of opinion as to what should take the place of prizes. But to my mind, we cannot do without rewards in some form or other in the education of children, who must have something to look forward to. Children, like adults, naturally expect to reap the fruits of their honest labour. So there must be some form of recognition of their merit and labour. The pleasure that they derive from it should form an " added incentive " to work rather than the " main motive ". Those who work honestly and meritoriously do deserve some sort of encouragement. This is also likely to arouse a healthy spirit of competition among the school children.

Now the problem is how to administer the rewards and punishments, and what forms these should take. At the present moment, by general consensus of opinion, corporal punishments should be abolished in all the educational institutions, although we hear of stray cases of these now and again. But people have generally ceased to believe in physical punishments being inflicted, even upon the most refractory children who are not otherwise amenable to discipline. First of all, corporal punishment in its severer forms is associated with ideas of cruelty and brutality, which are universally cried down in modern times. If we denounce brute force and want children to refrain from acts of cruelty we ourselves cannot afford to be cruel to them. " Example is better than precept ", as the maxim goes. The infliction of physical pain on the helpless children for the purpose of maintaining discipline and authority is therefore likely to have a very bad moral effect upon their future character. They will thus be indirectly taught to tyrannize over their inferiors in their future life. Besides, it is not at all desirable that children will feel inclined to look upon their educators as so many cruel tyrants, absolutely lacking in affection and sympathy for them. This sort of cruelty on the part of an educator tends to impair "that relation of open confidence which ought to exist between parents and children as well as between teachers and pupils. " The modern parents and teachers never want to be objects of dread to children. Instead of scaring their wards they would like them to be quite free and friendly with them, as they prize their love and respect. Children should look upon their parents and teachers as their true friends and benefactors, whom they can love, respect and confide in—from whom they should have no secrets. The action of an educator should never be such as is likely to undo this bond of close friendship and sympathy between the teacher and the taught. Judging by common, every-day experience, children seldom like to displease those whom they love and respect. On the contrary, they always try to please the people whom they are genuinely fond of—who can command their respect and confidence. But the problem as to what forms of rewards and punishments are most suitable for children does not seem to be easy of solution. To my mind, it will not do to formulate a few cut and dried forms of rewards and punishments that may be applicable in all cases. Much depends on the kind of material that we have to work upon. Some children are found to be more responsive to a certain mode of treatment than others, their individual temparaments being quite different. Neither is it possible to lay down here an exhaustive list of rewards and punishments that are ordinarily resorted to, and to discuss their comparative values at full length. I would, however like to discuss a few most common forms of rewards and punishments that have been found to be very effective except in some pathological cases. In the opinion of Mr. Bertrand Russell :

> " Praise and blame are an important form of rewards and punishments for younger children and also for older boys and girls, if conferred by a person who inspires respect. "

In fact he thinks it impossible to educate children without having recourse to praise and blame. According to him, the most severe form of punishment should be " the natural spontaneous expression of indignation. " He holds that " all through education any unusally good piece of work should be praised ". His views seem to be quite sound. We should never deprive children of the immense pleasure they derive from the praise accorded to them for anything good or difficult that they may have achieved. The love of this pleasure on the part of children is quite healthy and normal and may be turned into a very powerful weapon of education throughout childhood. A love of praise manifests itself at a very early stage of childhood—even during its first year, and helps to stimulate children's desire for further activities, worthy of praise. So praise constitutes a very effective form of encouragement. But praise should always be moderate. It ceases to have any value, at all, unless it is earned by children

by achieving something meritorious and out of the ordinary. So praise should never be given for an ordinary act that should be done as a matter of course. Neither is it wise to "over-stimulate" children by means of praise. But a good deal more of moderation should be exercised in the matter of blame, which should not be used at all during the earliest stages of infancy. Neither praise nor blame should be comparative. We should never tell a child—"you have done much better than so and so" or "so and so is not as naughty as you." Occasionally a severer form of punishment than mere blame or reproof may be needed in dealing with refractory children. Both Mr. Bertrand Russell and Madame Montessori suggest isolation as a very effective form of punishment in these cases. The object of this sort of isolation is to make a child feel that it is missing the pleasures which others are enjoying. A punishment should be something which children positively dislike. They never like to be cut off from the enjoyments that others are participating in. There is no use making them feel guilty and ashamed. Sometimes in a school—although the cases are very rare now-a-days—a refractory pupil is subjected to certain indignities, which cannot but outrage his or her sense of self-respect. To give one or two concrete examples, a youthful offender is perhaps made to stand with a waste-paper basket on his or her head for hours on end, or is made to put on a fool's cap. He or she is thus made the laughing-stock of all. Although there is no denying the fact that exemplary punishments are needed in a few exceptional cases, I do not believe in such indignities being inflicted, even upon the most refractory children, who never deserve to be thus disgraced in front of their friends. If the conduct of a particular child repeatedly involves a serious breach of discipline, and if parents and teachers fail to put him or her right in spite of their persistent efforts to do so, he or she must be medically examined. If he or she is found to be quite normal, the usual methods of discipline should be applied with more tact and skill. In case any abnormality is detected, it must be attended to at once. The child should be made to undergo a course of medical treatment. Boys are sometimes inclined to be cruel to animals. Some of them enjoy hurting and causing pain to these helpless creatures. It is a great mistake on the part of an educator to try to cure them of this common fault by means of cruelty such as flogging and the like. We should never be cruel to a child and chastise it severely for the acts of cruelty it has indulged in, and which we are condemning. How can we preach kindness to others if we ourselves are so unkind ? On the contrary, we should try to teach a child respect for life by such action as is likely to beget a love of the lower animals, and a healthy interest in their lives. We should make a point of avoiding negative suggestions as far as possible. We should never tell a child, 'Do not be cruel to animals,' 'do not steal' or 'do not tell lies,' etc. Negative suggestions like these do more harm than good. As we all know, children are very fond of imitation, and they naturally feel inclined to do what they see their elders do. So if we want them to be kind to others, we shall do well to set the example by our own action. If we do not want them to tell lies, we should always speak the truth in their presence. We should never do before them what we do not like them to do. Sometimes however, if a child does something 'slightly unkind' to another child, parents or teachers may do the same thing to it at once, so as to enable it to feel that others have also feelings like its own. In this way, children may be taught to consider the feelings of others. In any case, the necessity and importance of a prohibition should always be brought home to them. They must know why they are not to do this or that.

If punishments are to be effective, these should be few and far between. Too many punishments tend to demoralize children, who naturally get inured to them, and take them as a matter of course. So punishments should be administered much more sparingly than rewards. If children are punished too often on apparently flimsy grounds, the fear of punishments makes them very nervous and timid. They thus cease to be frank and straightforward. They may sometimes get into the habit of telling lies even, so as to avoid punishments. Too strict a discipline is productive of other evils also. Children may thus be induced to commit many offences secretly, and to conceal them from their elders, lest they should be punished by the latter. In this way they learn to deceive their parents and teachers, who are sometimes kept quite in the dark about their action, which should be above-board. To my mind, an ideal home or educational institution is one in which disciplinary action seldom needs to be resorted to. It should aim at bringing about an environment in which children will have very few occasions to commit such offences as deserve to be severely dealt with.



The Chhadanta Jataka, Ajanta

AURANGABAD, THE ANCIENT CAPITAL OF THE DECCAN

By SUBODH CHANDRA GANGULI, Vidyaratna, B.T., B.L.

Aurangabad which was once the ancient capital of the Moghuls in the Deccan furnishes great archaeological interest. Situted in the North-West of His Exalted Highness the Nizam's dominions, it covers an area of about 8,000 square miles. It is a historic country with wonderful antiquities and remains of temples, mosques, gardens, mausolea and monuments of various other kinds. Aurangabad affords ample material for exploration and research and Nature's loveliest and sublimest scenery. It never loses its fascination for and grip on the travellers' imagination.

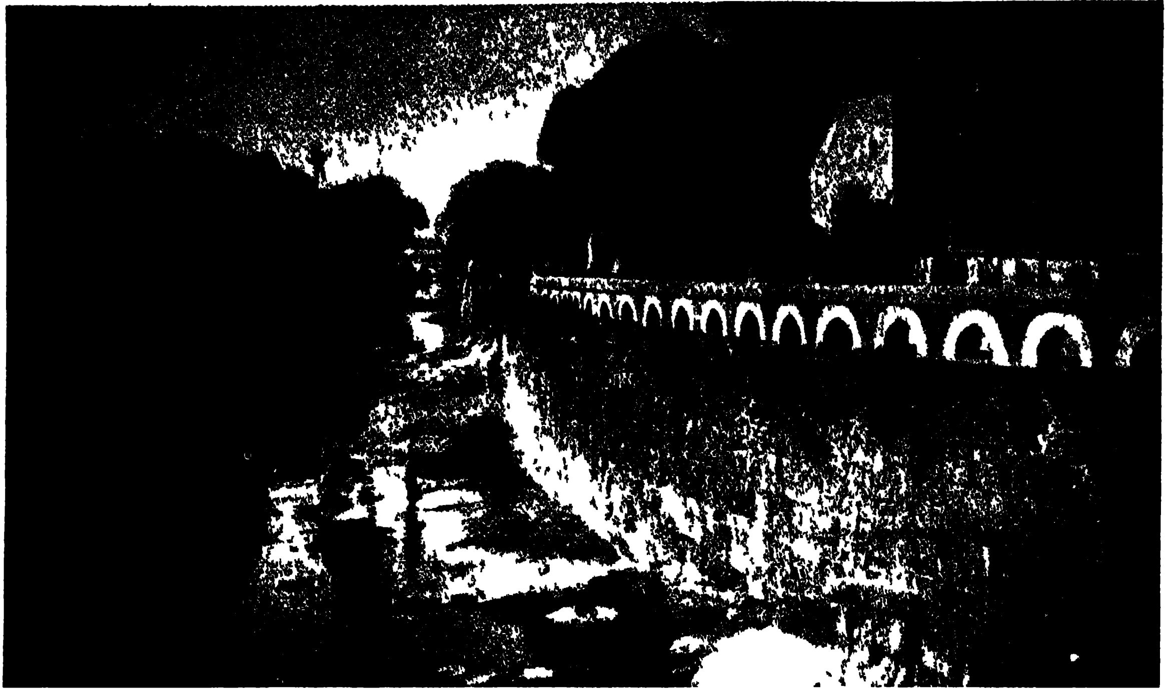
Aurangabad has two natural divisions—the uplands and lowlands. The former consists of flat-topped range of hills enclosing valleys of much beauty and fertility. The perennial streams in those parts produce a constant verdure in pleasing contrast to the arid parched appearance of the plains during the summer months before the rains. The lowland country is exceedingly fertile and the whole of it is cultivated.

The Nizam's State Railway often runs excursion trains at cheap fares for visitors who come to Aurangabad to see the Ajanta and the Ellora caves. A hotel has also been opened —the New State Railway Hotel, which has removed a great difficulty.

The history of the city reach back into dim and unrecorded past. It figures prominently in legendary works, the Ramayana and the Mahabharata. The Surpanath Hill in the District of Aurangabad is long associated with the name of Surpanakha as her place of residence. During Ram's stay at Panchabati, Surpanakha appeared in the horizon of his fate as a comet and caused all his sorrow and misery, his seperation from his wife Sita and the consequent battle with the demon king Ravan and the latter's subsequent annihilation.

Aurangabad also figures in the Mahabharata in that portion where Yudhisthira with the intent of performing the Rajsuya sacrifice sent an expedition to the South under the command of Sahadeva who subdued the inhabitants of the Sahyadri Hills. During the exile of the Pandavas, they wandered into the Aurangabad district and built the massive hill fortification of Devgarh, now known as Daulatabad.

Coming to recent history we find that Malik Ambar, an Abyssinian, founded the city of Aurangabad in 1610 on the site of a village called Kirki which in the course of ten years became a beautiful city. He erected some beautiful palaces, mosques and other public buildings. The name of Malik Ambar still stands out prominently in the history of the Nizam's dominions as a statesman and a general. He died in 1626 and was succeeded by his son, Fateh Khan, who changed the name of Kirki into Fatehnagar or the city of victory. When



The Panchakki Waterfall Aurangabad

Aurangzeb became the Viceroy of the Deccan he changed its name into its present appelation Aurangabad A few years later it became the seat of the Moghul Government During his residence here as Viceroy of the Deccan, the city and its suburb were adorned with a number of delightful gardens, the remains of which still exist in the Kela Arrak gardens, the Ahmed Bagh and a number of other gardens which are situated outside the Delhi Gate on the Harsul Road. Most of them are now in a dilapidated state but traces of paved walks, fountains and pleasure halls with roofs of the Bengali style still exist and show an elegance of taste and refinement of style different from the somewhat stern and heavy architecture of the Imad Shahi Kings who ruled in this part of the Deccan prior to its annexation to the Moghul Empire. On the death of Aurangzeb in 1707, the fortunes of the Moghul Empire which had reached the zenith of its greatness under his rule began to decline The Mussalman Viceroys soon became sovereign princes Asaf Jah known as Nizam-ul-Mulk became independent in 1715 with Hyderabad as his capital and consequently Aurangabad became neglected and occupied a place of secondary importance. A stone wall surrounds the town and it has four principal entrances.

One of the most important and lofty edifices which have withstood the ravages of centuries and is in the best state of preservation in the Aurangabad is the Muqbara of Begam Rabia, wife of Aurangzeb This was constructed by Prince Azam Shah in memory of his mother between the years 1650 and 1657. This edifice built to rival the celebrated Taj at Agra which had then just been finished by Shah Jehan is said to have cost Rs 6,68,203 It is in every respect inferior to the Taj The mausoleum stands within an enclosed area, 500 yards long and 300 yards broad and the pavements are ornamented with fountains and little kiosks in all the picturesque variety of Indian art The body of the tomb is square and has a lofty pointed arch, extending the whole height on each side A magnificent marble dome rises above, with four minarets at the corner angles Four little domes with corresponding minarets to each are also at the corners A flight of steps are also at the corners. A flight of steps descends from the platform into the body of the building where the tomb is surrounded by a screen work of perforated marble. Another entrance at the South-East angle contains some very near running patterns of floriated decoration over a scalloped arch and over the pillars. on either side. This entrance leads into a gallery run-

ning round the interior, which looks down upon the tomb. The three windows of marble trellis work and the accompanying panels with flowers are as delicate as anything found at Agra and a soft and solemn light streams through the apertures of marble tracery The finishing touches are given with a beautiful white micaceous cement. The ground work of marble is not inlaid with precious stones, which forms the characteristic feature of the Taj Mahal

The tomb is surrounded by a well laid-out garden It has a grandeur all its own and ranks amongst the first of the beautiful buildings which the Moghuls have left behind as memorials of their greatness both as rulers and as lovers of art and architecture The next place worth visiting is the mausoleum of Masafar Sahib the religious preceptor of Aurangzeb He died in 1687 This tomb is devoid of any work of art and is made of red sand stone

There is still the remains of a huge mosque at Sahjung in Aurangabad It was constructed on an extensive platform on which stand twenty-four pillars

The Daulatabad fort is situated about five miles from Aurangabad and is three miles from the Daulatabad Railway station It is about 2,500 feet above sea level Its ancient name was Devgiri or Deogiri The Jadabs of Deogir were the descendants of the chief of the Chalukyas Alauddin Khilji invaded this kingdom in 1294 and plundered a huge booty Ram Chandra, the last independent king of the Deccan was defeated by Malik Kafur in 1309 When this place came under the sway of the Mahomedans, it assumed the name of Daulatabad

This Daulatabad fort with a ditch all round extending over three miles was constructed in the thirteenth century Its two entrances, the Mecca Gate and the Roza Gate are still used

A visitor to the fort is required to present at the gate a pass signed by the Talukdar of the district The first gate leads to an open space. Then comes the second gate on crossing which we came to a place where we found big stone lions and elephants A few steps above



Eighth gate in the neighbourhood of Chini-mahal Daulatabad

lead to the ruins of the old palace and a mosque These ruins continued till we came to the sixth gate There we crossed fifty steps and reached the seventh and the eighth gates Here stands the ruins of the Chini Mahal where Hasan Shah, the last King of Golkonda, was kept imprisoned for thirteen long years by Auranzeb who took him a prisoner in 1687 In this Chini Mahal the travellers will find a cannon, 22ft. long built by an Arabian, Mahammad Hassan.

On another site of the fort there rises the beautiful and stately Chand Minar to the towering height of 250 feet It is said to have been



Daulatabad Fort from a distance

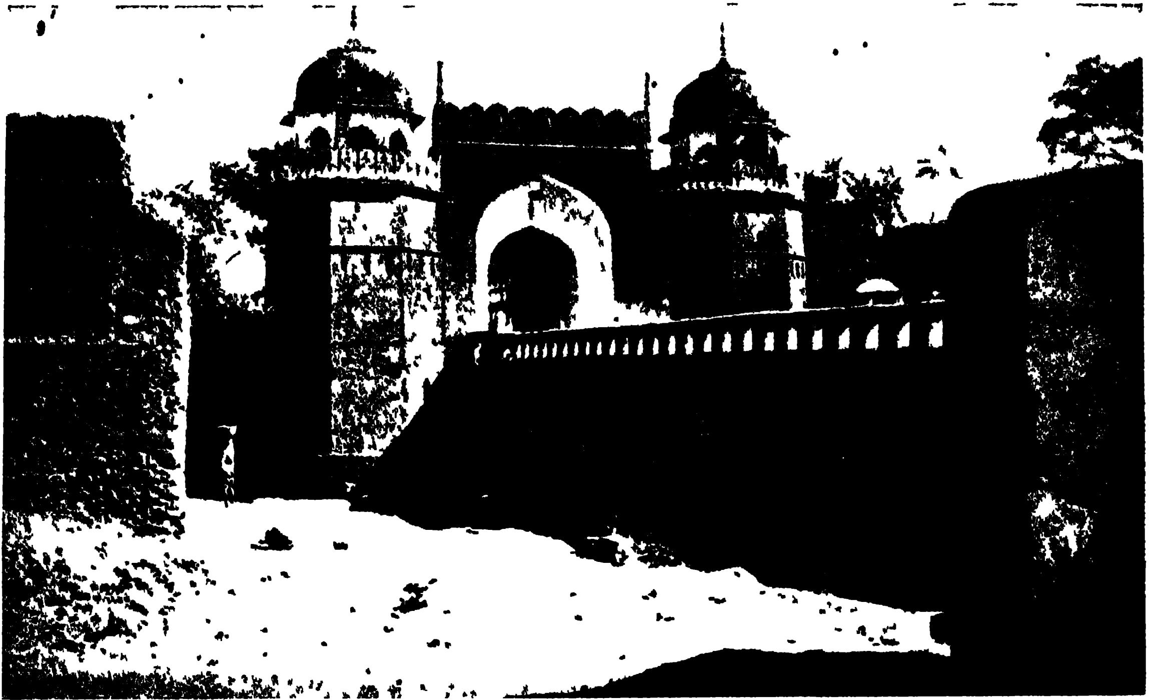
built in 1687 by Alauddin Bahmani to commemorate the conquest of this fort. There are 24 rooms in the lower storey inlaid with Persian tiles which are tumbling down day by day, The plan of the building consists of a square hall, having an arch in each of its faces and a lofty decagonal minar at each angle In the grandeur of its conception and the beautiful balance of its structural mass, combined with picturesqueness of detail, there are few monuments to compare with it

A little to the south-west is situated another great monument of Deccani architecture—the Mecca Musjid This mosque is built entirely of stone and occupies a paved quadrangle 360 feet square The interior of the building is 225 feet long and 180 feet broad

Muhammad Tuglukh, the capricious Emperor of Delhi, made Daulatabad the capital of India for some time Ibn Batuta, the famous Mohamedan traveller of Tangier, has vividly decribed the change of capital.

As the shades of evening fall and the crimson light of the setting sun begins to fade, a mysterious silence descends on these habitations of departed glory, and then to one acquainted with the history of the Deccan, past begins to live again The din and noise of battle, the neighing of the horse are heard once more, brave warriors march to the sound of the bugle and trumpets and sabres flash in the dazzling sun as they are drawn amid the cries of clashing columns Or it may be a court scene and the Emperor is surrounded by the nobility of the realm and high state officials, attired in medieval costumes, pay homage to their bejewelled monarch There is great pomp and pageantry and not a little romance when the court dancers reveal their exquisite charm and beauty to the accompaniment of festive songs





The Mecca gate Aurangabad

The Muqbara of Begam Rabia Aurangabad



Sree Padmanabhaswamy temple and tank

Photo H E [illegible]

A scene from the Poona-Bombay road

The bullock-carts instinctively prefer the concrete haunches leaving the central asphalted strip for the fast motorist (*See* "Roads in India," p 51)

VELAKALI

By K. P. PADMANABHAN TAMPY, B.A.

VELAKALI which is the most fascinating, spectacular and interesting entertainment during the *Utsavam* (Temple Festival) season in the Sree Padmanabhaswamy Temple at Trivandrum, wherein is enshrined the tutelar deity of the Ruling House of Travancore, is a highly scientific and technical war dance peculiar to Travancore. *Velakali* was originally instituted to keep alive martial tactics during times of peace and to provide delectation to the patriotic sons of the soil.

The *Utsavam* season which occurs usually in March or April lasts for ten days The gleaming swords, the ornamented shields and



A Velakali actor in a gallant pose

the quaint and impressive costumes of the *Velakali* actors and the vigorous martial music to the accompaniment of which they dance lend a rare old-world charm and classic dignity to this indigenous performance which exhibits physical prowess of a rare type.

The *Velakali* actor holds in his left hand an ornamented shield and brandishes a sword held in his right hand. The shield is circular in shape and is a work of art in itself. The sword is short and slightly curved.

The actors wear armlets and anklets and adorn their exposed chests with garlands of multi-coloured beads, shells, spangles and glass pieces. Their head-dress is a red turban tied into an elongated knot on the right side and adorned with gold or silver lace. They wear two cloths, one snow-white reaching up to the ankles and the other a triangular piece of deep-red silk ornamented with silver knobs and dots. A narrow strip of white cloth which serves the purpose of a belt is tied over the red silk. Before they dress up for the perfomance, they bathe and worship at the shrine. They smear on their forehead, shoulders and chest sandal wood paste and rub their eyes with black dye.

This war dance brings to life the ancient achievements of the Nairs of Travancore in the *kalaries* (gymnasia) and on the battlefield. The Nairs were in the palmy days of yore the war-lords of Travancore. They formed the chief warrior class of the country.

Luis de Camoens, the Portuguese Virgil, in his epic poem *The Luciad* describes the Nairs, with whom he became personally acquainted four centuries ago, thus :

> "By the proud Naires the noble rank is claimed
> The Warrior's plumes their haughty brows adorn;
> The shining falchion brandish'd in the sight,
> Their left arm wields the target in the fight;
> Of danger scornful, ever armed they stand
> Around the King a stern barbarian band."

Only Nairs take part in the *Velakali* performance. It is a hereditary right of certain families in the Karunagapally Taluk in Central Travancore to participate in this indigenous war dance. Those families enjoy liberal endowments of tax-free land from the Maharaja and the temple. The *Velakali* is enacted before the temple as an act of adoration to the god. The battalion of *Velakali* actors is commanded by Mathur Panikker, a wealthy landlord, whose ancestors were hereditary ministers and captains of war under the Rajas of Central Travancore.

The *Velakali* actors have to undergo a course of strenuous physical training under reputed masters to become proficient in this military game. They are expert acrobats and they possess complete control over the members and muscles of the body. With lightning speed they move their limbs, jump, tumble and dance. Their movements are acrobatic but never obtrusive. They dance to the stentorian music of drums, gongs, cymbals and trumpets. It is thrilling to watch and hear the simultaneous rattling of swords and shields synchronising with loud beats on the drums and gongs. The measured steps and poses of the actors are guided by the time beats on the drums. The dexterity of the drummers is truly amazing. The crescendo and diminuendo produced by them are supremely effective.



A Velakali actor in another pose

The *Velakali* actors represent the hundred and one Kauravas, the enemies of the five Pandava brothers, the story of whose feuds and enmity is described with an amazing wealth of detail in the great Hindu Epic the Mahabharata.

The great battle of Kurukshetra, at which the Pandavas destroyed all the Kauravas, is staged by the *Velakali* actors in front of the Sree Padmanabhaswamy Temple twice, every evening and night, during the festival season. This thrilling fight reminds the eager spectators of the heroic battle between the Pandavas and the Kauravas which is believed to have taken place many, many centuries ago.

The *Velakali* commences with a flourish of trumpets and drums. On hearing this call to arms the warriors muster and form into a line. The rearmost line comprises of flag-men and the front line is formed by the young warriors. In between the elders take their place. The battalion is accompanied by birds and beasts used in olden days for military purposes. Bullocks, swans, etc., made of paper, cloth and wood, carried by retainers come last.

The encounter is strictly regulated by custom and convention and no deviation is permitted. The army of the Kauravas (the Velakali actors) prance like furious war steeds and engage in duels and solo exhibitions of martial prowess, such as fencing, jumping. They march in battle array from the encampment against the Pandavas who are represented by gigantic wooden statues, and after a mock fight which lasts for an hour, retreat in panic-stricken stampede up the temple steps. Their movements are similar to well-planned assaults and retreats in regular warfare.

The fight is most spectacular and it provides an evening entertainment to the large crowds of sightseers and pilgrims who gather inside the Fort at Trivandrum during the Temple Festival season. The picturesque pennons, in various colours and shapes, of the *Velakali* actors shine resplendently in the glow of the evening sun.

During the festival season, huge wooden images of the Pandavas, the five brothers immortalised in the Mahabharata, are set up on either side of the road leading up to the shrine of Sree Padmanabhaswamy. These stately images are twenty to thirty feet high, and look most picturesque in their quaint costumes.

The head-dress worn by the Pandavas is highly attractive and is profusely decorated with many-coloured beads, shells and glass pieces. The images have voluminous skirts of deep-red cloth. The Pandavas are portrayed as giants having long, flowing tufts of thick black hair, long and pointed nails, round and bulging eyes and possessing a most formidable appearance.

All the Pandavas except Dharmaputra the eldest are in a standing posture. Dharmaputra is seated with one leg over the other, serene, dignified and calm, watching the battle. Bhima's image is the biggest and most spectacular. He looks a veritable giant with his huge club carelessly poised over his broad shoulder.



Velakali actors advancing in battle-array

The costume and make-up of the Pandavas bear a remarkable resemblance to the costume and make-up of the Kathakali actors.

The images of the Pandavas are of such huge dimensions that they are set up and dismantled with the help of an army of men and a number of elephants. The wood-carver's art is triumphantly demonstrated in these stupendous statues which are exhibited only once a year. They contain a great deal of intricate, elaborate and delightful carving cunningly executed by master craftsmen of vision. The carving is superb for its sumptuousness of detail, perfect finish, richness of colour, dignity of expression and demeanour and artistic perfection. These statues exhibit a sumptuous exuberance of human fancy run riot.

The Pandavas look impressive, powerful, determined and confident. These awe-inspiring images are gorgeously draped in deep coloured cloth and they extort notice from a distance. They tower-up like defiant gaints instilling terror in the minds of children and curiosity and admiration in the minds of elders. The images face the temple. They represent the mighty Pandavas, and the *Velakali* actors impersonate the vanquished Kauravas. There is an epic grandeur in the *Velakali* which has powerful rhythmic vitality. The *Velakali* is a glorious heritage, a remnant of a great nation's martial tactics and artistic skill.

THE LATE SADHU ANDREWS

By BHAWANI DAYAL SANNYASI

"My Love"

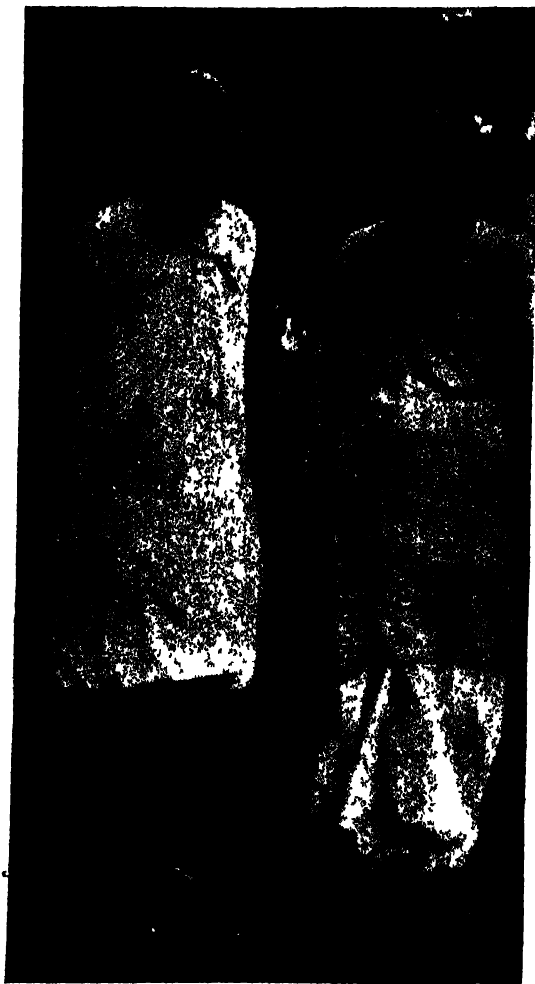
These are the two last words from Sadhu Andrews that I received last year in Bombay on the eve of my departure for South Africa. It was an amazement to several friends of mine because the transmission of this message of only two words by means of telegram seemed a novelty to them. Nevertheless, I found myself cheerful with an excessive joy. At that time the Sadhu lay seriously ill at *Christu-Kula Ashram*, Tirupattur, in the district of North Arcot, where he was undergoing medical treatment. He had been warned by his doctors to avoid physical and mental strains, and therefore, in spite of strong desire, I discontinued communication. In his mind, however, he did not cast me aside, for on being aware through the columns of newspapers he sent me *"his love"* by telegram. These two words were a real expression of his kind affection, overflowing sentiment and ardent comradeship, which only those who had enjoyed his companionship could understand.

A week before, I had a letter written in his own hand from which I gather he was rather anxious to come to South Africa once again. This was his last letter which will ever remain with me as a mark of his love and affection. Here is the letter:

"I am now quite certain to go to South Africa if my health holds and there is no world crisis of war. I shall have much pleasure in staying with you and shall

have to be very quiet indeed while I am out there and not get ill again. I am *so* sorry you were so ill and hope you are much better."

Last year during the end of March when I reached Delhi to apprise the people and the Government of India of the implications of the segregation proposals of the Union Government in South Africa, Seth Govind Das, M.L.A. (Central), Chairman, Reception Committee of Tripuri session of the Indian National Congress, which was held just before my arrival in India,



C. F. Andrews and Rabindranath Tagore
After a photograph taken at Santiniketan in 1921 by Suhrid Mukhopadhyaya

notified me at the Railway Station that Andrews Saheb wished to see me at the earliest possible moment. He had been in Delhi at the time of the laying of the foundation-stone of St. Stephens College, with which he was connected since his first arrival in India, and was staying with Shri Raghuvir Singh in his magnificent mansion.

Next day, in the morning, I had the pleasure of meeting him, and his loving embrace and conversation will ever remain treasured in my memory. He already had had an interview with Mahatma Gandhi, who was also there in connection with Rajkot affairs. He had approached Mahatmaji to allow him to proceed to South Africa in order to help the Indian settlers there who were passing through a critical period, but unfortunately his request was refused and Mahatmaji advised his remaining in India and creating a European public opinion against the obnoxious segregation measures of the Union Government. He was a little disappointed because it was not possible for him to ignore the command of Mahatmaji. He made me realise how necessary it was for him to go to South Africa as he was confident that he could use his personal influence over Afrikander leaders such as Dr. Malan. He gave me an interesting account of a World's Christian Conference that was recently held in South India. In the course of the proceedings during which Indian representatives made an attack on the colour-bar policy of the Union, the South African delegates treated the question as a joke, declaring that Indians are miserably ignorant of the colour problems that exist in South Africa. Thereupon Sadhu Andrews rose to speak and he ably supported the Indian opinion by facts and figures. It was a shock to the South African delegation, who found themselves unable to refute the allegations, and they eased the situation by saying: "Well, Mr. Andrews! You are one of us. We take you to be a South African and cannot overlook your opinion."

Further, he also made it known to me that in the *South African Who's Who* his picture with a short sketch appears as a South African. I was so taken in by his power of sound reasoning that when I met Mahatmaji, I made a humble appeal to him that Andrews Saheb should be sent to South Africa at this hour of our trouble and tribulation but Mahatmaji remained adamant. Although I was disappointed with the decision of Mahatmaji, I realised its importance in the few days that followed.

When I met Sadhu Andrews for the second time, I was terrified by the look of his face. Before I could enquire about his health, he said: "My health is bad. I don't know what has happened to me. As things stand I can find nothing wrong but my head reels and makes me terribly uneasy. I want to go to hospital right

away, but make me a promise that you will not tell anyone about my illness." I agreed but was perturbed by his condition. I thought it not wise to pester him with further questions and so I left him saying that I would keep the secret.

It was out of my mind even to ask him to which hospital he decided to go and so I experienced great difficulty in finding out where he was. I rang to all the hospitals in Delhi and at last I traced him in the Hindu Rao Hospital, where I went to see him in the afternoon. The matron told me that the doctor had prevented visitors from seeing him but she would ask Sadhuji himself about me. He was duly informed and he instantly sent for me. I was led towards a room on the door of which hung a board that bore in huge capitals: VISITORS ARE NOT ALLOWED.

The doctor had asked him to take a complete rest but when I entered I found him busy at the table with pen and paper. "Come in, Bhai," he said getting up from the chair, "I was very anxious to see you. Here is a letter that I have written to his Excellency the Viceroy, dealing with the segregation proposals of the Union Government." But I was not anxious about the contents of the letter. I wanted to know how he was faring in regard to his health. "Oh, yes," he replied, "the doctors who have examined me have told me that I am suffering from blood pressure. The cure for this is good relaxation on the sea-shore."

"But you are having very good relaxation," I retorted. "Why should you worry to write this letter when your health is so run down." He smiled sweetly and read to me the letter he had prepared for the Viceroy. In reality, my attention was very little on the letter. My thoughts were centred around this great figure in whose heart flowed an immense love for Indians overseas.

A nurse entered and I remarked in jest: "Your patient is busy with work instead of resting." She responded with a smile, "My patient is an exceptional one in other respects but he has this one bad habit and I am afraid our nursing may not bring the desired results."

During my last visit to the hospital I found that he was gradually improving and was thinking of leaving the hospital.

I had never imagined for a moment that this might be the last meeting between Sadhu and me. Who could have guessed then that he would never be better again? A year later, on the 5th April, *Reuter* announced that he had left this world never to return again. What an unbearable shock this was to me! It is a matter of inner experience and is difficult of expression through the medium of letters.

In 1934 when he visited South Africa for the last time, he had been my guest. He greatly appreciated my secluded life, and therefore, during the trip that he had in mind, he had decided to stay with me. My children became attached to him in a very short space of time. For hours he amused himself petting my little grandson, Narendrakumar.

It is my belief that he was a great saint and not a shrewd politician. On one occasion, during his last visit to Natal, we had slept together at the residence of Shri Abdulla Ismail Kejee, the famous leader of South Africa. He woke up very early, prepared a formula and showed it to me. In fact at that time there was a split in the Indian community over the issue of the colonisation enquiry. The Congress co-operated with the enquiry committee in order to honour the pledge that was given to the delegation of the Government of India and at the same time did not allow the Indian case to go by default. A few Congressmen believed that the preliminary inquiry, according to the terms of reference as announced by the Minister of Interior, was a departure from the Congress undertaking and therefore advocated non-co-operation. The majority of Congress officials maintained that if they succeeded at this juncture to prove that there was no necessity for any colonisation scheme for the South African Indians, the inquiry, as envisaged by the Cape Town Agreement, might be altogether abandoned. Fortunately there was complete agreement between both sections of the Congress on the fundamental point, that there should be no reduction in the number of the Indian population and the only difference was about the line of action. In the bitterness of that time, a new organisation, the Colonial-born and Settlers' Association, was formed.

With a view to bringing the parties together, Sadhu Andrews had drawn up a formula, according to which both organisations should merge and a public pronouncement should be made that in future the Congress would have nothing to do with the colonisation issue. I explained to him in detail that a declaration of such a nature would endanger the position of the Indian settlers, as the enquiry was over, the report had been out and the scheme was regarded as still-born; at that juncture to bring the submerged issue to light would have been wholly unwise. The Union Government would seize the opportunity of pronouncing that

the Indian settlers themselves denounced the scheme and therefore it would proceed with further measures. The truth went home to him and he tore the formula to pieces.

It was in the year 1914 that I met Sadhu Andrews for the first time in South Africa. Mahatma Gandhi himself had introduced me to him. With him was Mr. W. W. Pearson, who has also departed from this world. There were bitter criticism in the English press against the *behaviour* of Sadhu Andrews, for he had fallen at Mahatma Gandhi's feet as a mark of respect according to Indian custom when he met him. One of the English dailies remarked sarcastically :

> "The Reverend gentleman stooped and with his fingers took the dust from Gandhi's feet which he rubbed on his forehead with a great show of reverence."

But Sadhuji did not care for such nonsense. He declared unequivocally more than once that he did not even have a glimpse of Christ, though he made an exhaustive search in the churches of South Africa. He found him at last—not in cathedrals, but in the self-sacrificing spirit of the Indian Passive Resisters.

After my first meeting with Sadhu Andrews I began to regard him with veneration. My mind was then prejudiced against the whole white race, for, had I not seen the intolerable hardships and sufferings of my own countrymen on the South African sugar-cane plantations, tea gardens and coal mines ? But on having met Sadhu Andrews I had to think otherwise. I soothed myself with a thought that the same England that had given birth to the Imperialist oppressors, had also produced such a human as Sadhuji. He appeared to me a strength to the weak, wealth to the poor, an enemy to slavery and a wonderful force to humanity. On his saintly visage I found the expression of *niskam-karma* (selfless action) and patience of Krishna, the truth and *ahimsa* (non-violence) of Buddha and the mercy and forgiveness of Jesus.

Since then I became strongly attached to him and the affection grew with time. We differed in our views on many occasions but that did not affect our personal relations. In 1919 while I was in India, he was in South Africa. A commission was investigating into South African Asiatic affairs and the Sadhu was deeply illuded by an energetic Indian gentleman who roused the labouring class Indians with his unwise and futile speech and brought them before Sadhu Andrews with a request that they were undergoing untold suffering here and if they were provided with free passages to India, they would gladly leave the Union. His compassionate heart was deeply moved and so he recommended voluntary repatriation.

The Union Government evinced much joy at the recommendation and brought forth a new repatriation scheme providing free passages and a bonus of £5 per adult and half of that to a child. Thus it devised a new plan of getting rid of Indians in South Africa. I strongly objected to the scheme, and was forced to differ from Sadhuji, and pointed out to him the great blunder he had committed, though unintentionally. Later, his heart was touched and troubled when he saw himself the miseries and sufferings of the repatriates in India and he unreservedly repented in the following terms :

> "I deeply regret that at such a critical time I should have personally added one pang to the Indian humiliation by weakly countenancing repatriation from South Africa."

Thereafter he made this his policy : "No further labour emigration from India and no further repatriation from the colonies." There has been no doughty champion of the Indians overseas to such an extent as Sadhu Andrews. He made numerous trips to East and South Africa. He was mainly instrumental in the abolition of the wretched indenture system from the Fiji Islands, which had disgraced and dishonoured our Motherland in the eyes of the world. He also visited Demerara and Trinidad and produced a heart-rending report on the miserable conditions of Indian settlers there He had rendered signal service to the Indians in India and abroad which will ever remain a bright chapter in the history of India.

He gave an interesting account of the treatment to which he was subjected by the prison authorities, when he went to see my wife and other *Satyagrahi* ladies in the Central Gaol of Durban. I cannot help quoting here his own words :

> "I went to the jail superintendent and asked permission to see them. With a sneer he asked : "Are they your relations ?" I answered : "They are my friends." But he would not let me in. He made the sneering remark : "Are these Asiatics your relations ? If you are not related to them you cannot see them." I explained that they were my friends, but this was of no avail Later on they were released, and I can remember the pitiful sight it was. They were so emaciated by suffering. After some days the news came to me by cable, that my own mother in England had passed away and the news affected me very deeply indeed. At that time these Indian ladies, who had themselves been in jail and suffered so much, came to visit me and comfort me. And I can never forget what comfort they gave me. With all these memories, it is

easy to understand, what a blow it was to me when I heard from Pandit Bhawani Dayal himself that his wife had died."

It is absolutely impossible to bring forth all my personal reminiscences about him in such a brief memoir as this. It is not a history of his life; the knowledge to write is denied me. This is merely a broken record of memories, some of them as distinct and sequent as brilliant beads upon a thread, other remote and strange not fitting to his great personality. Whenever I met him, my heart used spontaneously to whisper; "He is just a human like the rest or us, but how difficult it is to find another specimen of a human like him." He lived and died for the poor and oppressed.

India was the land of his adoption and he gladly sacrificed his life for the emancipation of India. He was one of the first and foremost champions of Indian independence. I recall well, when I participated in the Amritsar Congress in 1919 as a representative of the South African Indians, that a book written by him had just been published which dealt with the complete freedom of India. In that book he had proved beyond doubt that India from any point of view could not remain under the dominion of England because her history, culture, tradition and literature are totally different. Therefore, India should claim and obtain complete independence. At that time India was seeking the status of a dominion. Even Mahatma Gandhi did not then support complete independence. But now the entire outlook has rightly changed and the India of Rama and Krishna, of Buddha and Asoka, of Pratap and Shivaji, is marching forward in quest of full liberation, and claiming the rights and privileges of a free nation with complete independence.

Any human who appears on the surface is bound to disappear in the course of time. This is a rigid law of nature. Likewise the physical form of Sadhu Andrews has also vanished but even after his departure from this perishable world, his sacred name will remain immortal in the history of mankind. He has left behind him the footsteps of service and sacrifice which will lead humanity to *perfection*.

ROADS IN INDIA

By S. K. GHOSE, B.C.E., A.M.I.E. (Ind.)

THE road problem is by far the most intriguing of all the problems which confronts every one interested in the economic and social welfare of India, and unlike some other problems which might wait for better times and saner counsel, the development of roads in India cannot be postponed without a serious setback to the advancement of the country as a whole. It is the considered opinion of several renowned world tourists that there is no other country in the world which has so large a mileage of roads in such bad condition as in India. There are more than 100,000 miles of so-called motorable main roads in India, out of which 90 per cent have bumpy, dusty tracks, disseminating filth and disease in the dust clouds raised by the passing vehicles, which destroy and in turn are destroyed by the bad road surfaces, and the vicious circle entwines India in its octopus-like tentacles even today when so many other lesser countries have forged ahead rapidly in the matter of road development.

That the science and art of town planning and road construction in ancient India reached a level of excellence comparable to the latest technique developed in the West, would be unbelievable by many amongst us, but the injunctions in the *Shilpa Shastras* (as the old treatises on Engineering were called), and the recent concrete proofs obtained in the archaeological excavations at Harappa and Mahenjo-Daro, besides the old cities of Rajputana and Deccan combine, as Patrick Geddes puts it, to give "evidence of a planned organised and orderly life of all the people in the village, town and city alike............. What better test and proof of true and genuine civilisation!" Those who feel interested in the dim past may profitably study Manasara, the Arthashastra of Koutilya, and the Puranas to get a clear conception of the beauty of town planning of the Nagar-Vidhayaks of old. The grim present forbids us to dilate further on the dead past, but it would

be a wise policy to take a lesson out of the Book of Life through the ages, to suit Indian conditions and temperaments as there appears to be an unseemly haste in thoughtless transplantations of Western methods and ideas in present-day India.

A brief survey of the history of road development in India will serve to clarify the various aspects of the problem as it faces us in the present. It was during the reign of Sher Shah in the middle of the 16th century that we first hear about the rebuilding of a portion of the Grand Trunk Road to connect the Punjab with the city of Sunargaon (modern Calcutta), and it has now been definitely established that this was not a new road alignment, but was only a reconstruction of the old highway which existed at the time of Asoka and Chandra Gupta and had later fallen into disrepair and neglect. It is indeed hard to believe how rapidly a jungle can grow over a disused road or a building, although it is the everyday experience of engineers whose duty it is to maintain such public structures

During the rule of the East India Company, in the twenties of the 19th century, Lord William Bentinck linked Peshawar with Delhi and Calcutta by reviving the old Grand Trunk Road, to meet the strategical needs of the military forces, and but for this and some other minor roads, the East India Company did not encourage travel by road by the civil population, and the roads were guarded and maintained by Military Boards It was during the Governor-Generalship of Lord Dalhousie that road development received a tremendous impetus, strangely enough from the inauguration of the Railways in India, and the year 1855 marks the transfer of the maintenance of roads by the military authorities to the newly established Public Works Department, As the railway system developed, the construction of roads to feed the railways became more and more necessary, and the demand for bridges and metalled roads to serve as feeders to the railways is still there although the rail-road competition has assumed a different aspect only in recent years.

A fresh impetus to road development was given by the policy of local control first initiated by Lord Mayo and continued by Lord Ripon, and when roads became a 'transferred' subject with the inauguration of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms, the provincial governments carried the policy of decentralisation a step further by transferring responsibility for a large mileage of roads to various local bodies. In Bengal, for example, this policy has resulted in a very unsatisfactory division of responsibility for the maintenance of roads and quoting figures for 1928, we find 35,200 miles of road controlled by District Boards as against 1,615 miles by the Public Works Departments. The position has not improved materially since then, and roads in Bengal have evoked the strongest condemnation of visitors from other parts of India.



Photograph of a Copper model of a Cart excavated at Harappa (3 500 to 2,500 B C) by the Archaeological Department The wheels are missing but the rest of the cart is not very different from the present-day bullock-cart in India where traditions die hard !
(By courtesy *Indian Roads*)

That the development of Indian roads had previously suffered cruel neglect from the Government on account of the preferential treatment meted out to the Railways, in which the State had financial interest since their inception, is now common knowledge, and trunk roads and other roads running parallel to or short-circuiting the railway routes, were for a long time allowed to fall into disrepair for lack of official fervour. But the advent of motor transport in India resulted in a complete change in the outlook in less than two decades and the Central and Provincial Governments were made to realize the importance and immediate necessity for a comprehensive and co-ordinated road policy. To check the evil effects of decentralisation in the maintenance and construction of new roads by local bodies, such as, District Boards, provincial Road Boards were established in Bombay, Madras, U. P., Bihar and Bengal and the remaining provinces, as advisory bodies

to the Governments, and in the Punjab and Burma (now separated from India) Communication Boards were set up with special powers and executive functions.

The turning point in the history of Indian roads may be said to synchronize with the appointment of the Indian Road Development Committee in the year 1927 under the able chairmanship of the Rt. Hon. Mr. M. R. Jayakar and it must be recorded here that the credit for this far-reaching event goes largely to the Indian Roads and Transport Development Association (I. R. T. D. A.) which had been giving persistent publicity to the crying needs of Indian roads since 1926. The publication of the report of the Jayakar Committee in 1928 laid the foundations of the future development of Indian roads and has been the basis of all that has been done by the Government of India for the betterment of roads in India during the last ten years. The main recommendations of Jayakar Committee were :

1 That road development was passing beyond the financial capacity of the local governments and local bodies, and was thus becoming a national interest which may be to some extent be a proper charge on central revenue

2 That a well-balanced scheme of taxation should be imposed on the sale and import of motor spirit and vehicles, and that license fees should be levied on vehicles plying for hire, the proceeds of which should be spent on road development.

3 That roads should be reclassified so as to transfer some of the local roads to the category of arterial roads under the control of Provincial Governments, thus enabling the local bodies to pay more attention to roads of purely local importance

4 That levying of road tolls on any traffic should be abolished as being obstructive to rapid transport

5 That big road projects should, if necessary, be financed by raising loans

A Road Development Account was created for five years, to start with, and the two-anna surcharge per gallon of petrol (subsequently increased) was first imposed on all motor transport users by the Indian Finance Act, 1929, for the development of roads, and the revenue which thus began to accummulate during the financial year 1929-30, was first distributed in 1930-31, *viz.*, a sum of Rs. 70 lakhs in the nine Governor's Provinces, one-sixth of the petrol tax being kept reserved at the disposal of the Government of India for experiment and research and for grant-in-aid of expensive works of All-India interest. As a result of the recommendations of the Jayakar Committee, conferences were held by the representatives of Provincial Governments, States and minor Administration with the Standing Committee on roads of the Indian Legislature and the Government of India in 1929 and 1930. The Road Conference of 1931 at which all the Chief Engineers of the provinces and the States were invited, covered a wide field relating to Motor Vehicle rules, principles of motor taxation, motor vehicle loads, tyres and speeds, standardization of bridge loading, road experiment and research. A magazine named *Indian Roads* edited by the Road Engineer to the Government of India and financed from the road development account, was started in July, 1931, and it is still continuing to publish excellent articles and data of direct benefit to roads in India.

The rapidly growing antagonism of the road and railway transport interests during this period, brought matters to such a pass, both in Great Britain and India, that committees of experts had to be appointed by the Governments to investigate into the far-reaching and bewildering aspects of the problems involved, and the reports of the Salter Committee in Great Britain and the Mitchell-Kirkness Committee in India were both published in 1932. In India the problem was investigated by Mr. K. G. Mitchell, Road Engineer to the Government of India, and Mr. L. H. Kirkness, Special Officer, nominated by the Railway Board. It is of interest to note that the conclusions arrived at by the English Committee and the Indian Committee were on the whole diametrically opposite. The Salter Committee reported, that subject to certain very broadly worded provisos, the Railways should not stand in the way of the development of motor transport. The main provisos were :

"1 The transport should pay its fair share in the cost of the roads

"2 It is not desirable that an isolated road service just paying its way should take the cream of the Railway traffic.

"3. It is not in the national interest to encourage further diversion of heavy goods traffic from the railway to the roads."

The decided opinion of the Indian Committee was *that India was too poor to permit its Railway property to be damaged by extensive competition and that Railways must be protected.*

The Road-Rail Conference held in 1933 at Simla, devised ways and means to co-ordinate the road and railway systems for the fuller development of both means of communications by eliminating wasteful competition, and the improvement of unmetalled rural roads was emphasised.

Towards the end of 1934, the Government of India sponsored the inauguration of the body known as the Indian Roads Congress, and of

the Transport Advisory Council early in 1935, two permanent machineries designed to promote the progress of Road Engineering as a highly technical service, and to provide for the common study and adjustment of common administrative problems. The Roads Congress as a "Society for the promotion of the science and art of road-making and maintenance by the pooling of accumulated knowledge and experience and by unity in progress" has now established itself as a self-supporting and authoritative institution with a total membership of more than 450 road engineers from all over India, who have attended in large number the annual meetings so far held at Delhi, Bangalore, Lucknow, Hyderabad (Deccan), Calcutta and Bombay where valuable technical papers have been discussed. A closer collaboration amongst the road engineers of India has been ensured by the personal contacts and exchange of ideas as well as the inspection and study of the most interesting road works, arranged for at these meetings held at the leading cities of India.

The Indian Roads Congress has focussed the attention of all road engineers, to such vital subjects as modern methods of road lay-out, construction and maintenance of roads, bridge foundations and superstructures, traffic statistics, safe wheel loads, design of submersible and high-level bridges, ribbon development and solid research with reference to development of earth roads, by initiating discussions on instructive and thought-provoking papers read at its meetings. It has also succeeded in standardizing bridge loadings and units of weight, measure and cost to be used in road specifications, estimates and reports, as also methods of recording traffic statistics, forms for recording road experiments and nomenclature for bituminous materials and road construction. This Congress has also been successful in persuading the Government of India to finance the establishment and maintenance of a Road Test Track by the Government Test House at Alipore and to undertake extensive soil research experiments in relation to improvement of earth roads by a specially trained officer in the Punjab.

As a direct result of these activities co-ordinated and partially financed by the Government of India, a road renaissance has imperceptibly begun and considerable improvement in existing road communications has been noticeable in recent years. Besides the Grand Trunk Road, three other Trunk Roads have been quickly opened up connecting Calcutta with Madras, Madras with Bombay and Bombay with Delhi. A project for a Trunk Road linking up Calcutta with Bombay in the preparation of which the writer was directly concerned, is ready to be executed, but has had to be postponed, it is understood, on account of the outbreak of the present War.

Almost all the provinces have now long term programmes under execution, and although every year increasing grants are being allocated for the construction of new roads, and maintenance of existing ones, it must be made clear to the average reader that India's road system is still very inadequate, and the standard of maintenance dangerously low in view of the rapid increase in the volume and tonnage of the transport which is developing by leaps and bounds. The story of the Irishman and the donkey recounted by Mr. K. G. Mitchell, President of the Sixth Indian Roads Congress held at Bombay last December, will bear repetition :

> "The Irishman reasoned that the donkey, being a patient animal would not notice a gradual cut in his food and could therefore be accustomed to have much less, and even perhaps, none at all. He therefore reduced rations by ten per cent a week. The experiment was successful in that the donkey made no complaint, but unfortunately at the end of ten weeks it died and the owner had to buy another."

The effect of drastic economy in road maintenance only leads to rapid deterioration and in the end the road would have to be reconstructed at a greatly increased cost than could be saved. It is false economy of the worst kind and in the life of a nation, road transport and road maintenance are factors which transcend the vicissitudes of war and the war has enhanced the need for more and better roads.

The bullock-cart has continued to be the bugbear of Indian road engineers and all attempts to construct and maintain road surfaces economically have so far failed more or less, under the crushing load transmitted by the thin, wobbly steel-tyred cart wheels. Mr. W. L. Murrell, Superintending Engineer, Bihar, in his outstanding paper entitled "Roads in India and Australia—Our Difficulties and Some Suggestions" presented before the last Roads Congress Session, emphatically stated :

> "Even greater than the difficulty of funds is the intolerable dictatorship of the steel tyre on the Indian bullock-cart. This survivor of the Dark ages in India—it is what is chiefly responsible for the complete stagnation of the development of our road technique, and it is the steel tyre that (if allowed to persist) will throttle all development of agriculture, education and whatever goes to make a nation great."

The remedy suggested is to promulgate compulsory registration and taxation of all steel-tyre carts, and a gradual change-over to

pneumatic-tyred equipment, in which the State should subsidise liberally and arrange for their large-scale distribution at cost price all over India; it will be an economy in the long run to invest money into carts which do no damage rather than into roads which will cost much more to maintain for carrying steel-tyred carts. Already rubber-tyred carts are being subsidised by the North Western Frontier Provinces and Sind and the replacement of the steel-tyres has got to be expedited by all possible means.

After years of experiment in India it has now been definitely established that cement concrete roads alone can stand up the wear and tear of steel-tyred traffic most effectively, and the P. W. D. of the United Provinces have now to their credit more than 100 miles of cement concrete roads, considerable portions of which are as good as when laid as far back as 1920, and the maintenance cost has been negligible. A mile of 3" thick cement concrete road 12 ft. wide can now be constructed in the United Provinces for less than Rs. 15,000/- and would be expected to last for at least 20 years under 1,000 tons of traffic per day with practically no maintenance cost. In the Bombay Presidency, round about Poona where the bullock-cart traffic is very heavy, the roads have been modernised to have a "Conphalt" surface, which consists of a central asphalted strip for fast motor traffic and two cement concrete sides, each 7 feet in width for the use of bullock-carts and other slow moving traffic, and it has been observed that the bullocks prefer to travel over the concrete surface. By the courtesy of the Associated Cement Companies Ltd., the Poona-Bombay road is being rapidly rebuilt in cement concrete by a Danish concrete road-making machine (Pedershaab), the first to be used in India. Thin concrete roads bid fair to be the ideal road surface for the mixed traffic on Indian roads.

India is a vast country with a total road mileage of approximately 300,000 out of which barely 70,000 are of macadamized metalled or surfaced with tar or bitumen, and these roads are used by some ten million steel-tyred bullock-carts and about 175,000 fast moving motor vehicles. The majority of these roads are quite unsuitable for the economical operation of motor transport and it is not surprising that India's accident roll on the road is the highest in the world. The previous policy of making a Cinderella of the petrol engine and to bolster up, at its expense, its elder sister the steam engine, has had disastrous effects on India's roads and the country stands in need of a square deal for her roads immediately. Our trunk roads must be modernised for through traffic so as to be as efficient as those of Germany, Italy and the United States in the not distant future. If rural India is not to stagnate, stabilized earth roads with "treakways" are to be built up quickly. Our railway system has been developed to a stage relatively far beyond that of the road system, and India must enter an era of great road-building activities to restore equilibrium in the present-day unbalanced transport system and the deficiency in good roads must be made up, thereby ushering in an era of all-round prosperity. Paucity of funds can be no excuse as means can be found for the money, by capitalising some of the current revenues for the payment of interest and sinking fund on Road Bonds or Road Loans, as have been successfully achieved in more advanced countries.

The present War has clearly brought out the advantages of Hitler's 5,000 miles of double-track concrete roads (*Reichs Autobahnen*) completed just before he launched his brutal attack on Poland. These roads are free from cross-roads and level crossings, and trains of heavily laden motor vehicles rush at 90 miles an hour with no risk of accidents. These are less vulnerable to bombardment than railways, and are effectively camouflaged at strategic points. That a large bombing aeroplane can go 5,000 miles without refuelling, puts India within striking distance of several danger zones, as may be realized from a study of the map of Asia and adjoining countries. Roads permit of rapid strategic manœuvres, and the mobility of the forces is one of the vital needs of national defence, and all right-thinking countries are busy overhauling their road systems in the light of present day requirements and considerations. The evils of "ribbon development," the building of houses, shops, etc., as a fringe, one house deep on both sides of a highway, which carries through traffic, must not be allowed to multiply on roads that are yet free from this canker, and on our future roads, by taking effective steps to restrict indiscriminate building development.

In the matter of road materials, India is now in a favourable position, and all her requirements of cement, steel, road tars, sand stone chips, road metal, etc., are available within her frontiers. The manufacture of road asphalt is reported from Digboi, and it is likely that other sources of road asphalt will become known in the near future. There is a strong case and a large demand for increase in the manufacture of road tars, and it is expected that the Board

of Industrial Research will give some attention to this essential material for improving Indian roads, as certain refinements in the manufacture of crude tar, (at present largely wasted due to ignorance of right methods), could easily increase the output of road tars obtained from the distillation of coal. The increasing use of molasses (*Sira*) as a road dressing material deserves further experiments and investigation.

Bridges have been the stumbling-block of many road projects, and these expensive structures unless carefully designed, and constructed on good foundations, are for ever a source of anxiety to the engineers on account of the vagaries of Indian rivers. That toll bridges are not a success from the financial standpoint can be proved by the case of the bridge over the Damodar at Papunki. This bridge was constructed at a cost of about 7½ lakhs of rupees in 1927, and up-to-date only a sum of about Rs. 40,000 has been realized by the toll contractors. The apathy of the railways in matters of road communication can be best exemplified by the doubling of the Rupnarain bridge at Kolaghat, when no attempt was made to provide for a roadway in the design, as was done, for example, in the Sone Bridge at Koilwar. Government should insist on the provision of a roadway in all future major railway bridge projects, and the road authorities should be ready to take advantage of such constructions. Co-ordination in bridging problems has been one of the greatest needs of India.

It should be emphasised here that for the success of future road development in India on approved lines, the projects must be carefully prepared by experienced road engineers and well-trained staff who should specialize in roads. The prevailing system of making P. W. D. engineers Jacks of all trades and Masters in none, by making the same men go round buildings, roads, irrigation and even public health and making them forget all that they usefully learn in one branch by frequent and compulsory transfer to some other uncongenial branch, has been productive of huge preventible losses due to the sudden termination of valuable road experiments and policies, and even complete reversal of road programmes. There should be whole-time Communications Boards consisting of recognized road experts who should work out projects and guide the actual execution of works. The criminal waste of money in road programmes executed by the inexperienced staff of local bodies, must be controlled and stopped. The employment of temporary staff on road works only leads to malpractices.

In Bengal, the absence of through road communications particularly in the rainy season, has been a grave disadvantage to that province. The monsoons turn vast areas into swamps and thousands of villages are cut off from the outside world. The comprehensive report drawn up by Mr. A. J. King, Special Officer, Road Works, on the road problems of Bengal and his extensive schemes of 34 projected Trunk Roads and many inter-district roads and new bridges should hearten the public all the more to demand and arrange for the necessary funds to take up the works in a more vigorous manner, so that the benefits of the scheme may become far more real. It is, after all. a problem of financing and executing the detailed projects properly by arranging for the necessary personnel and materials, and the Minister of Communications may be prevailed upon to show greater vigour in pushing up the road programme.

Calcutta will soon be having its magnificent bridge across the Hooghly costing about four crores of the tax-payers' money, but are the roads beyond it, fit for the increased facilities for traffic ? The Grand Trunk Road up to Burdwan does little credit to the province of Bengal. The public demand for better roads should end this state of affairs at an early date. Incidentally it may be mentioned that the roads in Bombay are better and cleaner than those of Calcutta and this is no exaggeration of facts.

Already there is a talk of a direct air service linking Bombay and Calcutta and the end of the war will give an immediate fillip to the development of air-borne traffic in India and aviation will develop enormously. Unless the road system, without which the aerodromes cannot function, are re-organized and improved according to the needs of the times, a chaotic condition in the transport system of India is bound to ensue, and it is up to the intelligent public and the various authorities to prepare their regional plans from now, with an eye to the needs of post-war India.

In conclusion, the writer wishes to express his indebtedness for the help he has received from different sources, most of which he has tried to acknowledge, and he takes this opportunity to express his thanks to Mr. H. E. Ormerod, of the Associated Cement Companies, Ltd., and Mr. Jagdish Prasad, Secretary, Indian Roads Congress, for their encouragement in writing this article which he has tried to present in a non-technical language so that the public may show greater interest in roads and the problems relating thereto. Our roads have been neglected too long.

PARLIAMENTS ABROAD

By Professor NARESH CHANDRA ROY, M.A., Ph.D.

The present writer had an opportunity in 1938 and 1939 to pay a visit to a number of deliberative assemblies in different countries of the Old and New Worlds. His objective was not to study in any detail the procedure followed in these assemblies. He had been abroad on a different mission. But as a student of political institutions he naturally felt curiosity as to the general atmosphere and environments in which the parliamentary bodies happened to work. It was to satisfy this curiosity that he attended the sittings (in some cases only one) of the great assemblies.

The first so visited was the British House of Commons. There were two methods which might be adopted to secure the necessary permit to attend any sitting of this chamber. A member of Parliament might have been approached for a card and if he agreed to be accommodating, the problem would be solved The other method was to apply to the office of the High Commissioner for India which would arrange for the visit. The latter alternative was chosen. The application was duly made to the office of the High Commissioner, which forwarded in due course a card. It was however not a permit to visit the House. It was really an introduction. On the appointed day the writer in the company of a friend proceeded to the House of Parliament at Westminster and was ushered into a hall which was adorned with the statues and busts of the great parliamentarians of the United Kingdom. In this hall had already assembled a large number of visitors, both men and women, from the other parts of the British Commonwealth—Australia, Canada, South Africa. They had also come with introductory cards from the offices of their own High Commissioners. All the visitors sat on the appointed benches and had to wait for nearly half an hour. Then one by one they had to go into an adjoining room where the introductory card had to be produced in order to secure the necessary pass. Armed with this precious weapon, the visitors next climbed the stairs and were ushered into a crowded gallery.

In no other country had the writer to pass through such elaborate and boring formalities to secure admission to the visitors' gallery of a parliamentary chamber. The ways of conservative England are however different and one must conform to them, otherwise curiosity might remain unsatisfied. As it has been pointed out, the gallery was too crowded and the house itself was very stuffy. The parliamentary building which is not very old and which in fact was constructed only a century ago during the reign of William IV looks imposing from outside. But the inside of the chamber in which the great parliamentary gladiators engage in their combats has no prepossessing appearance. In fact it looks very ordinary. The atmosphere is not only not cheerful but gloomy. In that respect, however, it accords with the general atmosphere of the city in which it is located.

The subject of discussion on that day was agriculture. On the Treasury Bench were the Prime Minister, the Minister of Agriculture and two or three other stalwarts. The rest of the Cabinet Ministers were away. On the Opposition side also many of the seats were vacant. Those who were attending were also leaving the house very frequently. They did not take as serious a view of the deliberations as they might be expected to take. Of the six hundred and fifteen members of the house it did not appear that even half were present, and of those also who were present it did not seem that more than fifty per cent were seriously interested in the problems which were being thrashed out on the floor.

The members of the House are not expected to read written speeches. They may consult notes and read from books and documents to substantiate a point or to emphasise an argument. But they are all the same to 'speak' and not to read a manuscript. But the members who were 'speaking' on this occasion, could be said only by courtesy to be speaking. They were virtually reading from the manuscript. Now they were bending low to read what was written in the manuscript and now they were standing erect to speak out what they had just read. This was a wearisome procedure, possibly more wearisome than the straightforward reading of a written speech. This is not an age of oratory. This is an age when people are

more impressed by a straightforward citation of facts than by glittering phrases and moving perorations. But even in this matter of fact world, to speak from a manuscript in the way that some of the members of the House of Commons were speaking could only be set down as unworthy of the Mother of Parliaments. The late Viscount Snowden has left it on record that even a parliamentarian of the standing of the late Arthur Henderson would, as a Minister of the Crown, make only written statements in the House of Commons, and could hardly ever be persuaded to make any speech. It seems there has been at Westminster a flight from the spoken word.

The next assembly visited was the American Senate at Washington. It was early in April, 1939, that the present writer paid his visit to the capital of the United States of America. The climate was then very pleasant. After three months of deep winter at New York, it was certainly a most pleasing change to be at Washington. The cherry blossoms which the Japanese Ambassador had presented a few years ago as a token of friendship between the two great countries of Asia and America added further to the beauty of the city. The House of Representatives was not at the time in session. The Senate was however sitting from day to day. The two houses of the Congress are accommodated in two wings of the same parliamentary building, so famously known as the Capitol. The numerical strength of the Senate is now ninety-six. At one time it was only twenty-six. It was therefore possible for this body to be accommodated in a small room. As however the strength increased, the room became insufficient for the Senate meetings. So the venue was changed. The present hall, which is quite commodious but not too big, was chosen for the sittings of the Senate, while the room left vacant was utilised by the Supreme Court for many years, until recently the new Supreme Court Building was erected at the huge expense of seventeen million dollars.

The gallery was mostly full but not overcrowded. The meeting was being presided over by Mr. Gurner, the Vice-President of the United States, who under the Constitution is the ex-officio President of the Senate. In the early years of the Union the Vice-President was invited by the President to participate in the deliberations of his Cabinet. But after a time this convention was dropped and the Vice-President had nothing else to do than to preside over the Senate meetings. A functionary who normally has thus no association with the executive government of the country may suddenly emerge as the executive head of the nation if the President dies. That way Theodore Roosevelt became the President* of the United States early in this century and that way Calvin Coolidge became the President in 1923 when Harding died.

The Senate is a virile body, though its members are not as a rule youngmen. Under the constitution those who are not yet thirty years of age are ineligible for the office of Senator. Unlike the practice in the British House of Commons, manuscript oratory is not in fashion in the Senate. The days of Daniel Webster are indeed no more. But most of this august chamber are yet ready speakers. One thing was however surprisingly noticeable. While one Senator was speaking, two or three others were also on their legs. One seemed to be taking an objection to some remarks of the speaker while one or two others were trying to come to the latter's rescue. Anyhow it seemed rather usual for several members of the house to remain standing while a colleague of theirs was addressing it. This unhealthy practice which interferes with the maintenance of order in the house was noticed later on a wider and more unhealthy scale in the Swedish Parliament at Stockholm.

Across the street but near the Capitol is located a large building which accommodates the offices of the Senators. In England, the M. P.'s have been given a salary since 1911. The salary was increased to six hundred pound per year in 1937. Further, they are given free railway passes to visit their constituencies. But otherwise they are not given facilities by the Government. Within the House itself, they have opportunities no doubt of writting letters or preparing speeches. But they are neither given separate office rooms, nor any free secretarial help. These they have to secure for themselves. But both at Washington and at Ottawa, the practice is different. The American Senators are all provided with a room and a stenographer-secretary. They have their books, papers and relevant documents in this room. Here they work and prepare their speeches and here they receive their visitors.

The Parliament at Ottawa has been housed in a new building since 1916. In that year the old Parliament House was gutted by fire. Only a portion of the library was somehow saved on

* The Constitution prescribes that when the President is removed from office or becomes disabled or resigns, the Vice-President is to discharge his functions. But it does not prescribe that he should assume his title. He assumes it by convention.

that occasion. The House of Commons and the Senate are both accommodated in the same building. The hall in which the House holds its sittings is fairly large and cheerful. A labour member † of the House to whom the writer had been introduced undertook to secure admission to the visitors' gallery. Meanwhile, however, another member who was a French-Canadian suggested that the Speaker who was also of the same nationality might be approached for the Speaker's gallery. Accordingly the admission to that gallery was arranged for in about ten minutes. The writer, as he proceeded to take his seat in this gallery, inevitably called to mind the experience he had of the elaborate formalities at Westminster. The contrast was indeed striking

The general environments of the House, as it has been pointed out, are very bright and cheerful. The seats were clean and the house was commodious There could be no feeling of stuffiness and congestion. The Speaker, M. Casgran, is a native of Quebec. Both in the House of Commons and in the Senate there is a convention that alternately the Speaker's chair should be occupied by English and French-Canadian members. This convention is inconsistent no doubt with the English convention of once a Speaker, always a Speaker but it is suited to, and has grown out of, Canadian conditions. As in the British House of Commons, here also the members of the Government Party sit on the right and the Opposition members on the left of the Speaker. The French-Canadians who are sixty-five strong in this house of two hundred and forty-five sit on either side The majority of them were then Liberals and were as such sitting on the Government side but the minority which was Conservative was sitting on the left side of the Speaker. The French-Canadians, though a race-conscious group, have associated themselves with national parties, and have not formed a separate French-Canadian group at Ottawa.

For nearly an hour there was a discussion in regard to parliamentary sittings during the King's visit which was then impending Mr. Mackenzie King, the Premier, explained the Government attitude in a lucid and convincing speech. Mr. King is no orator. He cannot boast of any rhetorical flourishes. Nor does he make any dramatic movement of his body as he speaks. But all the same he speaks fluently with clear articulation and perfect enunciation He chooses his facts and arguments carefully and marshalls them clearly but effortlessly. Mr. King is now in the middle sixties of his life and is a bachelor. He has been the leader of the Liberal Party since the close of the last war and is undoubtedly the most dominating personality in the political field in the Dominion. There is no wonder that in the recent election he has been returned at the head of a considerable majority to the House. This victory on his part has been made possible by the fact that the Conservative Party has been for some time without any inspiring leader. Mr. Meighen is old and in the Senate. Mr. Bennet has found the Canadian climate too rigorous for his delicate health and has settled in England. Dr. Manion who stepped into his shoes is a man of only mediocre ability. His speech in the House made immediately after Mr. King had finished his, made no impression on the writer, nor, he thinks, on the House. It was rather a dull and drab one. No wonder that in the great landslide which his Party has suffered in the recent election, he also failed to retain his seat.

As one moves from the lower to the upper chamber of the Canadian Parliament, one feels translated from the world of the living into the valley of death. The contrast is really striking. The writer was admitted through the good offices of an important functionary of the Senate to what is known as the Officers' gallery. This was a quiet place and commanded quite a good view of the chamber. The writer had taken his seat a few minutes before the sitting began. As the hour drew nigh, the Senators approached the chamber in a procession with the Speaker at the head As the proceedings were opened, the writer noticed that there were no youngmen among the Senators. They were all old. Some of them were really too old. It was discovered later that two of them were above ninety, nearly a dozen were above eighty and the average age of the Senators was sixty-eight. Along with age some have become decrepit as well. It was a pitiable sight to watch a Senator leaving his comfortable seat with what appeared to be a draft bill in hand and proceeding towards the table of the Clerk. He was carrying his body with the utmost difficulty and instead of walking he was somehow trudging his way. There were at least three among them who were sitting all the time with ear-phones tightly fixed. It is not known if, even with the help of this instrument, they could follow the proceedings of the house. It seemed that many of the Senators did not really belong to this world but that they had come on a delegation to the land of the living from some country behind the stars where they must have retired decades ago. They looked vacantly,

† Belonging to the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation Party.

spoke inaudibly and acted as cumbrously as possible.

It was not surprising that the meetings of the Senate were short and did not last more than one hour. What importance is attached to this body by the Government is evidenced by the fact that only one Senator was included in the Cabinet. The Senate enjoys under the constitution almost co-ordinate authority with the House of Commons. Naturally the Government should be expected to pay sufficient attention to its proceedings. But although the Ministers who were members of the House of Commons had no access to the Senate, still only one member of this body was included in the Cabinet In other words only one Cabinet Minister was in charge of the Government business in the Senate, and he too was a Minister without portfolio. No parliamentary chamber, with the honourable exception of the British House of Lords, is possibly a greater anachronism in the modern world than the Canadian Senate. The House of Lords has at least this saving feature that it is a large body consisting of both old and young men and that the fox-hunting peers who do not take any interest in the business of the house do not attend it except on rare occasions On an average only about eighty happen to attend and they are not altogether devoid of energy and strength. The Canadian Senate however consists of ninety-six members appointed for life and none are inclined to resign, as resignation involves the loss of the respectable salary of four thousand dollars, which they are naturally unwilling to incur Nothing but death can snap their ramshackle association with the Senate.

As at Washington, so at Ottawa both the M. P.'s and the Senators are provided with office rooms and secretarial help at the expense of the Government. The rooms provided at Ottawa are not in separate buildings as at Washington. They are in the parliamentary building itself. The party leaders are provided with a single room while the rest have to work two in a room which is fairly large and has a cheerful and cosy appearance. The Committee meetings are held in the morning and the M. P.'s and Senators virtually spend the whole day in the Parliamentary building.

The visit to another assembly in the New World may be described here in order that some of the peculiarities of American life may be noticed in that connection. The writer was on a visit to Madison, the capital of the State of Wisconsin, mainly with the object of seeing Professor Ogg of the Wisconsin University. He felt inclined to have a glimpse of the State legislature. This body consists of two houses, the Assembly and the Senate. According to the practice of most States in the Union, the legislature sits once in two years and remains in session almost continuously for about eight or nine months. It sits in odd years and the writer had on that account the opportunity of satisfying his curiosity. The admission to the visitors' gallery of either the Senate or the Assembly was without any formality. It was open to the public. Whoever wanted might drop in. The Capitol which accommodates the legislature is a large and imposing building. But it is not merely a legislative house. It accommodates the offices of the State Governor and other public functionaries as well.

The Assembly was being presided over by its Speaker, who was a young man but appeared to enjoy the confidence of the house. The total membership is one hundred, while the membership of the Senate is only thirty-three and the latter body is presided over, on the model of the American Senate, by the Lieutenant-Governor of the State. The members of the Assembly get as salary 2,400 dollars for their legislative term (two years). The Speaker gets in addition to this salary five hundred dollars more. The members, both Assembly men and Senators, have each of them a desk and a swinging chair. The writer found to his surprise that as one gentleman was on his legs and speaking on one item of the agenda, several others, by way of making themselves comfortable, had stretched their legs on the desks in front of them. The legs appeared to be rather aggressively directed towards the Speaker. It seemed, however, to be an usual practice with this assembly because no objection was taken to this posture either by the Speaker or by any one of the members. The writer does not exactly recollect if the members of the Senate at Washington have the liberty to smoke when that body is in session. But in Wisconsin the members were mostly smoking cigars. With their legs stretched on the desk and with long cigars in their mouth, they appeared to be making themselves more comfortable in the Assembly than many people might make themselves in the salon of some society lady. But one thing appeared very sore and loathsome to the eye. In between the chairs of two members there was a spitoon which was being utilised by the two neighbours both for its ordinary purposes and as an ash-tray. The spitoons were really an ugly sight and there was no doubt about this that they had disfigured the house like anything. But possibly without them the house would have been more disfigured still.

As for the Scandinavian countries, the writer stayed for too short a period at Oslo to peep into the sittings of the Norwegian Parliament, which overlooks a beautiful park. But he visited both the houses of the Swedish Parliament at Stockholm and the unicameral Parliament of Finland at Helsinki. Both these Parliaments were at the time in session. The two houses of the Swedish Parliament are located in the same building, which was large, commodious and cheerful. A middle-aged gentleman who was the editor of a religious newspaper and spoke English almost perfectly took him to the Parliament House. The Swedes are a hearty and cheerful people. As the writer was taken to the Parliamentary club where many of the members were either smoking or talking, he was greeted by several gentlemen, who were as tall as they were stout-built. But unfortunately they did not either speak or understand English. But still moving their hands and tossing their heads they released a flow of Swedish words, evidently in welcoming their strange guest. The writer was later told that they belonged to the Farmers' group.

As the proceedings of the houses were naturally in Swedish, it was neither necessary nor possible for the writer to attend for long. But during the half an hour that he spent in the visitors' gallery he discovered that it was not against parliamentary rules in Sweden for several members to remain standing while the house was being addressed by another. Actually the writer found that when the house was being addressed by the Finance Minister a score of members was standing in two or three groups in different parts of the House and talking to each other.

The Parliament House at Helsinki (none knows if it is still standing) is a noble building erected not long ago. The legislature consisted of two hundred members of whom eighty-six belonged to the Social Democratic Party. It was the largest group in the house. Every party had a room allotted to itself in the building. The hall in which the general sittings were held was exceedingly attractive. There was some peculiarity about the Speaker's chair. It was fixed in a place which was unusually elevated. The visitors' chairs were also rather unusually cosy. The atmosphere of the assembly was however dull. Possibly the ignorance of language on the part of the visitor had added to his sense of dullness. A lady member, almost young, was addressing the house. She was in fact reading very fast from the rostrum (the members did not speak from their seats) from a carefully prepared manuscript. The writer was told that she was a school teacher and was speaking on the problem of secondary education. The number of school teachers in the Finnish Parliament was not quite insignificant. In the Wisconsin State Legislature also the school teachers had been returned in a goodly number. It is not unlikely that neither the lady nor the schools on which nor the building in which she was speaking on that day exist any more. As a result of the last Great War Parliaments were set in many new and strange places. Who knows if the new war will not involve the closing down of all Parliaments ?



IS THERE A GOVERNING CLASS IN ENGLAND ?

By DINES CHANDRA SARKAR, M.A.

Who governs England ? If the caterpillar had asked that question, Alice, we may well fancy while reminding her questioner that there should be some sense in a question before one was asked to answer it, would have gone on to inform him that often things counted quite as much as men in the matter of government. For example, there were Parliament as well as the King who never died, Mansion House banquet as well as meetings at the Hyde Park corner. There were ever so many things in a great country like England that one did not always know whether men were more important than things or things than men. But if the caterpillar recovering from the effects of this broadside had ventured to repeat his question, Alice would have naturally felt annoyed, but she would also have found that her answer had been a trifle wide of the mark. And so, in an effort to retrieve her position she would have added quietly that it was certainly men who governed England,—men who had time and perhaps taste for gossiping and tidying up other people's affairs. But it was not men nor things alone that mattered. There was always a background of ideas. Indeed, the air of a democratic country like England was so thick with ideas and traditions that one could not breathe without drawing some of them into one's head. Ideas being mobile and yet without fixed orbits sometimes collided with one another. Was there not something like a perpetual tug-of-war in every country between the idea of rich man's happiness and the idea of poor man's happiness ? Government was a puzzling little art; or perhaps a kind of alchemy under which personality, wealth, ideas and traditions were melted at gentle or white heat and either gold or charcoal was obtained.

Our wonderful Alice echoing the words of a famous Prime Minister is indeed as far from a direct or concrete answer as she was before her great effort. But it is not her fault. The fault lies with the fog of England, the mistiness of the English mind, the singular divergence between English political appearance and English political reality. Every clever school boy knows that the business of English government is run by the Prime Minister in association with several other ministers and the Parliament, the King merely lending his goodwill. The sweet doing-nothing of the King is enshrined in such myth as "The King can do no wrong." Though his prerogatives and powers are exercised in his name by his Ministers, the King still retains considerable personal influence. Sitting high above the turmoil of day-to-day politics and accumulating a fund of political wisdom out of his contacts with widely varying outlooks on life, the King is a source of potential power exercisable through the Prime Minister who has constant access to him. The records and traditions of the reign of King Edward VII and King George V bear unmistakable testimony on this point.

Nevertheless, the real work of governing is done by the principal ministers (otherwise known as the Cabinet) who for this purpose limit themselves to the laying down of policies and work as a team taking common counsel and owning common responsibility. The Prime Minister who may be regarded as the keystone of the Cabinet arch, is chosen by the people though the choice is not quite free, for the prospective Prime Ministers offer themselves as parts of certain combinations (parties) and must be accepted only as belonging to those combinations or rejected. Over these party contests, the general body of voters whose number has steadily increased so as to include since 1928 the entire adult population, male or female, sit arbiters. It is this phenomenon which makes it permissible to speak of England as a Democracy in the formal sense.

Now, what are these contests for ? What the prize ? The prize is the biggest that can be conceived. It is the power of doing great good or great harm, of maintaining personal and class privileges or creating opportunities for all by a juster distribution of wealth; for according to English constitutional theory the Parliament possesses unlimited power. The technical phrase, of course, is King-in-parliament. But the first word of that phrase means nothing but a royal assent given at the behest of the Prime Minister to a bill duly passed by the Parliament. Since the passing of the Parliament Act of 1911, this pompous phrase has come to mean even less than that. The House of Commons, if it so chooses and takes care to announce its

choice in three successive sessions within a period of not less than two years, can now usurp the supreme authority of the Parliament; and the House of Commons ordinarily is but the magnified shadow of the Cabinet.

The disconcerting part of this scheme of things is that under it one party or one group of parties establishes a virtual dictatorship. But even so, it is only a temporary lease of power, the House of Commons benig by law automatically dissolved after every five years. Though there is little comfort in that, yet the minority party or parties squeeze as much cheer out of adversity as possible, and apply themselves to a searching criticism of the whole sphere of governmental activity. The party or parties in opposition thereby not only maintain their ground, and discover vulnerable points in their opponent's ranks, but build up a prestige for themselves by their passionate devotion to common good which stands them in good stead when the day of reckoning comes. But one election may not be enough to give them victory; as many as three or four elections may be needed to batter away the defences raised by the party in power. There is nothing in democratic theory to preclude any party from power, the people who are judges being supposed to have neither bias nor any other will to consult save their own. Alternation of rule and subjection has been the experience of practically all political parties in England.

But ministers' ordeals do not end even there. If the truth were told it might transpire that they often have a feeling of virtually becoming prisoners of the permanent Civil Service. The ministers may be mighty fine fellows with personality, drive and acuteness. But they shift from department to department with exigencies of political situation and have seldom time for picking up expert knowledge which they must therefore borrow from their subordinate permanent staff. As far as trained intelligence goes, the members of the Civil Service being recruited by open competition from the best graduates of the universities, are hardly inferior to their temporary chiefs. It is these permanent officers who are brought into daily contact with the lives of individual citizens. The remarkable extension of government's functions in economic and social spheres in recent years has meant a corresponding increase in the functions of the Civil Service. In some of its branches it is almost a court and legislature in itself, since its rules often have full force of law and its decisions are almost final. The Liberal contention that delegated executive legislation and justice cut at the root of freedom is worthy of serious notice, for it comes from, among others, no less a person than the present Lord Chief Justice of England. But the criticism derives its main strength from the traditions of an earlier stage of social evolution when the two chief sources of political power, namely, wealth and knowledge, were the prerogatives of an exclusive few and when government necessarily functioned in an atmosphere hostile to individual freedom and happiness. Unless the present governmental machinery is thoroughly overhauled to make possible a better reciprocal fitting of needs between industrial society and democratic control, it is difficult to see what can be better substitute for England's present incorruptible and normally just bereaucracy. Graham Wallas is perhaps right when he describes the English system of Civil Service as the greatest invention of the nineteenth century in the realm of practical government.

These then are the instruments of political power which when joined one with another constitute the machinery of English government. But what are the political dynamics under the given conditions of forces ? Who presses the button and sets the dynamo in motion ? Who operates the steering wheel ?

Obviously, there is complex interaction between the parts, though the Cabinet's impacts are hardest and most frequent. Indeed it is not far from truth to suggest that the button is pressed by the Cabinet which makes other parts go slow or fast or this way or that. The King airs its views in public, the Civil Service executes its policies, and the Parliament translates its wishes into law. How all this miracle happens ? The efficient secret is to be found in expensiveness of modern elections, and the Cabinet's power of dissolving the House of Commons. It is this threat of dissolution which hangs over the M. P.s head like Damocles's sword and makes him plod his weary way to the government lobby at the crack of the party whip. The M. P's are the dumb driven cattle of the parliamentary show. The "home" or parliamentary front is thus attended to; while the national or popular front is maintained through numerous local propaganda committees. The English political parties, it may be noted in passing, unlike their American counterparts, were not originally organised to be controlled from outside the legislature. They have grown out of needs felt by great parliamentary leaders.

But what is Cabinet ? What at any moment determines its composition ? By

tradition some of the Cabinet ministers must belong to the House of Lords, for no Commoner has access to that red chamber. But the proportion of Cabinet ministers belonging to the House of Lords has historically other reasons to account for it. According to the computations of Professor Harold J. Laski, the Lords constituted 26 per cent of the Cabinets of 1917 to 1924, 49% of the Cabinets of 1906 to 1916, and 56% of the Cabinets of 1885 to 1905. In the present Cabinet one-third of the members are of noble antecedents. That these percentages are no more accidents but derive from a tremendously significant political fact is evident from the following figures (quoted from the *New Statesman and Nation*, dated July 22, 1939) :

Percentage of all Conservative M.P.'s who were

Date	Immediate relatives of Peers	In the armed Services	In the legal profession	Commercial & Industrial Magnates
1892	32·1	7·6	19·2	18·2
1914	32·4	6·8	22·3	16·2
1939	27·7	11·7	14·7	22·2

N.B.—These four types form at least two-thirds of all Conservatives; where the types overlap the first on the table is given preference.

In 1880 there were 155 M. P.s who were sons or near relatives of peers; in 1939 the comparable figure in the Conservative party alone is roughly 100 persons. In 1924 25% of all M. P.s were closely connected with industry, commerce, mining and finance, 21% were practising lawyers, 14% trade unionists. Mr. Bernard Shaw once wittily remarked that when the English people were enfranchised all they did was to keep the governing class in power. As is usual with Shavian witticism this one while it exaggerates at the same time points to a significant truth.

A governing class in the sense of a class of men sufficiently possessed of hereditary wealth to be able to send its sons to expensive public schools and universities for training with a view to careers in law, politics or armed services does exist in England. Nobility as such has somewhat receded into the background in the present century but a more numerous class of persons with hereditary wealth has come to the fore. Since the epic struggle between the old and the new rich towards the middle of the 19th century the English aristocracy, unlike its continental counterpart, has made terms with plutocracy. This alliance has lent a peculiar strength to the class interests of plutocracy which has successfully countered democratic criticism by bringing forth a comouflaged public school variety of watchmen to do duty for the old guards. Today one M. P. in six is an old Etonian; Harrow, Rugby, Haileybury, Wakeham, Merchant Taylors and other public schools together supplying an almost equal number. The majority of these public school boys go up either to Woolwich or Sandhurst, or to Oxford or Cambridge. After this restricted education they are either called to the bar, or go to the House of Commons, or seek careers in the Army or the Navy or in Colonial or diplomatic services.

Many constituencies are still virtually the "pocket boroughs" of influential territorial and industrial magnates. Vane-Tempest-Stuarts (Lord Londonderry's family) have represented County Down since 1771; Earl Winterton has sat for Horsham and Worthing since 1904; the late Sir Austen Chamberlain represented his father's Birmingham Constituency since, 1914, while his brother the present Prime Minister has sat for another Birmingham Constituency since 1918. 77 M. P.s and ex-M. P.s related to the late Lord Wimborne, head of the Guest family, have been traced. Viscountess Davidson at the present moment, and Duchess of Atholl and Countess of Iveagh until recent years, represented each her husband's constituency after the latter's elevation or succession to peerage. The Stanleys, Cecils, Bentincks Cavendishes, Lindsays, Churchills, and Russells, have perhaps always had one or more representatives in the House of Commons; the families of Astors and Guinesses have similarly been represented in the Lower House by one or more members for the greater part of the present century. Earl of Bessborough was in the House of Commons for 10 years; Duke of Abercorn for 13 years. Lords Curzon, Middleton, Selborne, Harlech and Stanley, won their spurs as members of the lower house. Aspirants of noble antecedents to Colonial, Indian, and Dominion administrative posts and to parliamentary secretaryships, paid or unpaid, infest the House of Commons. The pressure of aristocratic and moneyed classes upon the House of Commons is undeniable.

It is interesting to speculate on this state of things. Money, of course, is social power but in a country enjoying the forms of democracy and with an expanding middle class, sheer wealth cannot be easily translated into a preponderant political influence. Wealth must be used in ways that are not entirely sinister, or else joined to forces that are not entirely useless from the national political standpoint. Wealth in England on the whole has not been squan-

dered; on the contrary it has tended to be invested in, among other things, politically significant education. The clue to the English political situation is to be found in the fact that poverty in England as a political force has chosen the way of persuasion. Dialectics, rhetoric and education must acquire great values in such context. As a matter of fact the Labour Party in England derives a considerable portion of its present leadership from an educated upper class. That the veteran trade union bureaucrat should pale into insignificance before the glare of titles, Eton and Oxford, therefore, need not be laboured. The English Labour is being beaten on its own ground. Besides, aristocracy has a standard of honour and public duty, and although its imagination tends to be limited by exclusiveness it feels ordinarily little incentive to avarice.

It is frequently assumed that the power of aristocracy has been effectively curbed by the passing of the Parliament Act of 1911. But curtailing the powers of the House of Lords as a law-making body and curtailing the powers of Lords as a class are two very different things. It is good to remember in this connection that the Roman Senate was originally an aristocratic and advisory body and that its great power during the later republican period was the direct outcome of a recurring series of wars and conquests. The power of the Senate grew precisely because it alone was capable of forming right judgments upon the intricate questions of military and foreign policy.

There are now about 750 peers. Of these 70-80 Conservatives, 20-30 Liberals, and 6-8 Labour only are in regular attendance. It is worthy of note that the membership of the House of Peers has increased from 433 in 1852 to 578 in 1912, and to 740 in 1938. A casual analysis of the annual list of new peers will show that the largest number of persons to be elevated to this class belongs to a broad group of politicians and administrators. Persons reaching Cabinet rank, or distinguishing themselves as Colonial governors, diplomatists, or party whips are frequently rewarded with peerage. Business magnates, often combining with practical capacity intellectual abilties of no mean order or public charities of no mean significance are the next largest group to be raised to this class. The legal and defence services come next in order. The press and the various arts and sciences account for the rest of the peerage.

This policy of expanding the peerage is from one point of view tantamount to inviting some of the available best talents of the country to an upper house of the legislature. Since the problem of attracting the saner, maturer, and more enlightened members of the community to the service of the state remains as yet an unsolved problem, this British method of constituting a revising chamber must compel respectful attention. The comparative leisure of the peers is from this point of view a national asset.

To undertake to predict the future of a great political institution still in the process of transition would be sheer misadventure. It is true that sooner or later the English aristocracy will have to face up to the challenge of the Labour view of life. Democracy will never recognise the claims to hereditary superiority which aristocracy bases on birth and wealth. The democratic faith in the humanity of man as a nobler and more potent instrument of common good than either birth or wealth must ultimately win the day. But in the peculiar constellation of political circumstances of the twentieth century it looks as if a valuable contribution of instructed judgment will be proffered by the English aristocracy and accepted by the country, unless, of course, the impossible happens, namely, that by a mighty effort of will "the white man's burden" is thrown off.



WHERE PHOTOPLAY IS EDUCATION

By FAQIR MOHAMED, L. C. C. (Lond.) D. St. (New Jersey), F. R. A. S.,
Chairman, Mysore Visual Instruction Committee

During my sojourn in Hollywood in midsummer last, I found a surprising change in the standard of motion pictures. The great film-colony is taking tremendous interest in films of educative utility and the Council of the U. S. A. Progressive Education has established libraries replete with films in 15 mm. form on subjects like Archaeology, Geography, History of the U. S. A. Constitution, Animal Husbandry, Human Biology and other allied subjects. Today the photoplay industry in Hollywood can almost be defined as an organ of Education.

Latest Films

The United States of America are probably the biggest educational centre where the visual instruction propaganda is succeeding on a very extensive scale. During the summer of 1938 eighty-eight American colleges gave instruction to students through the projector. Mr. Roosevelt who is a practical educationist, has established the class-room cinema as a major programme of the curriculum. Both the silent and sound films of non-inflammable technique in 16 mm. form dealing with Agriculture, Astronomy, Plant Life, Music, Child Psychology, and kindred topics have been supplied to feed the projectors. In this direction, the class-room shorts manufactured by the Eastman Kodak Studio and Erpi films Inc. have responded to the call of the American boy. The latest releases by the Eastman Kodak pioneers deal with the treatment of Russia under Stalin, Turkey under Kemal Ataturk and the Historical Foreword to the study of Chemistry. Each teacher is accompanied with the film to be projected in the class-room. For instance, the Geography lecturer controls the exhibition of Geographical films and the History lecturer superintends the historical news-films. The latest releases reported by the Erpi Studio which is a purely sound-film producer, includes many popular subjects, some of which are the following: 16 mm. shorts on the canals of Great Britain, Fisherman's Paradise, Mexican inhabitants, the Wheat-growing science, all meant for schools and colleges exclusively.

The propaganda work done by the Council of Progressive Education Association of the U. S. A. is worthy of emulation in India. The propagandists who are collaborating with the studios of Hollywood have brought out the stuff needed by the juvenile class, which is being shown at the Film Conditioning Houses. Films on the situation of captives in crowded jails, invasion of the Hydrophobia germ have solved the adolescent curiosity with the result that the demand for such films has outrun their supply. The educational call has led the producers to try the market with a few full-length features on historical stuff, which predicts great educative possibilties. The U. S. A. Government which can also be called an independent film producer had done excellent work during the past few months, as is evidenced by the films shown in the operas. The Department of Mines, Agriculture, Industries and the Bureau of Agricultural Security and Emergency Brigade are busy manufacturing films on their technical topics. The U. S. A. Council of Education has organised an association of scholastic film libraries with the object of circulation and exchange of films, to place the 16 mm. shorts on the market at a nominal price. This awakening of the Government has opened a new chapter of research in academical circles and today the public schools of the U. S. A. have been achieving the fullest advantage of visual educational measures.

Over six hundred members belong to the Society of National Education and summer conferences were held in 1938 at the University of Minnesota and the Peabody College in Nashville, and in the August of 1938, the Ohio State Academy arranged open-air yarns to discuss the possibilities of visual instruction. And the U. S. A. Council has established a library purely for 16 mm. scholastic films. Many new film libraries are coming into existence in various cities and systematic arrangements to supply the schools and colleges with the shorts dealing with their courses of study are being made. Statistics report that projectors supplied to the primary and secondary schools in America reach a total figure of 27,000 today. And to feed these projectors, not less than 2,000 news-

reels have been produced at the expense of the State. Apart from this, great lions of the Boxing Ring like Gene Tunny, Tommy Farr, Jack Dempsey and Benny Leonard use the slow motion film as a medium of instruction. We also saw some of the physical culture news-reels imparting instruction to postal pupils. Psychologically, visual education develops the faculty of perception and wakes up the hidden powers of the subconscious mind.

India's Role in Films

This goes to throw a flood of light on the film enterprise in India. And notwithstanding the superb progress made in all branches of technique in our country, the industry is still a decade behind the current calendar year. There are record-smashing films no wonder. But these can in no way suffice for a country of nearly 400 million souls.

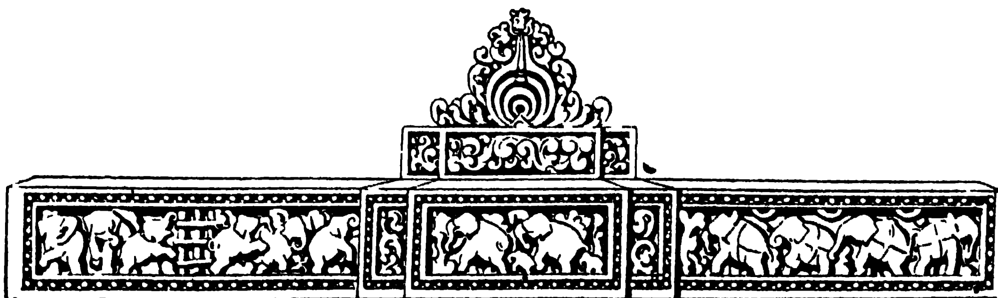
It is the primary schools in India that have the most backward type of education and it is here that visual education is immediately essential.

News-reels are wanted today. Two-reeler news of Great Indian festivals, football and cricket tournaments and other Olympic sports are essential for primary and middle schools. Of course the studios may be afraid to venture in this enterprise, from the standpoint of Box-office. Well, why not at least approach the Ministry of Education to the Government of India with an appeal to bear a substantial portion of the cost of production ? At least our producers can take this initiative.

In these days when war is hindering all industrial progress, full-length features are highly inadvisable and producers who hit upon these films are running a great risk from the Box-office point of view. War-time demands a very sound investment. And the best policy is to postpone the lengthy films and produce a few 2-reelers on various current topics including the various processes of multifarious Indian industries. The cost of production of these shorts is almost nominal and brings quick returns if the subjects are carefully selected.

It is the duty of the educated youth of India to place before the Ministry of Education, their unanimous and persistent appeal for an Educational News-Reels Producing Company to be started under the sole management of the India Government, in collaboration with the film producers. It is high time, too, that our producers should at least establish one company exclusively for 16 mm. shorts of non-inflammable technique. The Motion Picture Society of India has the power to extemporise this measure. In this direction, some of the shorts made by Sheikh Iftekhar Rasool are based on Shikar in India, Rural Upliftment, Rural Education and Hygiene and great Indian festivals, which have been sold to the Universals and other British studios, for educational purposes. Such films can be taken up by our studios, too, without the least fear of loss.

Today the value of projectors in primary, middle and high schools in India cannot be over-rated, in view of the fact that the youth is passing through a national crisis. It is at this time that proper organisation and discipline should be imparted in schools. And to materialise this plan, there can be no more scientific weapon than visual education which serves the purpose of a universal map. It is only when our films are made to serve the country's rising generation in their right perspective that the Indian film industry can be defined both as an art and as a National organ of Education. To this end, State-help is indispensable.



"IS HE WHITE? IS HE WHITE?"

BY J. N. SINHA

[The author travelled in the United States of America in 1937. The following is a record of the incidents. It is not a judgment on America. But surely it is a part of the whole.]

"COLOURED" AND "WHITE WAITING ROOMS"

WHEN I opened my eyes in the morning of the 15th September somewhere in the south of Virginia I saw in front "White Waiting Room" and at a little distance "Coloured Waiting Room." I knew just a little about the colour problem of America, had seen a few Negroes so far and though an American lad whom I met in Stockholm had said that I should be careful to tell that I am an Indian while in the Southern States, I had seldom thought over the question. Now I began thinking. But more personal impetus was soon to come. I got down at Greensboro to change train. The porter, a Negro, took my kit until he halted. I looked round and found I was in a "Coloured Waiting Room"; a narrow, dirty waiting room. By its side was "White Waiting Room." Obviously I was expected to make use of the "Coloured Waiting Room." I had about 1½ hours to wait but thought I would just go about. I walked into the "White" and asked for a copy of a newspaper from the miscellany shop. One counter of this shop opened to the "Coloured," the other to the "White." The salesman refused to sell. "Why?" I demanded. "You are on the wrong side," he complacently said. This infuriated me but what could I do? I realised that it was forbidden for me to sit in that waiting room. "I can't put up with it," I decided. I walked to a seat and sat. I moved to another seat so as to be in full view of the salesman. "Let him move the machinery," I resolved. "I will see it through." And there I sat like a determined porcupine with its back against the wall and bristles on end prepared for anything. I felt like a little Gandhi of South Africa fighting for his rights. I was fully determined not to move from where I sat except under warrant of removal or arrest or moved by physical force *superior to mine*. I welcomed developments. I wanted to see things through. But nothing happened.

When the porter had walked halfway into a compartment of the next train he asked: "Coloured or White, Sir?" I realised that there were separate compartments. I said "White". As I sat in the compartment there were anxious eyeings and whisperings but I was in a mood that anticipated it. The conductor himself seemed somewhat nervous and was seen in consultation with another. But nothing again happened. In the latter part of the journey he looked more friendly and asked if I was a student of the Duke University (the University at Durham where I was going).

At Durham Prof. Maughan (pronounced as "Mon") was waiting for me at the platform. He took me in his car to a hotel. At the reception counter he said to the clerk in a tone that sounded clearly apologetic: "Mr Sinha is from East India. He is visiting the Duke University. Have you a room for him?" The poor clerk found himself in one of the difficult moments of life. That, as I learnt later, was the highest class hotel in the town, exclusively for the Whites. If the clerk handed over the key of the room most unenthusiastically, that was because he had to break a sanctified rule which he had observed so far.

"I THOUGHT YOU WERE A COLOURED MAN"

After a hurried lunch at the hotel I was taken out to see some forests and the University. I was given dinner by Dr Korstian, the Director of the Duke Forest. About 10 P. M. Dr Korstian brought me back to the town in his car but I did not know the name of my hotel (for being entirely in the hands of Prof. Maughan I had neither the time nor anxiety to know and remember). Neither did Dr. Korstian know just at which hotel I had been put up. I entered one to enquire if that was mine. Finding me not coming out as early as he had expected I should if that was not my place, he drove away. That was *not* my hotel. The task now was to find out. I hailed a taxi and asked him to drive me to the place where I guessed my hotel would be. As I was passing along what seemed to be my place I asked the driver to stop. "That can't be," he said without stopping, "no colored man is allowed

there: " I shouted and ordered him to turn back. He was a Negro himself.

Approaching the reception counter I asked the clerk (a different one on duty now) to make sure if my name was there. "You can't be here," he said brusquely. I requested him to find out from his records as I felt sure that was the place where I had taken a room. "Get out," he roared, "I will see nothing."

A gentleman stood close by. He had seen me when I first arrived. He intervened. The clerk found my name and my key. In a crest-fallen and apologetic tone he said: "I am sorry. I beg your pardon." I demanded why he had behaved like that, why he could not bear himself like a gentleman. "I am very sorry, Sir," he said, "that's all I can do now. I thought you were a colored man"!

THE NEGRO PROBLEM

If people know that you are from India it becomes wholly a different matter. You are *not* coloured. "Coloured" in these parts means "Negro". The Negro is hated, in matter if not in form. You know that in the days of slavery shiploads of Negroes were brought from Africa to work in farms and households and otherwise like cattle. They lived and multiplied. When slavery was abolished formally the Northern States of U. S. A. (about the northern half upwards of Virginia) fell in line and freed their slaves. The Southern States, however, would not. On this score there was a civil war in America from 1862 to 1865. The Federal Government took the side of the Northern States. The Southern States were defeated. By law slavery was abolished throughout the U. S. A. But the Southern States stuck to their *zid* so far as they could. Their feelings against the Negro became still more embittered. According to the American Constitution no distinctions may be made between the Negro and the White settler. I do not think there is distinction permitted in the provincial laws of the Southern States, though someone in New York said (I do not think he was well informed enough) it was. He said that the States could according to their laws force the Negro to occupy different railway compartment, but that if the Negro appealed to the Supreme Court the orders would be reversed. This sounds funny. What I think is the case is that there is no law but practice allows it. The Negroes are so backward and naturally timid that they cannot do otherwise.

If, as I said, it is known that you are from India it makes a difference. The enlightened will greet you, the semi-educated will not mind your presence, while the crowd will suffer you. But the trouble is that the general crowd neither cares nor is in a mood to go beyond the primary distinction. You can't be shouting about, "I am from India, I am from India." And should you be insulted after saying that you are from India—and the possibility of this is not remote as the number of the uneducated class is big to whom India means nothing—that would be positively intolerable.

"IS HE WHITE? IS HE WHITE?"

I took the bus for High Point at 2 p.m. On a two-seater berth in the front row a girl was sitting. "Is this seat taken?" I asked pointing to the vacant one, as is the general courtesy to do. The girl did notice me but did not look up nor answer. I occupied it. Immediately there were anxious whisperings: "Is he white? Is he white?" That was the first time I was using a bus in America and did not know what was expected of me. An old aunty was particularly nervous. A "Y-man" (Y. M. C. A. volunteer) standing outside the bus came to her aid. He said that my name was J. N. Sinha, that I was from India, a "forestry inspector." This young man had not came in touch with me and I did not know him. But obviously he had seen my name and brief account of my visit published in the morning newspaper. The raging storm abated. The girl by my side sat throughout the journey of three hours shrunk to her side in the mood and posture and general behaviour as we would do having to sit by a bundle of dirty linen!

From High Point to Statesville the following afternoon there were more serious developments. I had to change bus at Salisbury and as usual went in to take one of the front vacant seats. The passenger who was occupying half the berth said I should go to the back seat. "Why?" I almost growled, "who do you think I am?"

"I do not know," he answered.

"Keep quiet then and be sitting where you are."

Then came the driver checking tickets and said I must go to the rear seat.

"Why?" I asked.

"You will have to."

"I am not going".

"You can't travel in this seat."

"You will see that I shall travel just in this very seat." He went back foiled, as one not used to such answer, and returned with his immediate boss.

"You will have to move to the rear seat," the boss ordered.

"Why?" I asked in a stern voice, "who do you think I am?'

That meant nothing to him. He stared at me for a few seconds and in an insolent tone of finality and consciousness of power demanded:

"Are you moving or not?"

"No," I answered, laconically and determinedly.

I sat prepared for the worst, for the police intervention or physical violence, determined not to give way at the cost of any suffering. Mentally I was preparing speeches and settling the course of action in given circumstances. I was not very nervous and rather welcomed an opportunity to test the issue to the end.

After a few minutes the driver came to his seat and drove on!

"The Pious Conductor Finds a Dead Rat"!

From Knoxville to Washington I was travelling in a night train. Towards the early hours of morning the train conductor roused me from make-break sleep for ticket check. He was shocked to see my face! "You are in the wrong train," he said looking at me.

"Why?" I asked, "is not this train going to Washington?"

"You are colored," he answered.

"How do you define 'colored'?" I questioned, suggesting of course that he should exercise his intelligence and know that I was a foreigner.

"Are you white?"

"How do you define 'white'?"

"Are you not colored?" he answered by his simple question!

As the pious old conductor passed on he was heard to say nervously, "I did not know that a colored man was travelling here", as if he had found a dead rat in the compartment!

Negroes of all Colours

You will perhaps ask how can an Indian be confused with a Negro. In asking this you will of course be thinking of many differences between the two, particularly of the Negro's deep black colour. But in the process of years of interbreeding the Negroes in America have acquired all shades of colour ranging between deep black to almost perfect white. Some Negro-girls cannot be recognised. Even then differences do exist. For example, the non-Aryan facial contours are different, the hair is different. But these rather thin distinctions are beyond the intelligence of the American crowd. Just as in India any white man is an Englishman to the masses, so in America any non-white man is coloured or Negro. As I have said, if you are known as Indian (rather from India, as "Indian" here means American Red Indian, the white aborigines) you are respected very much; people love to greet you, feel flattered to talk with you. But that is that!



RELATIVE CONTRIBUTION OF THE MUHAMMADANS TO THE PROVINCIAL REVENUES OF BENGAL

By JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA

THE late Sir Provas Chunder Mitter, while he was a member of the Bengal Government, calculated and estimated that more than eighty per cent of the provincial revenues of Bengal is contributed by the Hindus. Sir Nripendra Nath Sircar, until lately a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, is also of the opinion that more than 80 per cent of the provincial revenues is contributed by the Hindus. The present writer has shown in *The Modern Review* for September, 1934, that only 12 per cent of the income-tax assessees are Muhammadans, and that their estimated contribution in the form of income-tax is about 3 per cent only. He has also shown that of the Land Revenue paid "the Muhammadans' share cannot exceed 20 per cent" (See *The Modern Review*, March, 1933). These assertions and estimates of the Hindus remain unchallenged by the Muhammadans throughout all these years of intense political controversy. Sir Provas's estimate was published as early as 1929.

So we may safely take it, that previous to the Reforms of 1935, the Muhammadan contribution to the provincial exchequer of Bengal did not exceed 20 per cent. Has there been any change in their relative contribution since the inauguration of provincial autonomy in 1937? Let us examine the Muhammadans' present position as regards their contribution towards the provincial finances.

Under the Niemeyer Award, in addition to the previous sources of provincial revenues, such as land revenue, stamps, excise, etc., two new sources have been allotted to Bengal. A portion of the Jute Export Duty and a portion of the personal income-tax collected within the province are now handed over to the province.

The estimated provincial revenues in 1939-40 was Rs. 13 crores 78 lakhs. This was the last year before the War began. Let us assume the average annual provincial revenue to be some Rs. 14 crores in round numbers. The average annual receipt of 62½ per cent of the Jute Export Duty during 1937-40 was Rs. 233 lakhs; and the average annual receipt from 50 per cent share of the income-tax during the period 1937-40 was Rs. 30 lakhs. The proportions, allotted to the province have, since the beginning of the War, been considerably lowered with retrospective effect.

The total of the two new sources of revenue amounts to Rs. 263 lakhs. Of the balance of Rs. 14 crores—Rs. 263 lakhs=Rs. 11,37 lakhs, not more than 20 per cent is contributed by the Muhammadans. So the Muhammadans' share comes up to Rs. 227 lakhs. Of the Jute Export Duty, it has been shown in *The Modern Review* for June, 1940, about 25 per cent is contributed by the Muhammadans. So the Muhammadans' contribution on this item is some Rs. 58 lakhs. Of the income-tax, only about 3 per cent is contributed by the Muhammadans, but as their number of assessees is 12 per cent, and as there may be some improvement in their position since we made the above estimate in 1934, so many Muhammadan Ministers, M. L. C.s and M. L. A.s are drawing fat salaries and allowances, let us to be on the safe side take the proportion of their contribution to be midway between 3 and 12 per cent, *i.e.*, 7½ per cent. On this basis, their share of contribution comes upto Rs. 2¼ lakhs.

Adding up, we find the total of the Muhammadans' contribution to come up to Rs. 287¼ lakhs out of the total provincial revenue of Rs. 14 crores So their percentage of contribution is some 20·1 per cent. There has not been any change in their favour since the new arrangements came into force. We have made large assumptions in the Muhammadans' favour; their real contribution seems to be somewhat less.

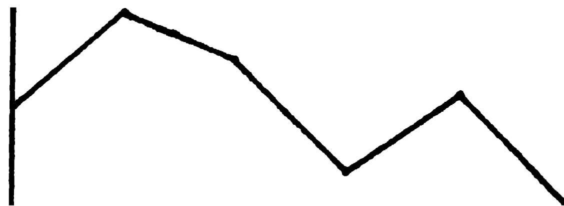
Why this is so? In spite of the fact that the Muhammadans are 55 per cent of the population, their total contribution to the provincial finances comes up to 20 per cent only. The question is a big one; and requires very careful investigation. But an indication may be given.

From the Bengal Census Report, 1931, Part I, p. 263, we get the percentage of workers (*i.e.*, earners, principal occupations, **plus** working dependents) on the total population in the several divisions. For convenience of reference the

percentage of the Muhammadans is noted against them. They are :

	Percentage of Workers on Total Pop.	Percentage of Muhammadans
All Bengal	28·8	54·4
Burdwan	36·8	14·1
Presidency	33·0	47·2
Rajshahi	30·0	60·8
Dacca	23·7	70·9
Chittagong	21·0	71·2

It will be seen that the *larger* the proportion of the Muhammadans in a given area the *lesser* the proportion of workers. The correlation can be better illustrated in the following histogram.





The figure for Burdwan Division may, therefore, be taken to be typical of the Hindus; and the proportion of workers amongst them may be taken to be 36·8 per cent. Similarly, the proportion of workers amongst the Muhammadans may be taken to be the mean of the figures for the Dacca and Chittagong Divisions, *viz.*, 22·3 per cent.

It is because **more** Hindus work and produce wealth relatively to the Muhammadans; and further because the Hindus have to maintain relatively **lesser** number of social drones and feeding mouths, that collectively they are richer than the Muhammadans, and that in spite of the fact that majority of the Hindus occupy the malarious and less fertile tracts of Western and Central Bengal while the Muhammadans occupy the salubrious deltaic lands of Eastern Bengal.

And the richer a man is the more he comes within range of operations of the Finance Ministers. Further the forms of taxation affect the Hindus more than the Muhammadans. For example, several brothers living together and forming an undivided Hindu joint family are assessed to income-tax; while the same persons, if they were Muhammadans, would have escaped taxation altogether, for there is no joint family under the Muhammadan Law.

I have shown in a previous article that the economic condition of *the generality of Muhammadans in Bengal* is higher than that of the generality of Hindus of the province. But there are more Hindus who can be taxed than Muslims of equal taxable capacity.



COMMENT AND CRITICISM

National Planning

Dr. M. N. Saha has contributed a thought-provoking article under the above caption to the May issue of *The Modern Review*. Pandit Nehru in a recent statement asked for the co-operation of the Press to popularise National Planning.

Speaking from my personal experience as a Planner in a modern Works, I can say that the basic condition of our planning is maximum output or amenity at minimum expense or exertion. In what direction should our planning be aimed at? It is no use looking towards Japan or America for enlightenment. The problem of each country is to be decided separately and a generalisation may not be feasible. From Government reports the articles that are imported to India are sometimes ascertained. Factories are then started to manufacture those articles to make India self-supporting. To politicians such a doctrine may be sound but to an industrialist the undertaking of any manufacture is governed by (1) men, (2) material and (3) market.

(1) For the successful running and out-turn of a factory, much depends on the men-in-charge (who are generally Engineers) and not so much on the Directors. Here in our works one of my superior colleagues has got over 30 years' workshop experience in England and yet we have so much to learn. Just think how many of us can shoulder responsibilities for the manufacture of a safety-pin, a shoe-buckle or a razor blade. Volumes can be written on these industries but little help can be given for the actual production. Most of our Engineers, who go to foreign countries come back with a B.Sc. degree in Engineering and very few go for training in workshops, which is essential in factory organisation.

(2) Raw-materials, their rates and transport, recovery of bye-product, etc., receive next consideration.

(3) Last but not the least is the market for our products.

These three are the salient features which the Planning Sub-Committee would do well to consider if success is aimed at. Hypothetical schemes of lawyers and politicians without prior scrutiny by experts, will prove of no avail. Experience counts very much in industries.

Dr. Saha, in his article, referred to the amenities of Radio and Automobiles in America. Have we in India got roads where automobiles can ply? Have our people got the education to follow a broadcast lecture or radio news? Our villagers are so poor that they deny themselves even the most modest necessities of life. Agriculture is their profession and if we are to help them to increase their wealth, we should endeavour to supply them with cheap manures, better implements and livestock. Primary education and village sanitation have yet received very little attention. Our factories have got to find market for their products amongst our agriculturists and if they remain as poor as ever our industries would not flourish. The conditions are inter-dependent. Under-consumption and the consequent surplus of Indian sugar is a pointer.

Our ideologies have also got some bearing on the progress of the country. We were a nation of idealists, some of us have now become purely materialistic and draw our inspiration from the West. There are others who hover between idealism and materialism according to convenience. Plainly speaking we are in a stage of transition with heterogenous ideals. Mahatma Gandhi is stressing on cottage industries and spinning and Pandit Nehru is in favour of manufacturing industries and mass production. There cannot be a half-way house as is conceived by many.

Amulyadhan Deb, B.E., M.E.,
Chief Planner, A. B. Railway.

"The Land and People of Vijayanagar" and "Sanskrit Writers of the Mughal Period"

Please permit me to draw your attention to certain errors committed in the article on *The Land and People of Vijayanagar* by Prof. T. J. Job, M.A., published in the issue of your esteemed journal of May, 1940; and to a serious omission in another article, published in the same issue, on *Sanskrit Writers of the Mughal Period* by Prof. Shri Ram Sharma, reproduced from *D. A. V. College Magazine*.

The errors in the article on *The Land and People of Vijayanagar* are:

(1) Vijayanagar was founded by the Hoysala King, Vira Ballala III in about 1321 A.D.:—Here I don't propose to enter into the controversial topic, as to who, Kakatiyas or Hoysalas, founded Vijayanagar. But it is a universally agreed fact that the Vijayanagar was founded, by whoever it might be, in 1336 A.D. And it is, in view of this universal agreement, that in December, 1936, the sexcentenary celebrations of Vijayanagar empire, were held.

(2) Tirumalamba, the author of the drama, *Varadambika Parinayam*..........*Mohangi*, who wrote an excellent love-poem entitled *Marichipuranam*........ are notable examples:—Here it is not Mohangi, but *Mohanangi*, who, local traditions say, was the daughter of Krishnadevaraya, the greatest of Vijayanagar Kings (1509-1529), that wrote *Marichiparinayam*, but not Marichipuranam.

Omission in the article on *Sanskrit Writers of the Mughal Period*:—In enumerating the names of several Sanskrit writers of the Mughal Period and classifying their compositions according to the subject in which they were written, the author of the article, Prof. Sharma has given almost an exhaustive list, but for a serious omission, that is, of famous *Panditaraya Jagannath*, who hailed, as an Andhra Brahmin by birth, from Mungandi, a village in West Godavari District, Madras Presidency, to Shah Jehan's court; and loved and married there a Muslim lady connected with the Royal family, named Lavangi, whom, he immortalised in his famous love-poem *Bhamini-Vilasam*. Besides this, he wrote *Rasagangadharam*, a treatise on 'Alankara Sastra,' and *Jagadabharanam*, and *Asaf Vilasam*, both of biographical and historical importance. In *Jagadabaranam*, he describes in a graphic manner Shah Jehan and his beloved son Dara, as two rare jewels of the world. And the theme of *Asaf Vilasam* is of Asaf Khan, the great minister and father-in-law of Shah Jehan.

A. Subbamaya Chetty.

THE MULBERRY

The Silk-Worm Food Plant

By ROBINDRA MOHON DATTA, M.Sc.

THE WORM that spins silk is a tiny, delicate and highly sensitive creature domesticated for several hundreds of years for the production of its golden thread. Throughout the world where silk is produced, a band of selfless scientists are continually at research for devising ways and means for improving its race and solving many a knotty problem of its life.

The silk worm is fed with the mulberry leaf till it produces its cocoon. The mulberry plant is the foundation of the sericultural industry and on the whole accounts for nearly 60 per cent of the expenditure in sericulture.

The silk worm is susceptible to many diseases, *e.g.*, bacterial, protozoal and others. Unless it is properly nurtured and cared for with proper and good food under hygienic conditions, the epidemics break out and the worm dies a premature death without yielding any silk. With a slight disturbance the disaster comes. To check this decay and the consequent enormous loss to the poor rearer and cultivator, the backbone of the nation, the respective Governments of several silk-producing countries had engaged the close attention of scientists to arrest the decaying processes, to introduce more productive and disease-resistant races of the silk-worm and to improve the quality and the quantity of the mulberry leaf, the staple food of the worm.

It is common knowledge that wherever food is better, health is better. In the case of the silk-worm also, better the food, better the health and consequently better the silk production.

It is an observed fact that the different varieties of the mulberry yield leaves of different qualities. Upon the qualities of the leaf the health of the worm depends.

To convince my readers, I give below the analytical results of the protein contents of some three varieties of the mulberry leaves already introduced and grown in Bengal.

MULBERRY LEAF

	Morus alba Var. Moretti (from Kashmir)	Morus indica (a Bengal variety)	Morus multicaulis. var. Roso.
Percentage of crude protein	28·8	28·4	18·0

The leaves of the *Roso* variety of Japan are very large and the plant also grows and thrives well in Bengal. It is considered one of the best varieties of Japan. But as they are poor as regards the nutritive properties, the Japanese *Roso* is used as a stock in grafting and forms about 16% of the Japanese mulberry. *Ichihe* (a natural cross between *M. multicaulis* and *M. bombycis*) and *Kairio nezumigayashi* (a variety of *M. alba*) are used as scions on those *Roso* stocks to get good yields.

It is now a well known fact that the Bengal silk could not compete with and stand against the Japanese silk, imported from Japan in a large quantity. The chaotic condition of the silk market is entirely due to the low price fetched by the Japanese silk.

The question naturally at once rises in mind —what is the cause? How Japan captured the world market is an interesting study. Barring aside the economic aspects and various other factors, I shall mainly deal with the mulberry aspect in this paper.

Mr. C. C. Ghosh, a famous entomologist formerly attached to the Burma Government and a most eminent authority on Sericulture in the whole of India, being deputed by the Government to visit several countries to study the silk problems, writes in his monograph, "The Silk Industry of Japan with Notes on observations in the United States of America, England, France, Italy," published by the Government of India, 1933, thus:

"Mulberry is cultivated by the farmers who rear the worms. But as the entire mulberry is grown from grafts (not cuttings) it gives occupation to a class of farmers who grow seedlings and grafts and sell them. This is an industry by itself followed by about 199,000 men and the approximate value of their sale is about yen 4,645,000 (1 yen=Re. 1 and annas nine) Production and sale of seedlings and grafts are carried on under the supervision of Government Controlling Stations. The area under mulberry is about 1,523,000 acres or about 1/10th of the total area under cultivation in Japan (p. 4).

With the aid of competent and trained botanists

"about 385 varieties of mulberry are recognised in Japan. But *Morus multicaulis, M. alba* and *M. Bombycis* are considered the most important original

species (determinations according to Dr. G. Koidzumi of the Botany Department, Kyoto Imperial University, Japan) from which by artificial and natural crossing, many varieties have been evolved" (*Ibid.*).

Of them, nine varieties—*Roso* variety of *Morus multicaulis; Ichihe*, a natural cross between *M. multicaulis* and *M. bombycis; Kairyo nezumigayashi* variety of *M. alba; Riso* variety of *M. multicaulis; Simanouchi* variety of *M. alba; Kasuga* variety of *M. Multicaulis; Akagi*, a natural cross between *M. multicaulis* and *M. bombycis; Tsuruta*, a natural cross between *M. multicaulis* and *M. bombycis* and *Goroji* variety of *M. Bombycis* —are commonly grown as they have been considered best after many years of trials. Since Mr. Ghosh's visit to that country, the botanists of the country did not remain idle in their work. Dr. T. Hotta of the Botanical Institute, Faculty of Agriculture, Hokkaido Imperial University, Sapporo, Japan, under the guidance and advice of Prof. K. Miyabi and Prof. S. Ito, have discovered many new important and interesting species, varieties and forms and published his results in a series of scientific papers. There are many other varieties which are grown more or less commonly according to the climate and the condition of the soil.

Now, to interest my readers, let me now turn to France and see what that country had done. Prof. Eugene Maillot, a pupil and coworker of the world-famous scientist Pasteur founded a Sericultural Research Station at Montpellier in 1874. Prof. F. Lambert, who succeeded him made a tremendous endeavour to instil a love of silk-worm rearing in his innumerable disciples for nearly 40 years who today include among themselves well-known Japanese and Chinese workers and stand prominent in the public eye. He selected a good collection of mulberry after feeding experiments and chemical analysis. According to nim, the wild Sauvageon (*M. alba vulgaris tenuifolia*) with small lobed leaves is excellent for the health of the silk-worms and is especially suited to the silk production. The variety with rose-coloured leaves, medium-size, entire, though sometimes lobed. very glossy on the under surface, firm to touch and producing pink and white fruits, rarely black, is good for grafting. For large scale production *Morus alba Romana* (the Roman mulberry) is the best having a leaf resembling that of the rose-coloured one but bigger, with the fruit liliac in colour. The Moretti (*Morus alba vulgaris macrophylla*) as well as the multicaule (*Morus alba vulgaris latifolia*) and the *Lhou or Lou* (*M. alba vulgaris Lou*) are considered comparatively resistant to decay; the leaves are very large, oval, rounded, wide at the base, more or less distant from one another down the branch. These varieties sprout early from cuttings in France.

The Rebeleira mulberry (*M. alba vulgaris Rebeleira*) grows well on the hills and the quality of the leaf is quite good, though the yield is not much. This plant is susceptible to a rust fungus but not much is to be feared when grown in the dry climate. The Rose mulberry (*M. alba vulgaris rosea*) is propagated by grafting. This can withstand drought and is very much suitable for the poorest soil. The leaves resemble the rose leaves in shape, easy to pick up and retain their freshness for a considerable time. The Ghiaccioula (*M. alba rosea Ghiaccioula*) is very much esteemed in the country. It bears early leaves and is very hardy.

In the Sericulture Station at Les Arcs-Sur-Argens (Var), France, Dr. Albert Reboullion has been conducting a number of experiments on the cultivation of the mulberry. He himself is a great scholar of international repute and under his guidance Dr. M. Tsen had selected out 24 varieties of *M. alba* with 34 forms, confining his studies on the mulberry of middle France only.

The next is Italy. At Padua, the sericultural station was established in 1871 by Prof. Enrico Verson, who published a number of scientific papers of permanent value on the subject. The present Director, Prof. L. Pigorini, one of the greatest experts on the mulberry, selected out *Cattaneo, Friuli, Veronese* and *Florio* as best for their early budding. The *Florio* has sub-varieties found growing in the largest sericultural centres. All these he did after years of careful search.

At Ascoli-Piceno, Prof. C. Acqua collected and isolated 13 varieties. They are *Arancina, Morettiana, Limoncina, Rosa di Lombardia, Filippina, Spagna Frutto Bianco, Cattaneo, Restelli, Sterile, Muki* (Japanese multicaule); *Giazzola, Lhou* and *Spagna Frutto Nero*. He is of opinion that *Rosa di Lombardia* grows very well and the sterile is the most suitable for the silk worm breeding. The Spanish Black Fruit variety resembles the Sterile, which is warmly recommended. The *Cattaneo* is very robust, grows quickly and supply abundantly in a short space of time. The leaf is used for feeding until the third moulting. Afterwards they become hard and unappetising. From the above it is as clear as daylight how the other countries have become successful by the

endeavours of the scientists to raise the economic condition of the country by selecting out the best varieties of the mulberry.

The aim of the selection work on the mulberry is to sort out or work out the mulberry varieties and forms of the country, which are satisfactory and suitable as regards growth, leaf yield, and quality, *i.e.*, nutritive value of the leaves for the worms. It is also to be borne in mind which mulberry is suitable for a particular soil or climate.

L. Liotard in his *Memorandum of Silk in India* writes in 1883 :

> "The effects of the soil and climate on the quality of the leaves is another important consideration, and in these appearance sometimes proves deceptive. A tree may grow up luxuriantly, but it does not follow that it is really in such a condition of natural health and susceptibility for silk worm as characterised it in its native land. It may grow up to be a fine healthy-looking plant externally, and yet analysis of its leaves may prove it to be deficient in those very properties which contribute to the secretion of good silk gum The worm may find ample nourishment in the fibre of the leaf to enable it to preserve existence and arrive at maturity, but when the season arrives for the formation of the cocoon, it will produce a thin papery shell, in consequence of a deficiency in the leaf of silk-yielding ingredients."

Count Dandolo, an eminent authority of Sericulture during the last century observed in his paper, *L'art d'elever les vers a'soie 1861,* thus :

> "The resinous matter is that which separates itself gradually from the leaf, and which attracted by the organism of animal accumulates in it, purifies itself and fills insensibly the two reservoirs of silk-sacks which form an integral part of the silk worm.
>
> "According to the diverse proportions of the elements which constitute the leaf, cases may occur in which a greater weight of leaf may prove less profitable to the silk worms as regards both nourishment and the quantity of silk poduced by the animal."

> "The leaf of the white mulberry which is planted in high lands exposed to cold dry winds, in light soil, gives an abundance of silk which is strong, very pure, and of a beautiful quality. *The leaf of the same mulberry, when planted in damp places on flat ground, in rich soil, gives a little silk, which is besides less beautiful and less pure.*
>
> "The less nutritive substance contained in the leaf, the more leaf must be consumed by the silk worm to arrive at its full development.
>
> "It follows that the silk worm which consumes a large quantity of less nutritive leaf must be more fatigued and more in danger of disease than one which feeds on a less quantity but more nutritive leaf."

Latex or the milk content of the leaf is 'a most important and beneficial factor. The same author continued :

> "We might say as much of the leaf which, although having enough of the nutritive parts might contain little resinous substance. In this case, the silk worm could flourish itself well, and not produce a heavy well formed cocoon, *i.e.*, proportioned to the weight of the worm, as happens simetimes from bad seasons."

The scientific selection of the mulberry has been hardly touched in India, although India, especially Bengal, was once the proud home of the silk industry. There is no authentic or published reliable literature on the subject. Let me quote C. H. Lepper, how he deplores in his paper, "The Mulberry Tree as a Source of Food for Silk Worms," *The Indian Forester,* 1881, pp. 1-14 :

> "It seems a great pity that a tree that might some day prove of such importance in parts of India, have not received the attention of really scientific botanists, which it unquestionably merits."

It is a sad fact that the situation had not improved since then.

The first necessity is to sort out and isolate the varieties and forms and in order that this sorting may be of real value to the sericulturists, a detailed study and a careful scrutiny have to be made of several characteristics of the plant, *e.g.*, morphological, physiological and agricultural. It is to be noted with the greatest regret that the ideas about the Indian mulberry varieties and species were and are very hazy and foggy. I have gone through many valuable research papers and references and I had the pleasure of meeting and discussing the subject with the distinguished sericulturists and other scientists of the country. They did not or do not distinguish between "species" and "varieties" and "forms". Many experts had carried out sericultural researches in the past without knowing fully and definitely what kinds of leaves were given to the worms. Sometimes, the specific name goes by the varietal name. Or the species or the variety goes by the local name of the place without the least regard to the scientific nomenclature. I have observed that the *same species* or the *same variety* goes by another name in another place and is regarded as a different kind of mulberry. I have personally observed at Malda that one big tree with good green foliage was regarded by the sericulturists of the place as *Tut* (Bengali name of the mulberry). They even came forward and complained to me that such nice leaves were not eaten up by the worms. What is the cause ? They demanded an explanation. But it is not the mulberry plant at all on identification. In Sir David Prain's *Bengal Plants* it is written as "Beng.—Nipal tunth—"=*Guazuma*

tomentosa Kunth, belonging to the family Sterculiaceae, and not related to the mulberry at all, which belongs to the family Moraceæ (with regard to this plant). With these poor knowledge of the plant, experiments were carried out in the past with no conclusive, rather conflicting, results. Where the foundation is not strong, the superstructure however beautiful, however architectural, however massive, must fall down in course of time.

Before we start to tackle a difficult problem like this, where the bread and butter of many teeming millions of our country is concerned, we must be definite in what we do. We must have a definite programme of work, and step by step we should proceed along the scientific lines till we arrive at our destined goal. We must be successful in our honest efforts and our results are bound to have a wholesome effect on the problem.

If scientists of several other countries can do a lot of work in this direction, why not we? India had produced a galaxy of eminent scientists like Sir J. C. Bose, Sir P. C. Ray, Sir C. V. Raman, Dr. Saha, Dr. Sahni, Prof. Satyen Bose, Dr. Krishnan and a host of others, why shall we then suffer from the inferiority complex and complain that we will not be successful in this or that? We must try heart and soul to achieve success.

A crop botanist, who is entrusted with the improvement of the mulberry plant, begins at first with a collection of different varieties and diverse forms of the crop of the country, tries to evolve more prolific strains of particular important varieties and at the same time builds up a collection of types. These types are scientifically dealt with and treated and described mainly on morphological characters, *e.g.*, habit of the plant, size, shape, texture, colour and various other details of leaves, structure of the flowers, colour and taste, shape and size of its fruit and so on, though some physiological characteristics, *e.g.*, rapidity of germination, resistance to particular disease, resistance to drought, salinity and flood, etc., are included.

In the Industries Department of the Bengal Government the problem of problems has been taken up in right earnest, thanks to the bold initiative, indomitable courage and indefatigueable energy of Mr. S. C. Mitter, the Director and Mr. C. C. Ghosh, the Deputy Director, to ameliorate the sufferings of the ryots and to preserve a most important cottage industry.

The Bengal Government Press Note dated the 11th March 1939, observes amongst other things:

"The work on the mulberry is being carried out in the land and buildings donated by Mr. Hari Das Mazumdar for the purpose at Narayanpur Colony, Dum Dum, about eight miles from Calcutta. The Botanical Officer who is in charge of this Section has made a collection of mulberry varieties from all over the province as well as from outside and has sorted out about 83 varieties which are being grown in separate beds in order to observe their behaviour as regards growth, leaf yield, quality of leaf and response to manurial treatment. The Officer receives the help from the Professor of Botany (Dr. S. P. Agharkar), University College of Science and the Herbarium at the Royal Botanic Gardens, Sibpur.

"The experiments on nutritive properties and manurial treatment are conducted by the Agri-biochemist who is working under the Head of the Physical Chemistry Department (Dr. J. N. Mukherjee) of the University College of Science and who also receives help from the Head of the Bio-chemical Department (Dr. B. C. Guha)."

Since then, a total of 110 types has been collected and grown in the Sericultural Research Station. They are kept under systematic observations so that selection may be made of varieties and forms which possess best qualities from the view-point of the sericulturist.

Side by side, the Biological Officer, stationed at the Science College, Ballygunj, is carrying out researches on the different breeds of the silk worm with the help and advice of the present Deputy Director of Sericulture, Prof. H. K. Mookerjee Head of the Zoology Department, Calcutta University, and his colleague (Dr. D. P. Ray Choudhury).

"As a result of reseach it has been possible to raise a new multivoltine hybrid race (*Itan*) by crossing indigenous *Nistary* with a superior Italian univoltine. It has larger silk content in the cocoon and longer and stronger silk filament. A few defects which have been discovered in this race are being studied and eliminated in order to make it fit for passing on to ordinary rearers. A few pure Japanese races and their first crosses with indigenous one are under observation and the trial will yield very likely happy and hopeful results. A careful selection of the indigenous as well as other races under rearing is also in progress,"

records the same Press Note.

The silk worm diseases caused by bacteria, protozoa and fungal agencies and the Soil bacteriology are being studied by the Protozoologist at the same Institution under the guidance of Rai Bahadur Dr. G. C. Chatterjee, the renowned Bacteriologist of India.

I now turn again to the quality of the leaves. In support I cite a scientific summary from a Russian paper:

"Feeding with the top leaves rich in protein and phosphoric acid comp. (3-10 days old) reduced larval period by 2-4 days. Larvae and cocoons were large and heavy and silk thread was long and strong. When larvae fed on middle leaves, similarity found. Feeding in the lower leaves prolonged the larval stage, produced non-uniform larvae with high

mortality." "Effect of the ripeness of mulberry leaves on the visibility of silk worms and the quality of cocoon and thread," by S. E. Demianovskii, E. Prokofeva, i. L. Filippova.—*Zool. Journ.* 12(1) : 3-32, 1923.

Now as regards yield, to get maximum quantities of leaves the cultivators give the mulberry the bush form, raised from cuttings. It is never allowed to grow more than about three to five feet at the most and harvested with the stems pruned from the base several times in the year coinciding with the rearing of a crop of cocoons. The mulberry sprouts again from adventitious buds and harvested the next season. Only once in the rainy season harvesting is done at a height of about a foot leaving the stubbles below in order to avoid excessive moisture in the leaf. Harvesting is frequently done when the shoots are only about 1 to 2 feet high. If the stems are allowed to mature too much, the leaves at the base become etiolated, drop off and become useless as food.

The rearers rear generally four or five crops of worms (multivoltine) and want a form of mulberry to yield harvest of succulent leaves for each crop. Hence this form of mulberry has developed. This bush system has however several drawbacks. The leaves being borne on green immature stems are never of a good quality, are too soft and contain an excess of moisture especially in the rains and are unsuitable for high class of worms, bringing about the Grasserie disease in them, which nullifies the rearing. Such leaves, really speaking, have brought about degeneration of the indigenous races which have adapted themselves to the food available. Further, the root-system of the bush plantations is of the spreading nature in the superficial soil and the mulberry being a highly transpiring plant is badly affected by drought and rain. In the November crop the bushes grow slowly in winter (the reason being that the mulberry is a hill plant adapted to the plains for the cultivation purposes). The rearer does not get sufficient quantities of leaves for the Spring season, which is most suitable for the silk worm breeding.

Further, repeated prunings have also bad effects on the plant itself. I make some excerpts from a book, *On Silk and Silk Worm*, 1906, by L. de L'Arbousset of Alais (Gard), France, (one of the most enlightened silk-breeders of his times in Europe and the Editor, *Bulletin Sericole Francais*) :

"We have already learned in the beginning of this book that annual pruning, which consists in robbing the tree of all its branches after having been deprived of all its leaves, has neither been practised in France nor elsewhere since about 1820, when it was done in order to render the gathering of the leaves more easy and to save labour.

"This practice still in use in certain countries, particularly in the Cevennes, has given some disastrous results and killed at the age of 40 to 60 years, according to the nature of the soils, and the amount of care bestowed, all the trees that have been submitted to it.

"Annual pruning, besides the injury that it does to the mulberry by exposing it to dangerous and fatal diseases, produces an indigestible leaf capable of killing a whole breed of worms by *Flacherie* (a kind of bacterial disease) as we shall see later.

"For all these important reasons annual pruning ought to be absolutely condemned and abandoned."

But he adds :

"However, the mulberry ought to be shaped and pruned rationally so as to make it produce plenty of foliage in a few years and leaves that will have nutritive qualities which will make healthy and substantial food for silk worms."

France being a cold country with its univoltine race of the silk worm (yielding one crop a year), the case is a little different from ours. Pruning is necessary to get good leaves, but too much of it is very bad. We should have such mulberry plantations yielding good quality and at the same time good quantity of the leaves within a short period of time. Japan solved the problem very nicely by preparing the grafts after years of experimentations. "Grafts develop a better root system than seedlings, layerings or cuttings," writes Ghosh (*Ibid*). Consequently, the quality and the quantity become greater and better, as the plants are able to draw their nutrients from the deeper soil. In the graft-hybrids a vigour is introduced due to the mechanical injury both to the scion and to the stock. Italy, France, Palestine, Spain, etc. had already resorted to this practice to solve the leaf problem. Without hesitation it can be asserted that this practice is beneficial and go a great way in solving the knotty problem of the supply.

"The supply of leaves for food plays an important part in the rearing of silk worms and on it depends to a great extent the quantity and the quality of silk that may be obtained. It is therefore of the first importance to take necessary steps to provide a suitable supply of leaves,"

declares L. Liotard in 1883 (*Ibid.*).

Our people, our cultivators, our rearers are so rigid and orthodox in their ideas and views that they do not attach any importance and pay any attention to the recent scientific methods. They stick to their old ideas and methods of rearing and cultivation without any regard to the modern improvements. When help is offered, they even no-co-operate. When failure comes, they turn back, get dejected and blame their fate.

Our national Poet Tagore sometimes back wrote (if I remember aright) that scientists and agriculturists must co-operate and work side by side, if the country desires any improvement in her agriculture and industries. It is an undeniable fact that science plays a great part in the improvement of mankind.

To my countrymen let me appeal in the end with the concluding utterances, voiced by no less a great personage than the late lamented Sir Surendra Nath Banerjea in his autobiography *A Nation in the Making*:

"But we cannot remain wedded to the past. We cannot remain where we are. There is no standing still in this world of God's Providence. Move on we must, with eyes reverentially fixed on the past, with a loving concern for the present and with deep solicitude for the future. We must in this onward journey, assimilate from all sides into our character, our culture and our civilization, whatever is suited to our genius and is calculated to strengthen and invigorate it, and weave it into the texture of our national life. Thus co-operation and non-co-operation, association and not isolation, must be a living and a growing factor in the evolution of our people. Any other policy would be suicidal and fraught with peril to our best interests. That is my message to my countrymen, delivered not in haste or in impatience, but as the mature result of my deliberations, and of my life-long labours in the service of the Motherland."

CHINA IN TRANSITION

By A. C. N. NAMBIAR

THE sharp turn of events in Europe has somewhat diminished our interest in the Far Eastern struggle or the war between Japan and China. While this is understandable, there is no overlooking the fact that the fight in the Far East constitutes one of the biggest issues of this period. Its course is destined to exercise a very great influence upon the future drift of world affairs.

The world today in a way is a much smaller unit than it was before. The last twenty years have made a tremendous difference in the matter. Transport developments and other improvements in methods of communications have considerably contributed to this. And in the period ahead this process of a narrowing down of the universe is bound to tend towards greater and quicker progress. Temporary checks there may be, but in fundamental directions, here as in various other matters, it is difficult to put back or arrest the hand of the clock long.

One result, possibly the biggest, of a trend referred to above, is an extension of an interdependence of events in wide and distant regions. Careful observation will reveal events in Europe today as influenced by those in the Far East to a degree greater than is generally recognized. Much the same is true of the influence of events in Europe upon those in the Far East. A line between Mukden and Munich, in other words, is straight and more definite than is usually recognized. And there are other such lines. It is well to devote added attention to such connections and links of association.

The moves that are taking place in the Far East result from or follow a flux that commenced a long time ago. Today they have reached a stage of considerably increased importance. Both Japan and China stand at very critical periods of their history. China, perhaps, even more than Japan. A fate that will be hers will determine not only a lot of her own, but beyond, will go to assert a weight of great determining value on the balance in the East. The last is a circumstance of enormous importance. Particularly so to a country like India.

There is need for India to direct particular care and attention to the fate of China. It should not be clouded by mistaken sentiments or short-sighted calculations. The dominant aspects of the Chinese struggle today are: an awakening or evolution of a new spirit in China; a keen drive of Japan to secure a firm grip on China; and a spirited fight for their freedom kept up by the Chinese in the face of heavy odds.

The first of these, the story of an awakening in China, is eloquently conveyed by Madame Chiang Kai-shek in the book *China In Peace And War*.[1] Madame Chiang Kai-Shek needs no special introduction. The book is a collection of her speeches and letters, letters to various friends and organizations, particularly in America. They cover a fairly long period. And they help one to estimate the character and strength of the awakening today in China.

1. *China In Peace And War*: By Madame Chiang Kai-shek (Hurst & Blackett: London. 16sh.).

China in the past has no doubt missed opportunities that might have made her stronger. But this does not minimise the extent and vigour of an awakening that has come about. Mistakes of the past indeed at times can be helpful in leading to the initiation of a strong and sound course, if proper conclusions are drawn. Madame Chiang Kai-shek's speeches and letters, bearing on a period and dealing with a state after the commencement of hostilities in China, are particularly interesting. They demonstrate deep fervour, impressive tenacity and admirable confidence. They express noble sentiments in a language dignified and eloquent. She records hopes and expectations. Also certain disappointments. Her declarations make moving and educative reading. Some of her reckonings might appear as unwarranted. This, however, does not vitiate the soundness of a general outlook. One feels like reproducing whole statements. Considerations of space make this impossible. It is well that these speeches and letters have come out in a book form.

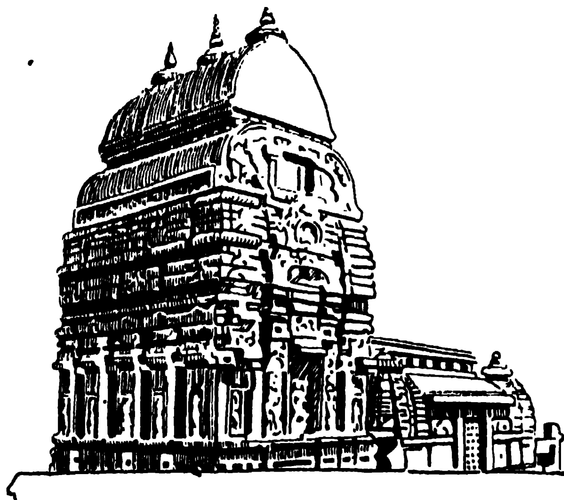
Lowe Chuan-Hua is an eminent Chinese scholar, economist and writer. In his book, *Japan's Economic Offensive in China,*[2] he deals principally with the goal of Japan's drive against China, with emphasis, as the title indicates, on its economic aspect. This he does with a wealth of facts and figures, well presented. His account stresses the thorough-going nature of the scheme intended to be worked out by Japan in China. He also discusses its international background and implications. Japan, one is told, and shown, wishes to gain not only political power and economic grip, but also a spiritual or intellectual hold on China. Expansionist drive with a totalitarian conception implies a new technique. This is an issue which demands particular attention. Lowe Chuan-Hua's book is very helpful for an understanding of this.

The story of China's actual campaign of resistance to a terrific onslaught is stirringly told by Dr. A. L. Strong, a well-known American journalist and writer, in her book *China Fights For Freedom.*[3] This book, however, is not limited to an account of a fight, though this alone would make it worth reading. The volume, as a matter of fact, deals with many other issues of prime importance, such as, the way in which a united national will is sustained and developed and how internal reforms of different kind are carried out. Thus, China today is both conducting a struggle and carrying forward a great plan of reconstruction. Dr. Strong supplies an extremely interesting description of the women's movement in China. She writes with first-hand knowledge about many events and developments. She like another American writer not unknown to the readers of *The Modern Review*, Agnes Smedley, penetrated far into the interior of China and travelled extensively through the land, including regions actually behind Japanese lines. *China Fights For Freedom* is a striking account of a striking development or developments.

Paris. 28th March, 1940.

2. *Japan's Economic Offensive In China* : By Lowe Chuan-Hua (Allen & Unwin : London. 7sh. 6d.).

3. *China Fights For Freedom* : By Dr. A. L. Strong (Lindsay Drummond : London. 5sh.).





Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in The Modern Review. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, The Modern Review.

ENGLISH

HINDU AMERICA : *By Chaman Lal. Published by the New Book Co., Hornby Road, Bombay, Royal Octavo, pp. 247+xvii. 84 illustrations separately printed on art paper. The text printed clearly on thick high-grade paper. Cloth, gilt-letters. Price Rs. 7-8.*

The author of this book has not been satisfied with merely collecting the available printed material on the subject and writing his book with the help of these materials. He has visited America to gain first-hand knowledge and impressions and to get together some of his illustrations, many of which are very striking indeed. He has taken great pains with his work and has not spared himself.

Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan writes in his Foreword to this work :

"Mr. Chaman Lal has brought together in this book many interesting parallels between the culture of the American Indians and that of the ancient Hindus. The analogies in the forms of worship, social customs and usages are quite impressive. It is difficult to be certain about direct influence or borrowing by one culture from another. After all, there is not one type of civilization among the American Indians and the ancient Hindu civilization is a vast and complex one with different articulations in it and to detect parallelisms between some aspects of the former and certain sides of the latter is not difficult."

Sir Sarvapalli also says that "It may be suggested that the similarities in tenets and practices are due to the fundamental oneness of the human mind." "*But*," he continues, "*Mr. Chaman Lal has brought together evidence, with great learning and discrimination, which is in favour of an early colonization of America by the Hindus and has supported his thesis by quotations from competent authorities.*" Sir Sarvapalli has come to the conclusion that he has no doubt that the "book is worth reading and his thesis deserves consideration."

We, too, have come to the same conclusion. The book is divided into eight chapters, the subjects being Who Discovered America, India the Mother, Hindu Imprints on America, Children of the Sun, Indra and Ganesha in America, Hindu Legends in America, The Glorious Mayas, and The Great Astecs. There are three introductory letters from Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Dr. Bhagavan Das and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, and two Appendixes on "Houses of God—Identical in India and America" and "When India Ruled the Waves." Some of the chapters are divided into two parts. As the author has given detailed syllabuses of the chapters and parts of chapters, the reader can easily form an idea of the contents of the book in outline and also choose what sections he will read first. Such sampling will lead him to study the whole book, as it is interesting and informative throughout.—(*First Notice*).

X.

THE PROBLEM OF MINORITIES or COMMUNAL REPRESENTATION IN INDIA : *By K. B. Krishna. Ph.D. Published by Messrs. George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London. Pp. 359. Price 15s. net.*

This is a remarkable book—remarkable both for its sincerity and for its boldness. Written in an easy and attractive style, the book compels attention and stimulates thought. The author has dealt with the problem of minorities or communal representation in India both historically and analytically, and it must be said to his credit that he has not minced matters in his treatment of the subject. "Is the problem of communal representation really unbridgeable (*sic*) ? Is it a disease ? Is it something else ? What are the causes that contribute to the rise of this problem ? Is it accidental ? Was it unavoidable when it came into existence ?" These are "some of the typical questions" (p. 25) which have been discussed by the author in this book. He has also dealt in it with the question of communal representation as it obtains in some other parts of the British Empire.

The history of communal representation, says the author (p. 221), "is the history of the counterpoising policy of the British in India, a history of the offsetting of one sectional interest against another, one class against another." And "communal tensions," according to him, "are at bottom class struggles. They take a communal shape because of the general background of the country, because the classes belong to various faiths. Religion is invoked to conceal their secular interests. A firm maintenance of law and order would in many cases check the struggles, but under imperialism they develop into major ones by the policy of counterpoise. Masterly inactivity, connivance and irresponsibility, contribute to the absence of preparations, and desire to control the disturbances especially where its interests are unaffected," (p. 272). Again, "the communal question has no reference to religious issues...... The communal question is in general a question of struggle between various sections of the professional classes belonging to different faiths" (p. 278).

According to the author there is a parallelism between Zionism and Communalism (pp. 255-60). The Arab-Jew problem in Palestine and the Hindu-Moslem problem in India are alike in many respects. And in both cases, says he, "the first requisite for their liberation is that they should cease to depend on imperialism.

Imperialism must be destroyed. Only when imperialism and its reactionary allies are overthrown can the Arabs and the Jews, the Hindus and the Moslems, solve their problems democratically."

The author's view (pp. 304-5) is that "communal representation should be abolished, and that a common electoral roll on an equal franchise with no discrimination between the communities be adopted." "This road," he maintains, "is much nearer to democracy than that of communal representation."

It is difficult for us to differ from many of the conclusions of the author, which, it must be admitted here, he has based on documentary evidence. Although we may not agree with all that he has said in this book, and although there are some slips of English in it, yet we feel that no one interested in the Indian problem should fail to read this book carefully, for it is extremely illuminating as well as eminently readable. Indeed, for those who would like to understand the problem of minorities in India it is an indispensable book.

D. N. Banerjee

THE AMERICAN PRESIDENCY: An Interpretation: *By Harold J. Laski. Published by George Allen and Unwin. (March, 1940). Pp. 277. Price 7s. 6d. net.*

This is Professor Laski's latest, and is the outcome of his Patten Foundation lectures in the University of Indiana last spring. It is "less a treatise on the Presidency of the United States than an attempt, made through English eyes, to interpret the way in which it actually works." This is, of course, too modest. Prof. Laski's penetrating eyes discover the pitfalls of the system; indicates possible lines of reform and states his case with a plethora of details and references which will amaze the average American scholar. Though not so comprehensive, Laski's "interpretation" will for sometime to come rank with the two classical studies of American institutions by foreigners—De Tocqueville's *Democracy in America*, and Bryce's *American Commonwealth.*

In view of the recent controversies over the character and functions of the Presidential office and the impending presidential contest, some of Laski's conclusions will bear notice even in the course of a short review. His general conclusion is in favour of strengthening the President's position. A "third term" does not appear to be offensive in itself. He, however, prefers the suggestion of a single long seven-year-or-so term of office for the President in order to prevent the constant electioneering so characteristic of politics in U. S. A. With British analogies in mind, he dilates upon the necessity of the development of an efficient Secretariat and also a Cabinet on whom the President can depend for sound direction of policy, leaving the President free in the position of a minister-without-portfolio available for contingencies and minding broader problems. The professor's well-known bias in favour of youth makes him more than once refer to the age of the average President, as the only men to have attained the office before 45 was Theodore Roosevelt. Franklin Roosevelt comes in for a good deal of commendation, though nobody is more conscious of the fact than Laski, that Roosevelt does not come upto the expectations of even an advanced Fabian.

Professor Laski dilates upon the distinction between "dull" and "thinking" governments—a distinction borrowed from Bagehot. A positive State can not afford "the luxury of dull government," and as soon as American democracy has moved into the epoch of the positive State, it is demanding "positive parties; and positive parties demand positive Presidents." Lest anybody would make the mistake that this would involve the crowning of another Dictator by a party-caucus, Laski makes the paradoxical assertion: "That is the only way in which a democracy can be enabled to affirm its own essence." In fact, the more one reads the literature on the subject of democracy in crisis one is perplexed by the paradox, in a way, of the democracy-*wallas'* fondness for aristocratic poses* and rigidity! But that is by the way.

The three central chapters are entitled: The President and his Cabinet; The President and Congress; and the President and Foreign Relations: the last of these is not only of greater interest to the non-American reader but in the reviewer's opinion, the best. If it is not blasphemous, one should note the growing feature of Laski's newer works—*viz.*, *the* verbosity and repitition which jars in spite of the lilt of Laski's language. This also helps on occasions.

Undoubtedly, this is a book which is bound to "stimulate students to realize something of the interest and fascination of American history and politics." It is a book which will be read on both the sides of the Pacific and Atlantic with interest and profit.

Benoyendra Nath Banerjea

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS: *By Pryns Hopkins, M.A., Ph.D. Published by Messrs. George Allen and Unwin, Ltd. Pp. 284. Price 10s. 6d.*

Dr. Pryns Hopkins was a political and social worker in the United States in the earlier part of his career. He is at present an honorary lecturer in Psychology in University College, London. Dr. Hopkins's book is a remarkable production. It is written in a style that is at once lucid, definite, and interesting, a combination of qualities that is rare indeed. Dr. Hopkins belives that the Psychological approach to the social movements is likely to be the most fruitful one from the practical standpoint. Reviewing the different schools of Psychology current at present Dr. Hopkins concludes that psycho-analysis affords the best means of studying the dark hidden forces that control social movements. He discusses the roots of social ethics and thinks that Bentham's maxim "the greatest happiness of the greatest number" is a perfectly safe yard-stick for the evolution of moral and social behaviour. Bentham's arguments however do not appeal to him. Hopkins has his own justification for this theory of ethical hedonism. The author holds that all ethical rules can be reduced to the safe-guarding or promotion of six forms of happiness, *viz.*, (1) the enjoyment that is born of knowledge, (2) the pleasure that comes from the bodily sense organs, (3) the happiness of inner peace, *i.e.*, the happiness that comes from an absence of mental conflict, (4) the enjoyment of family life, (5) the enjoyment of material means and (6) the security from robbery and violence. The author proceeds to discuss each of these items in a thorough-going manner. He is never ambiguous in his expressions. The author traces our greed for money and power, our love of war and similar propensities to their deep unconscious psychological roots which become effective in the earlier years of childhood. "Education in the nursery and the school room, therefore must be the chief concern of all who seek to make a better world."

G. Bose

MODERN INDIA : *By Upendranath Ball, M.A. 1939.*

In this volume of 747 pages the author has treated the main events in the history of India during the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The book has no pretension to originality and is a text-book for advanced students. It deals mainly with the political history, though two chapters are devoted to a brief review of the culture and civilisation. The author has derived his account from the standard works on Indian History and does not appear to have made use of original documents in forming his opinion about men and things. A select bibliography is added at the end of each chapter. The book supplies full information on political transactions, and is almost of the nature of a chronicle of events. It is consequently somewhat dry and tedious though useful as a book of reference. There are some serious slips, *e.g.*, on p. 429 where it is said that Clive reached Khulna on the 14th on his way to Plassey.

R. C. MAJUMDAR

THE GROWTH OF FEDERAL FINANCE IN INDIA : *By P. J. Thomas, M.A., B. Litt., D. Phil. (Oxon), M.L.C., Professor of English, University of Madras. Published by the Oxford University Press, 1939. Pages 558. Price Rs. 12/8.*

In this book the author gives a comprehensive survey of India's Public Finances from 1833 to 1939, and suggests for the future a new financial outlook based upon careful planning and co-ordination. The period under survey is divided under seven parts each dealing with a distinct stage in the evolution of Indian Finance, and under each part different problems are dealt with in various chapters. The book is throughout well-documented and the sources of each information are properly noted. A number of valuable appendices and a good index enhance the usefulness of the materials contained in the book.

The problems of Indian Finance have for a long time engaged the attention of economists and statesmen and a number of treatises have been written on the subject. But Dr. Thomas' book stands head and shoulder above all previous publications, as much in its thoroughness and comprehensive character, as in the scholarly presentation of some of the intricate questions that had to be tackled from time to time. But for one or two occasions where the author shows undue interest in the financial position of the province of Madras, the book evinces a thoroughly scientific approach and can be recommended to every student and public man as a valuable addition to the literature on the subject.

NALINAKSHA SANYAL

ART AND LIFE : *Roop & Mary. Published by Ramkrishna & Sons, Lahore. Pages 230. 1940. Price 3/12 or 6s.*

This beautifully got-up book is well supported by its manner and contents. Poems, snippets, essays and sketches lie cheek by jowl and form a pleasant picture. I find it difficult to say which I like most. Is it the sensitiveness of Mary or the honesty of Roop? Sketches and the tail-pieces in particular show that the couple are really competent artists. Roop's estimate of Dr. Abanindranath would find an echo in many a heart. Mary's highly nervous manner of writing, if not English, is so decidedly personal that it ceases to become sentimental. Its strength is feminine. Roop's plea for art reflecting the spirit of the age, its needs and ideals I fully endorse. A pleasant book that I would like to take with me on tour and read leisurely.

DHURJATIPRASAD MUKHERJEE

SOME INFLUENCES THAT MADE THE BRITISH ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM IN INDIA: *By M. Ruthnaswamy. Published by Luzac & Co., London, 1939. Pages 660.*

Mr. Ruthnaswamy, the famous author of *The Making of the State*, discusses in this excellent book the various influences that have contributed to give to the British administrative system in India the shape that it has at the present time. Amongst these influences he mentions particularly (*1*) the commercial, (*2*) the military, and (*3*) the land revenue, giving to each one of these factors a long chapter in which he analyses with very great care and industry their specific contributions to the development and growth of the administrative machinery. Thus, the civil service of the Indian Government is commercial in its origins and bears about it, even to the present day, some salient characteristics of its parentage. The Army, being the instrument by which the British dominion in India was effectively forged, has consistently and often irritatingly influenced the policy of the Government from practically the very start and has led to the growth of such departments as Survey, Communications and Public Works. Again, large numbers of military men have been employed in various departments of civil administration, and on that account the Army has left an indellible impress upon the course of Indian administration. So far as land revenue is concerned, it is quite the fundamental basis of Indian administration, and has not merely influenced the general character of government and the course of administration but has been actually responsible for carving out the whole range of administration. The division of the Provinces into districts was due primarily to land revenue; and in each district land revenue has built up the administrative structure.

From this analysis of the contribution that these three influences have made to the development of the Indian administrative system, Mr. Ruthnaswamy goes on to discuss the nature of "the state that was made by the administration." He says that the problem in India was to secure the condition on which an alien government could maintain its authority over an enormous population 'without any show of efficient strength.' The native governments before the British used to be upheld by many powerful interests a landed aristocracy endowed with large powers of police and magistrate, native civil establishments living on service lands and fees and periodical presents rather than regular salaries, in money, and hereditary village officers with land grants or remissions on their own or the village rent. In place of these, the British Government created a well-built and properly articulated machinery of administration : for the maintenance of peace and order there was the Police in its internal aspect and the Political and the Foreign departments in its external aspect; for looking after the finances of the government there was the Finance department, which began its career in 1861 by 'manifesting powers of discovery of new forms of financial contacts with the people'; for the securing of property rights there was created the Registration department. The Public Works department, the Post & Telegraph and Communications generally, and the Medical and Health departments

although originally started for military reasons—were now used to provide utilities such as would help to secure the attachment of the people to the state. For collecting information about the people—an urgent need for 'the government of one people placed in authority over another'—there was the Census.

The organization of all these departments, however, necessitated by the peculiar conditions of the problem, led in the course of time to the bane of bureaucracy, red-tapism and institutional rather than personal government, which was extremely slow to move. Mr. Ruthnaswamy studies, in the last chapter of the book, the motive power of the Indian administration. "Administrative machinery cannot function unless it is moved by some force. That force can be imparted to an administrative machine from one of two sources. It may come from without or from within." In the case of Indian administration, this motive force came largely from within during the period before the Mutiny, when social reforms like the abolition of infanticide, suttee and other inhuman religious practices, and educational and religious toleration policies were dictated to the Government by administrative considerations—and inevitably came from without in the post-Mutiny period, when the cry for self-government and Indianization was raised by popular opinion and by the Indian National Congress.

It will be clear that Mr. Ruthnaswamy's study is a comprehensive and engaging one. It is also brilliant in its execution. He has analysed with great wealth of detail how India's political gains and losses, the political virtues and defects of the people, as well as the strength and weakness of their political armour can all be traced to the structure and working of Indian administration. "Political unity was attained through the administlation—by its own action as well as by reactions against it. Its incessant activity, through its progressively numerous and beneficent departments, has brought a people given over to political renunciation into the richer and fuller life of the modern State. Of its own will and on its own intiative it has set free currents that have galvanised the people into educational, social and economic progress. It has assembled a well-knit, co-ordinated and heirarchical system of administration that has given the people the machinery that they can use for the highest ends of the State. It created the professional middle class like the Equestrian class under the Roman empire. But there is the other side of the balance sheet. The unity that it gave to the people was only administrative unity. It might have given them a bolder policy of army organisation, administrative recruitment and social reform—a more organic and more political unity. It might have done more for social and economic progress. It might have done many things which it has not done and omitted many things which it has."

The lesson of Mr. Ruthnaswamy's study is that 'the ideals of administrative progress do not end with administration.' If the structure of the Indian administration is to continue to be of service to the Indian community, constant care and attention must be devoted to its maintenance anl repair. This is what every individual member of Indian administration and every Indian student of Political Science needs to remember.

Bool Chand

SOCIALISM AND GANDHISM: *By Dr. B. Pattabhi Seetaramayya. Published by the Hindustan Publishing Co., Ltd., Rajahmundry, S. India. Pp. ix+ii+244. Price Re. 1-8.*

When I first started reading the book, I had hoped to find in it—as the name suggested—a detailed comparison between Socialism and Gandhism with reference to the numerous problems which both have tried to solve in their own way. In this, I was disappointed; for the picture of Socialism which emerges from the pages of the book is of an unsystematic and disintegrated character. The reader leaves the book without forming any concrete idea as to what Socialism is, or how socialists of different schools try to bring their ideals into fruition.

Nor is the picture of Gandhism such as to successfully remove the doubts which socialists or laymen may entertain about it. The different chapters of the book seem to have been written with reference to problems as they arose from time to time in course of the last few years of our national life. Their purpose was perhaps to convince the reader of the merits of the Gandhian solution in each case. Occasionally they throw sympathetic light upon some obscure aspect of ancient Indian civilization, and thus help the reader to appreciate, in a better fashion, the merits of Gandhiji's solution of our national or social problems.

But that is not enough to convince the reader why those solutions are better than the solutions offered by socialists in India. For this, it is necessary that the cases of both Gandhians and Socialists should be presented fully and with fairness; and the reader left free to make his own choice between the two. Even if the reader does not finally agree with the premises of one side or the other, the comparison should be such as to leave no room for misunderstanding of any case.

Such comparisons have become all the more necessary in India at the present moment of our national intellectual life.

Nirmal Kumar Bose

CATALOGUE OF COINS IN THE INDIAN MUSEUM: *By Shamsuddin Ahmad, M.A., Asst. Curator, Archæology Section, Indian Museum, Calcutta. Published by the Manager of Government Publications, Delhi. 1939. Supplement to Vol. II, pp. ix+152, with five plates. Price Rs. 6-6 or 10s. Supplement to Vol. III, pp. ix+240, with three plates. Price Rs. 9-8 or 15s.*

More than three decades has elapsed since the publication of Nelson Wright's Catalogues and during this period the Coin Cabinet of the Indian Museum has been considerably enriched by many valuable collections. The description of more than 3,000 of these coins in these volumes will therefore be hailed by all scholars interested in the history of Muslim India.

The coins have been scientifically arranged and classified and the utility of these volumes has been enhanced by the mention of the register-numbers and find-spots of these coins—a feature which was absent in Nelson Wright's Catalogues.

The chapters on the Bengal and Bahmani coins are of particular interest in the first volume. The dates 740 A.H.. and 760 A.H. (Coins Nos. 22 and 48) of Shamsuddin Ilyas Shah, dates 813 and 814 A.H. (Nos. 107 and 109) of Saifuddin Hamza Shah might be regarded as highly sensational, because they are not in accord with the accepted chronology. The reviewer himself was at first inclined to call in question the accuracy of these readings, but found, after a close and careful examination of them while working in the Indian Museum on coins that the readings were unimpeachable. Indeed, the editor has brought so much industry and patience to bear upon the scrutiny of each individual

coin that it would be extremely difficult for an expert to detect an inaccuracy in his description of the coins. Mr. Shamsuddin has read the dates as they are and not as they should be leaving to the historian the task of adapting their chronology to the dates of the coins. Attention may here be drawn to a few new mint names, dates and inscriptions in coins, *e.g.*, the name Balapur on a coin of Sher Shah (No. 108a), the inscription 'bin Imam adil' on a Coin of Muhammad Bin Tughluq (No. 89).

Another interesting feature is the introduction of two new chapters on the Coins of Bahmani and Madura Sultans. The Coins of Alauddin Bahman Shah, Nizam Shah, Mahmud bin Muhammad Shah have for the first time been included here. The Coin (No. 4) of Alauddin Ahsan Shah of Madura, dated 734 A.H. is unique and will antedate his accession by a year.

The Supplement to Vol. III is equally rich in the description of rare and important specimens, *e.g.*, 377 of Jehangir and Nurjehan. Nos. 405, 524, 611 and 612 of Shah Jehan, Nos. 769, 780, 781 of Aurangzeb, No. 708 of Murad Baksh, the luckless happy-go-lucky brave prince who won and lost the war of succession. Two types of coins of Akbar which have for the first time been described in this volume are of unsurpassed interest, e.g., Nos. 91 and 92 in which the figure of a tiny bird is depicted just below the mint name (2) Nos. 93, 95 and 96 in which the word "Ram" is inscribed in the place of the bird, mentioned above (the word Ram is quite clear in illustration No. 93).

We reserve our opinion on the interpretation of the word "Ram" on the coins of Akbar, leaving it to the more ingenious historians to suggest interpretation and conclude our remarks by expressing high appreciation of these volumes. Incidentally, we would note that the coins of the Shillong Cabinet (Assam Govt.) which badly need re-cataloguing, should be placed in the hands of an expert.

N. B. Ray

COMMODITY PRICES IN SOUTH INDIA, 1918-1938 : *By Prof. P. J. Thomas and Mr. N. Sundararama Sastry. Published by the University of Madras. 1940. Pp. 64. Price Re. 1.*

This small book is the latest addition to the series of books and bulletins that the Madras University has recently been publishing. An economist and a statistician have contributed their joint efforts to analyse the price-movements of five important commodities in South India during 1918-38. The commodities selected are rice, groundnut, sugar-cane, cocoanut and pepper, and particular emphasis has been laid on the facts governing the prices of rice and sugar-cane. The analytical portion of the study is what it should be; index numbers of prices and trade have been given for all these articles, three-interval moving averages have been computed and adequate graphical illustrations have been furnished. In the descriptive portions, an attempt has been made to find out the causes of the downward trend of prices in recent years. Some important conclusions have emerged out of the statistical analysis, *e.g.*, in regard to the relations between the price of Rangoon rice and the price of rice in India, and between the price of jaggery and the acreage under sugar-cane. There is a valuable appendix written by Dr. Thomas on the feasibility of imposing a tariff on the imports of rice from Burma, in which it has been shown that the adoption of such a step will 'hit the consumer without actually benefiting the producer.'

As a regional study, this small book is of immense value to the students of statistics and of price-economics. The Department of Economics of the Madras University has set an example which other Universities will do well to follow.

Bhabatosh Datta

INDUSTRY YEAR BOOK AND DIRECTORY, 1940 : *Industry Publishers Limited, 22, R. G. Kar Road, Shambazar, Calcutta. Pp. Demy 8vo. 1347. Cloth, gilt-letters. Price Rs. 8.*

This annual publication rightly claims to be a "great marketing book in which commercial and industrial information of India, Burma and Nepal, including lists of industrial and agricultural fairs, has been brought together for every day use and profit." Two maps, one showing the distribution of agricultural crops of India and another showing the political divisions and the chief railway systems of India, have been given in this volume. A list of agents and distributors of foreign goods in India has been newly added to the volume. Other additions to it are: A summary of the provisions under the Indian Insurance Amendment Act, Trade Marks Act, Bombay Industrial Disputes Act, Defence of India Ordinance, etc., a concise statement of the recommendations of the Indian Tariff Board on silk, a broad view of the Central and Railway Budgets, a brief account of the new Indo-Japanese Trade Agreement, Internal Trade during 1938-39, Income-tax Rates, Tariff Schedules, Stamp Duties, etc.

An important section of this Directory is that devoted to the Market Places of India. Recent statistical figures regarding banking, insurance, agricultural crops, minerals, trades and industries render the volume a useful book of reference to men of business, journalists and other publicists, statesmen and students of economics alike.

Classified Trades and Industries, Technical Institutions, Postal, Railway and Shipping Information, Money Market, Weights and Measures, Units of Sale of Commodities, Labour and Commercial Laws, Government Offices, Cotton Jute, Iron and Steel and Sugar Industries, Civil Divisions of India, Burma and Nepal, and other usual features are maintained. There is also a long list of the newspapers and periodicals of India.

The Industry Publishers deserve to be congratulated on the regular annual publication of this useful volume.

X.

THE MYSTERY OF MAHABHARATA, Volumes 3, 4 & 5 : *By N. V. Thadani. Published by Bharat Publishing House, Karachi. Price Rs. 44/-.*

This series of books has been the result of twelve years of extensive study by Principal N. V. Thadani. Principal Thadani believes that the entire teaching of Hindu Philosophy and Hindu religion is to be found in the Mahabharata. In fact, according to him, the Mahabharata is not a mere epical story but a book that was expressly designed to record Hindu thought in the domains of philosophy, religion and sociology. Principal Thadani thinks that the Mahabharata is written in cryptic language the real meaning of which can be discerned "by the ancient method of Letter-analysis known to all students of Sanskrit." The method of letter-analysis has been explained in the seventh chapter of the first volume of the book and in the second chapter of the second part of the third volume. To any one who wants to have a grasp of the teachings of Hindu philosophy and religion the

book will be an extremely useful one. The critical reader, however, is left unconvinced of the truth of the validity of the interpretations given by Principal Thadani. This does not prevent any one from enjoying the book which is a veritable store-house of information.

G. Bose

YOGIC HOME EXERCISES: *By Swami Sivananda. Published by D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co. 210, Hornby Road, Bombay, 1939. Price Rs. 3/12.*

It is indeed a happy sign of the times that increasing attention is now paid by our countrymen to the study of yoga and yogic exercises. There is a general feeling that yogic exercises are meant only for the few who can renounce the world and live in mountain caves and deep forests. It is high time that this feeling be dispelled once for all. The present treatise is a great help towards removing this feeling.

The author Swami Sivananda, an expert yogi (whose portrait is given in the frontispiece) has shown how, like all other exercises of the different physical culture systems that are in vogue now, the yogic exercises also can be performed at home without disturbing in any way the daily normal activities of the individual. A little attention to diet and other indispensable laws of health and a quarter of an hour devoted daily to the yogic exercises are all that is needed. No one will certainly consider these to be excessive demands.

The technique of the various exercises has been described in a very lucid style in chapter I and can be easily understood by all. The plates illustrating the different 'asanas' will help the beginner to a great extent. The benefits to be derived from the practice of various 'asanas' have been fully narrated and these will undoubtedly encourage many persons to take up these exercises seriously. In Chapter II the aim and some methods of practising 'pranayam' have been stated. It is probably with a view to making the treatise under review thoroughly practical and useful to all individuals living in society amongst the humdrum of daily life that the author has not unnecessarily dilated upon the subject. The inclusion of a chapter on relaxation has greatly added to the value of the book. It is really a fact that very few people know how to relax their body and mind completely so that they may feel fully refreshed even after a short period of cessation from physical and mental labour. An appendix has been added which contains besides other topics instructions as to how to acquire control over the senses and thought

The reviewer is definitely of opinion that instead of searching about for exotic systems of physical culture we should turn our own indigenous yogic exercises for the training both of the body as also of the mind. While the adopted foreign systems may develop particular muscles or organs of the body it is doubtful how far they can contribute towards the proper development of the mental faculties. The sooner a graded system of these yogic exercises for the boys and girls of different ages be evolved after necessary observations and experiments by expert yogis the better will it be for all of us. Being of this opinion the reviewer welcomes this book. He unhesitatingly recommends this book to all who care for healthy development of the body and mind and he hopes that it will have a wide circulation.

S. C. Mitra

BACKGROUND AND ISSUES OF THE WAR: *By H. A. L. Fisher, A. D. Lindsay. Gilbert Murray, R. C. K. Ensor, Harold Nicolson, J. L. Brierly. Published by the Oxford University Press. Pp. 141. Price 6s.*

The book under review, which comprises of six lectures bearing on the present war delivered by eminent scholars of Oxford, will throw much light on the background of the present war and give food for thought to the student of current politics. In a world deafened by propaganda, half-truths, and lies, scholars can render a particular service by their disinterested and objective studies. The Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford, at whose suggestion these lectures, delivered in the Sheldonian Theatre and proved to be very popular, were procured and published in the present form, has done a distinct service to the public.

ROUND THE WORLD: *By J. N. Sinha. With a Foreword by Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha, D.Litt., M.L.A., Bar-at-Law, Vice-Chancellor, Patna University. Pp. 289 and viii+9.*

A good book on travel should not merely be informative but should also stimulate a desire for travel. Mr. J. M. Sinha's book amply fulfils these conditions. The author was awarded a Government scholarship for advanced studies in Forestry and Soil Conservancy in foreign countries. He made the best use of this opportunity in touring practically most of the countries of Europe and America and returned to India, *via* Honolulu, Japan, Singapore, Penang and Colombo. He has recorded in a vivid manner his impressions of the different countries he visited in letters written from abroad to friends and relations. The appendix includes a summary of expenditure incurred during the tour and will be helpful to intending tourists. The illustrations and maps enhance the value of the book.

Souren De

NANDAPUR (A Forsaken Kingdom), Part I: *By Kumar Bidyadhar Singh Deo, B.A., B.L., M.R.A.S., Advocate, Jeypore, 1939. Pages xv+156. 22 illustrations.*

In any history of Orissa, it is usual to neglect the Oriya-speaking tract of the old Vizagapatam District forming the Zemindary of Jeypore. This region of about 15,000 square miles (about twice the size of Travancore State) is still ruled by the ancient Sankara dynasty, the rulers of which went by the title of Nauna-Gajapati.

It has been very creditable on the part of the author to have rescued the early history of this line from oblivion. Nandapur was their former capital, and Mr. Singh Deo has set forth in his book the history of this ancient city, as well as that of the rulers who succeeded the Silavamsa here in mediæval times. He has mainly depended upon certain unpublished chronicles preserved by old Brahmin families; and has had reasons to differ from other historians of Orissa like Rakhaldas Banerji.

The present volume carries the history of the Jeypore line from the end of the 15th century to the present day. We hope, the author will follow it up with further researches on the more ancient history of the land, as well as into its ethnology and cultural history.

Nirmal Kumar Bose

PRACTICAL REJUVENATION : *By Dr. K. V. Mathew. Published by Mrs. Anie Mathew. Travancore. Pp. 142. Price Rs. 3-12.*

The book deals with the problem of senility, and advocates auto-rejuvenation as the means of choice for its prevention and cure. This is Steinach's operation, which is nothing but vasectomy, cutting out a portion of the vas deferens. The operation is easy, not requiring chloroform, and can be done by any doctor who learns the technique and performs it by cocaine injections. The idea is that if the normal channel of semen is obliterated the internal secretion of the testes will be enhanced, producing new vigour and energy to the individual. By this means virility will increase but natural production will stop. Hence there are many considerations for and against the operation. It can only be advised for very hopeless cases. The book is evidently written for the lay public, but they will neither understand the anatomy and the physiology which the writer has taken pains to describe, nor the technique and the modus operandi of the operation. The price of the booklet is rather high, judging from its small size.

P. BHATTACHARYYA

A SHORT TREATISE ON A. R. P. FOR INDIA : *By S. K. Ghosh, Authorised A. R. P. Instructor. Published by the Author from 'Patrika' Press, 12, Ananda Chatterjee Lane, Calcutta. Price annas twelve.*

In these days of modern warfare, with gas and bombs, it is needless to stress the importance of an efficient A. R. P. Organisation to protect and help the civil population. Even a handful of trained men can do very little unless every layman knows what to do in case of emergency. There is practically no literature on the subject to help A. R. P. workers in this country. Mr. S. K. Ghose's book will remove this need. His book written in a clear language will be found useful by all.

SOUREN DE

ENGLISH-SANSKRIT

BHASHAPARICCHEDA WITH SIDDHANTA MUKTAVALI : *Translated into English by Swami Madhavananda; with an introduction by Dr. Satkari Mukherji, M.A., Ph.D., Calcutta University. Published by Advaita Ashrama. Price Rs. 2-8 only.*

This translation of Bhashapariccheda will strengthen the position as a great translator which Swamiji won by his translation of Samkara's commentary on the Brihadaranyaka Upanishad.

Swamiji has a way of his own in hitting upon the happiest expression in English for the most abstruse ideas conveyed in Sanskrit through lengthy compounds or complicated terminology. This was evident in his translation of the Upanishad and this is equally evident in his translation of Muktavali, which bristles with the Nyaya terminology.

Dr. Roer's translation of the Bhashapariccheda was published ninety years ago; since then, the philosophical terminology in English has been very largely enriched; and as a result of this it has now become possible to find words in English which come nearer in sense to many of the difficult philosophical terms in Sanskrit. It is for this reason that Swamiji's translation of Muktavali will be found more literal and accurate than the previous one.

Added to these there is the device which is followed by Swamiji in his translation works, *i.e.*, that of presenting in the form of questions and answers the views of his author as well as the criticism of the opponents on them.

This device has the advantage of making the chain of arguments easily comprehensible to the readers.

From all these it can be safely asserted that this translation will facilitate the study of Siddhanta-Muktavali as well as encourage the study of Nyaya and incidentally that of other branches of the Hindu philosophy.

ISAN CHANDRA ROY

SANSKRIT

RIGVEDA-SAMHITA. WITH THE COMMENTARY OF SAYANACHARYA. II. 2-5 MANDALAS. *Tilaka Maharashtra University. Vaidic Samsodhana Mandala (Vedic Research Institute). Poona 2. Price Rs. 12/-.*

The present volume was published in December 1936 not long after the publication of the first volume which was noticed in these pages in August 1935. Remarks made in the previous notice apply here as well. The commentary of Sayana has been edited here, as in the first volume, on the basis of a good number of manuscripts—twenty-five in number in the present case—collected from public libraries and private collections in Bombay, Poona, Baroda, London, Tanjore, Satara, Adyar (Madras), Benares, Bikaner, Indore, Belgaum, Bijapur and Kanara. Minute variants have been noted from these manuscripts, though not always adopted to improve the text. In choosing readings the authenticity of the manuscripts is stated to have been taken into consideration. But no indication appears to have been given as to which manuscripts are regarded as authentic and why. No variants, if any, in the text portion, have been recorded, though one would be more eager to know these even if they were not allowed to interfere with the prevalent text. The Managing Editor has openly declared, "We have followed the traditional recitation of the Samhita and the Padapatha; we do not think there can be differences with regard to these two. We do not attach any importance to manuscripts in such a matter" (Introduction, p. 4). This declaration, which is far from scholarly, has been occasioned by a remark made in the course of noticing the previous volume in these pages that no manuscripts of the text portion appear to have been consulted. It is thus frankly admitted that no manuscript was actually consulted for editing the text portion. The printing and get-up is as before attractive. We understand financial difficulties are hampering the progress of this valuable publication. We hope donors will be forthcoming as before to remove these difficulties and carry this important work to a successful finish without any inordinate delay.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTY

BENGALI

BANGALA SAMAYIK-PATRA, 1818-1867 : *By Brajendranath Bandyopadhyay. Published by Ranjan Publishing House, 25-2, Mohan Bagan Row, Calcutta. 1346 B E. (1939). Price Rs. 3 only.*

More than six years ago, Mr. Banerji published the first historical and connected account of the origin and development of the Bengali Newspaper and Periodical, in which the history was traced from 1818 to 1839 A.D.

We had the pleasure of reviewing and welcoming this volume in the columns of this journal. The present work is a thoroughly revised and enlarged edition of the same treatise, but much new information is included and the history is brought down to 1867, after which date materials are more accessible and details are superfluous. It must be recognised at once that the work is the result of much patient research and thoroughly scientific in its method and spirit. The importance of the work will be realised when one remembers that before Mr. Banerji wrote, we had sporadic accounts of individual journals and journalists, but no systematic history of the earlier and more obscure period of Bengali journalistic endeavour. It is indeed a difficult undertaking in view of the extreme scarcity of materials; for there is not a single library, public or private, which contains the files of even the more important Bengali periodicals of the first half of the 19th century. It has, therefore, involved a great deal of patient search and industry, and the difficulties of collecting materials on such a subject in a country like Bengal are indeed very great. The author has not claimed finality for his work, for, in spite of his great zeal, earnestness and love of the subject, he has not been able to get access to all the early files of all the periodicals published in this period; but it must be said that he has eminently succeeded in unearthing most of them, and has spared no pains in going at every step to original sources, which he has carefully indicated in each case. He has done what is humanly possible for one man to do, and those who are aware of his singleness of devotion and capacity of taking infinite pains even over minute details, evinced in his other works on similar subjects, will have no difficulty in recognising these qualities of a trained historian in the present work and appreciating the accuracy precision and trustworthiness of his very interesting account.

But, more than this, Mr. Banerji has succeeded in drawing an attractive picture, and not merely a panoramic view of early Bengali journalism, the history of which, apart from its general interest, possesses great importance for the early history of modern Bengali literature in the 19th century. The rise and growth of the Bengali periodical of this early epoch are closely connected with the rise and growth of modern Bengali literature in general. Mr. Banerji does not pretend to deal fully with this aspect of the question, but it cannot be said that he has ignored it. He has at least supplied for the first time a consistent and reliable history of the early efforts at journalistic writing, and his work will for many years to come be our source-book and best authority on the subject.

S. K. De

IHALOKA O PARALOKA (THIS WORLD AND THAT) : *By Atul Vihari Gupta. Published by Sailendra Nath Gupta, 62L, Til-Bhandeswara, Benares City. Pp. 220. Price Re. 1-4 only.*

As the name implies, this is a book on the survival of the soul after physical death. The author is definitely of opinion that survival after death is an established fact; that the departed souls can be brought back to us, can hold conversations with us and can even become visible. He bases his conclusions on a number of seances he witnessed in England, America and India. The author's presentation of his case merits praise. But personally we are inclined to think that the question under debate is still undecided. We have yet to find what may be described as scientific proof.

The seances lack the precision of a scientific experiment. The very fact that seances can not be made in public, not even in a class-room, like an experiment of science, is a limitation to its scientific value. Again, souls seem to come at random to these seances : we do not have cases where particular souls were invited and responded. Yet, the souls that come happen to be old acquaintances of one or other of the persons present at the seance, and they always speak a language known to them. They give us information of this world—speak of past events lurking in the memory of the persons present, easily enough—but can hardly give any new information about the new world to which they have gone (p. 148). Besides, the conversations in these seances seem to follow a set form.

Whoever has lost a dear friend or relative has a natural inclination to believe that the departed yet lives. And it would be a great consolation to the bereaved if they could have communication with the departed just as we hold correspondence with people at a distance. But this belief in the survival of the soul is not free from metaphysical difficulties and is not yet a scientifically established proposition like the law of gravitation or relativity.

But the mystery is alluring and powerful minds—men with high scientific training—have set to themselves the task of solving it. As an attempt on this line and as a contribution to the literature on the subject, the book before us deserves praise. Its materials have been well digested and carefully presented.

U. C. Bhattacharjee

KANNADA

OSADHIKOSAM (A Sanskrit into Kannada Dictionary of about Twelve Thousand Words—mainly Herb-names) : *Edited by Sjt. A. Venkatrao and Sjt. H. Shesha Iyengar of the Department of Kannada, Madras University. Published by the same University. Pp. 182. Crown quarto. Price Rs. 2 only.*

As the name indicates, this is a dictionary of the names of Osadhis (Osadhyah phalpakantah) or plants that die after a single fruiting. It contains some other words also *viz.*, names of some animals, and substances such as gold, silver, etc. Obviously they come in because they have a place in the Ayurvedic Pharmacopita wherein the Osadhis play a very important part.

Unfortunately the Kosa stops at the word Saptasapti which means that about two hundred words more have been left out. Since only one manuscript was available, there was no choice left to the editors but to publish it as it was.

The date of the author and the manuscript cannot be carried far beyond about two hundred years. The author was a Jain. It is evident from his salutation to Ajita, Jinasena, Adinath, etc. (p. 18) which occur at some places in the manuscript. This manuscript was found in the Jaina Siddhanta Bhavana Library in Arrah (N. India).

The book is well-printed and very nicely got up. It is really a very useful publication in as much as ordinary dictionaries do not contain these words. This is specially useful for Kannada students of Ayurveda, which seems to be gradually coming to its own. The original works about this science are all in Sanskrit and though all the Kannada equivalents may not be intelligible to all for want of sufficient knowledge, it is sure to serve the purpose very well.

R. R. Diwakar

HINDI

ITIHASH-PRAVESH : *By Jay Chandra Vidyalankar. Pp. 466.*

This Hindi text-book deals with Indian history upto the end of the eighteenth century. It would be useful for the top-classes of H. E. Schools, *i.e.*, for candidates preparing for the Matriculation or School final examination. It embodies most of Mr. Jayaswal's theories about the chronology and facts of Indian history. It contains a large number of useful illustrations

R. C. MAJUMDAR

YUGAPRADHAN SRI JINACHANDRA SURI *By Agarchand Nahta and Bhambarlal Nahta. Sri Abhaya Jain Granthamala No 7*

DADA SRI JINAKUSAL SURI : *By Agarchand Nahta and Bhambarlal Nahta. Sri Abhaya Jain Granthamala No 10. Published by Sankardan Subhairaj Nahta, 5-6, Armenian Street, Calcutta.*

These two works give detailed accounts of the eventful lives of two great Jain saints · Jinakusal Suri (1280-1333 A D) and Jinachandra Suri (1538-1613 A.D). They also contain short notices about the principal disciples and admirers of them They bear the stamp of the historical insight of the authors who have taken pains to collect facts by a critical study of numerous old documents

SAMKSHIPTA JAIN ITIHASA, VOL III, PART II *By Kamtaprasad Jain Sahityamanishi, M R A S. Published by Mulchand Kisandas Kapadia, Digambar Jain Pustakalaya, Kapadiabhavan, Surat.*

The present part the predecessor of which was reviewed in these pages in March 1938, gives short —though not strictly pertinent to this work—accounts of the Kings of Pallava, Kadamba Ganga and other minor dynasties of South India and describes—what is more interesting and relevent—the condition of Jainism including the life stories of Jain *acharyas* during the time of each of these dynasties

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

HINDUSTANI MUHAVARE (A COLLECTION OF HINDI PROVERBS) · *By Pt. Ambika Prasad Vajpai Published by Upendranarain Vajpai, 102, Muktaram Babu Street, Calcutta. Price Re. 1-8.*

Pt. Ambikaprasad Vajpai is too well known to need any introduction to Hindi readers. He commands a facile pen and writes chaste Hindi. There are several other collections of Hindi proverbs, but they lack in correct explanations in many a case. This book, small as it is, is by far the best of all other collections on the subject. English equivalents, explanations and their uses in sentences have made this book a handy companion to all specially to non-Hindi speaking people and to students and teachers. In order to understand the twist and the turn of Hindi language this collection will help a good deal.

SHRI RAM SHARMA

GUJARATI

ARVACHIN KAVYA SAHITYANAN VEHENO : *By Prof. Ramnarayan V. Pathak, B.A., LL.B. Published by the University of Bombay. 1938. Cloth bound. Pp. 210. Price Re. 1-4.*

At the invitation of the Bombay University Prof. Pathak delivered five lectures on currents of modern (Gujarati) verse literature. He has reviewed this subject from various points of view, historical, technical, and popular. He has noticed rising young poets and given them their due. It is just the sort of work expected from a ripe and well read scholar.

JUI ANE KETAKI : *By Vijayrai K. Vaidya, B.A. Printed at the Anand Printing Press, Bhavnagar. 1939. Cloth bound. Pp. 313. Price Rs. 2-8.*

Prof Vaidya, calls this reprint of his critical reviews of some Gujarati books, published during the period 1922 to 1935. Jessamine and *Ketaki*, which is a thorny flower. He was then contributing to the now defunct *Gujarat* and *Kaumudi*. His criticism as he himself calls it is both soft and harsh, thorny. He both applauds and condemns and does it artistically. At times trifles are magnified, at times he reads too much in a simple statement . but whatever he does, he is human and works always on a high level. The thirty-four reviews reprinted in this volume are of great literary importance and furnish a guide to workers in the same direction

KIRTAN KANT · *By Dayaram Ratansingh Sharma Printed at Bhagvati Printing Press, Bombay. 1939 Card-board Pp. 188.*

This is a collection of 157 devout songs or Kirtans, sung in praise of Ram Chandraji. They will be found to be of use to those who are devotees of Rama.

K. M. J.

MARATHI

HISTORY OF THE PAWARS OF DEWAS SENIOR · *By M V Gujar, B.A., Shivaji Military School, Poona. With a Foreword by Dr. Bal Krishna. Published by the Author Price not mentioned.*

This is the history of a Central-Indian Maratha State, known as Dewas Senior, a sister-branch going under the name Dewas Junior. These two Dewas branches and the present State of Dhar are all creations of one of the three prominent help-mates of Bajirao I, *viz.*, Ranoji Sindhia Malharrao Holkar and Udaji Pawar Udaji's two cousins Tukoji and Jivaji founded the two sister chiefships of Dewas. These Pawars of Dhar and Dewas, it should be remembered, are the direct descendants of the ancient Parmars of Dharanagari once a famous seat of Sanskrit learning, celebrated under its patrons Munj and Bhoj The present rulers of Dhar have already published a history of their own, and this work on Dewas supplements the former in many essential details It would have been a real service to history if all the existing Pawar branches had jointly executed this task, instead of each one eulogizing particular ancestors of their own. In fact, they all represented one joint effort when that history was first enacted.

The author Mr. Gujar has bestowed much care and labour on his performance, which will prove a useful compendium for students of Maratha history rather than in itself a critical survey of the period. Being in Marathi, it cannot serve non-Marathi scholars. It should have been executed in English for the sake of a real advance in historical research.

G. S. SARDESAI

AGRICULTURAL INDEBTEDNESS IN INDIA

By RAJANI KANTA DAS, M.SC., Ph.D. of Geneva

THE greatest impediment to the financing of Indian agriculture is the heavy indebtedness of the cultivators, which was roughly estimated by the Central Banking Enquiry Committee to be about Rs. 900 crores for the whole of British India, including Burma, in 1929. This indebtedness varies, however, from province to province, ranging from Rs. 22 crores in Assam to Rs. 155 crores in Bihar and Orissa, as shown below.

RURAL INDEBTEDNESS IN BRITISH INDIA IN 1929[1]

Province	Debts (Rs. in crores)
Assam	22
Bengal	100
Bihar and Orissa	155
Bombay	61
Burma	60
Central Provinces	36
Central areas	18
Madras	150
Punjab	135
United Provinces	124
Total	881

What is more to the point is the fact that the volume of debt has been gradually increasing. The Punjab Banking Enquiry Committee, for instance, estimated that the total rural indebtedness in that Province increased from Rs. 90 crores in 1921 to Rs. 135 crores in 1929. Since then there has been great depression in agriculture and present indebtedness has increased by from 50 to 100 per cent. According to the report of the Agricultural Credit Department of the Reserve Bank of India, the value of present indebtedness would, estimated in terms of commodities, amount to Rs. 1,800 crores in 1937. The extent of rural indebtedness becomes clearer by the fact that according to the Banking Enquiry Committee, about four-fifths of the agriculturists are in debt. Moreover, by far the largest part of this indebtedness is unproductive, that is, borrowed for purposes other than agricultural or other production. In the United Provinces, for instance over 70 per cent of the debt was incurred for unproductive purposes.[2] The percentage of unproductive debt is equally high in other Provinces, especially in Bengal and Bombay.

RATE OF INTEREST

The burden of heavy indebtedness is aggravated by the exorbitant rate of interest. The rate of interest varies from province to province and even from district to district, but it is very high throughout the country, ranging from 10 to 37½ per cent in Bengal, 12 to 25 per cent in Bombay, 12 to 70 per cent in Assam, 12 to 25 per cent in Madras, and 25 to 50 per cent in Bihar and Orissa. For short-term loans the interest may vary from 75 to 300 or even 360 per cent.[3] Moreover, many of the debts bear compound interest. Once in debt a cultivator has scarcely any chance of getting out of it, and he leaves it to his son as legacy after his death. Many of the cultivators are therefore born in debt and end their lives in debt.

PRINCIPAL CAUSES

The causes of agricultural indebtedness are many, the most important of which may be classified under the following headings :—First, the inheritance of debt from the ancestors, which, like the holding, passes from generation to generation ; secondly, the exorbitant rate of interest owing to the dearness of money, absence of security on the part of the debtor for repayment, helplessness and ignorance of the cultivator and sometimes even the malpractices on the part of money-lenders; thirdly, the lack of thrift and prudence on the part of the debtor and unproductive borrowing for such purposes as litigation, payment of ancestral debt and marriage, funeral and other social and other special and religious ceremonies; finally, insufficient income from cultivation owing to several factors, such as the small and uneconomic size of the holding, the practice of raising one crop a year, and inefficient system of cultivation and the lack of scientific methods in agricultural production.

REMEDIAL MEASURES

Heavy indebtedness has given rise to several problems, for the solution of which

1. Excluding Coorg, where the debt amounted to Rs. 35 to 55 lakhs and also N.-W. F. Province and other minor provinces, for which no estimates are available. Cf. *The Indian Central Banking Enquiry Committee, 1931, Majority Report*, p. 55.

2. *The United Provinces Banking Enquiry Committee*, p. 84.

3. *The Indian Central Banking Enquiry Committee, Majority Report, 1931*, pp. 78-81.

there have also been taken a number of measures. The earliest legislative measure for the regulation of agricultural indebtedness is the Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Act of 1879, with a view to controlling the evils of agricultural loan. It provided for the examination by the Court of the history of the debt in suits by or against the agriculturist, the reduction by the Court of unreasonable interest, the taking over of the land by the collector for its management for a period of seven years, the declaration of solvency on the part of the agriculturist owing Rs. 50 appointing a conciliatory village registrar, and the execution by the agriculturist of all the instruments of the debt in the presence of this registrar. The Act was first applicable to the four districts of the Deccan and has since been applied, after several amendments, espicially in 1907, 1912 and 1920, to the whole Presidency of Bombay, except for the provision of solvency.

Another series of regulations undertaken by Government for the relief form indebtedness is the exemption of minimum products and capital goods from attachment, provided under the Civil Procedure Code of 1859, as amended in 1877 and 1908. Section 61 of the Code, for instance, empowers Provincial Governments to exempt from liability to attachment or sale in execution of a decree such portion of agricultural products as may appear to the Government to be necessary for the purpose of providing, until the next harvest, for the due cultivation of land and for the support of the judgment-debtor and his family.[4]

The problem of rural indebtedness has lately become much more complicated, especially since the agricultural depression of 1920-29. Some of the Provinces have passed emergency measures against the sale of agricultural land and declared a moratorium until the problem could be properly solved through appropriate legislation; others have immediately formulated measures for the relief of agricultural debtors. These measures may be conveniently described under three headings, namely :

(1) Control of land alienation;
(2) Liquidation of old debts; and
(3) Reconstruction of the credit system.

Control of Land Alienation

The control of land alienation from the agricultural to the non-agricultural classes was first undertaken by the Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Act of 1879; the Punjab Alienation Act was passed in 1900 and amended in 1907, restricting the transfer of agricultural land from the agriculturist to the non-agriculturist. It was followed by the Bundelkhand Land Alienation Act of 1903 and a similar Act was also passed by the N.-W. F. Province in 1904. Legislative measures for restricting alienation of land of the aboriginal and backward tribes have been passed in most other Provinces.

Recent restrictions on land alienation have been approached from a threefold point of view:—First, the control of the *benami*, *i.e.*, the actual transfer of land from the cultivator to the creditor but under nominal ownership of another cultivator, by the Punjab Land Alienation (Amendment) Act of 1938 , declaring alienation of land void if the beneficiary of such a transaction was not a member of the same agricultural tribe, and also by the Punjab Alienation of Land (third Amendment) Act of 1938, restricting the right of even an agriculturist to buy land if he were a money-lender. Secondly, the limitation of usufructuary mortgages on land, except to a member of the same agricultural tribe, to a period of 20 years, and the redemption of other mortgages by the Punjab Redemption of Mortgages Act of 1913 in all cases in which the sum borrowed did not exceed Rs. 1,000, and the land mortgaged did not exceed 30 acres, and by the Punjab Relief of Indebtedness Act of 1934 extending the scope of the Mortgages Act to include areas up to 50 acres and the mortgage loan up to Rs. 5,000, as well as by other similar provincial measures such as the United Provinces Agriculturists' Relief Act of 1934 and the N.-W. F. Province Redemption of Mortgages Act of 1935. Finally, the restriction of the forced sale of holdings by the Bengal Agricultural Debtors' Relief Act of 1935, providing for the setting apart of an acre or not more than one-third of the land held by the debtor for maintenance of himself and his family in case his land is sold for insolvency, as well as by the other similar measures, *e.g.*, the Punjab Debtors' Protection Act of 1936 providing special safeguards against the sale of ancestral property and also by the Bihar Money-lenders' Act of 1938 exempting a minimum holding from sale in execution of decrees and regulating the price of land sold in a court auction.

Liquidation of the Old Debt

The liquidation of old debts has been undertaken by different Governments on a twofold basis :

(1) Declaration of insolvency; and
(2) Conciliation and arbitration.

4. See also Sections 44, 45 and 60 (B and C).

The declaration of insolvency, though very limited in scope, relieves the debtor from the heavy burden of debts and, at the same time, allows the creditor to realise the maximum possible repayment. The first provisions for the declaration of insolvency were made by the Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Act of 1897 and also by the Insolvency Act of 1907 providing for the protection of the debtor against indiscriminate arrest and imprisonment, and also by the Insolvency Act of 1920 providing for the repayment to the creditor from all the available assets of the debtor and granting protection to the honest debtor from further harassment. The Act of 1920 was, however, restricted to the cases where the debt amounted to Rs. 500 or more. The Punjab Relief of Indebtedness Act of 1934 (Part II) and the Central Provinces Insolvency Amendment Act of 1935 have reduced the debt from Rs. 500 to Rs. 225 in order to extend the scope of the insolvency law, and the Bengal Agricultural Debtors' Act of 1938 has provided for a board of conciliation which may declare a debtor insolvent in case his assets are not sufficient to repay the debt within 20 years, and the certifying officer may also declare a debtor insolvent when his overdue instalment cannot be recovered.

The liquidation of the debt by conciliation and arbitration was first provided for by the Central Provinces Debt Conciliation Act of 1933 (Act II) and was followed by similar Acts by the Governments of the Punjab, Bengal, Madras, Assam and Bombay. The conciliation measures provide for the amicable settlement of outstanding debts through the medium of conciliation boards and the registration of any agreement arrived at to be effective as if it were a decree. Indirect, and even direct, pressure for settlement may also be brought to bear upon the creditor by the issue of a certificate to the debtor making a fair offer to the extent of 40 per cent of the debt owing (less in Bengal), as well as by prohibiting the receipt of interest in excess of the principal sum, as by the Assam Money-lenders' Act of 1934 or by, fixing the price of the land to be sold in execution of decrees on the basis of the pre-depression prices, as provided by such measures as the Madras Relief of Indebted Agriculturists' Act 1938 and the Central Provinces and Berar Relief of Indebtedness Act (XIV) of 1939.

Reconstruction of the Credit System

The reconstruction of the credit system for facilitating the loans to the cultivators and at the same time regulating the rate of interest was first undertaken by the Usurious Loans Act of 1918, which empowered the Court, once seized of a case at the instance of a creditor, to reopen transactions as far back as six years and to enquire into the equity of the terms. The Act was amended in 1926 to empower the Court to reopen cases as far back as 12 years, and included cases in which either party to a mortgage could seek relief. Where the debt was unsecured the debtor could draw the creditor into the Court by simply refusing to renew his loan. While most of the legislative measures for the revision of indebtedness have recently been taken by provincial Governments, a Usurious Loans Amendment Bill was also introduced into the Central Assembly of the Government of India on 18 February, 1939 for regulating the prevailing rate of interest in rural areas and for maintaining a uniform rate of interest all over the country.[5]

Since the sharp fall in the agricultural prices in 1928-29 and the growing distress among the agricultural people, the Usurious Loans Act has been amended and new Acts have been enacted by most of the Provincial Governments with a view to bringing relief to the cultivators from their indebtedness and also to regulating money-lending and fixing the rate of interest. The Punjab Government was the first to pass, on the basis of the British Money-lending Act of 1927, the Punjab Regulation of Accounts Act of 1930, and has been followed by other Provincial Governments in the enactment of similar measure. All the Money-lenders' Acts make it obligatory on the money-lender to maintain proper registers of his transactions, such as a separate account for each debtor, a record of each loan advanced and a separate account for principal and interest. Specific provisions have also been made by some of the Acts, such as,

(1) The specification of the rate per cent of interest charged on the loan;
(2) The recording of any other terms agreed between the creditor and the debtor;
(3) The issue of receipts for all repayments;
(4) The furnishing of a statement of accounts to the debtor, either at a fixed date, or on the demand of the debtor; and
(5) The registration and licencing of the money-lender.

Most of these Acts also provide for the control of maximum rates of interest beyond which it may be judged excessive or usurious by the court or conciliation board both for the settlement of past debts and the guidance of future laons. As regards the liquidation of the

5. *Gazetteer of India*, 25th February, 1939, Part V, pp. 53-54.

past debt, both the court and conciliation board are generally given discretionary power to grant any interest on the future instalment, depending on the repaying capacity of the debtor, but some of the measures, *e.g.*, those of Bengal and and the Central Provinces, prohibit any interest rate, while others fix a rate at which interest may be charged, *e.g.*, the United Provinces Relief Act, which provides for 3¼ per cent future interest on decreed amounts, and the United Provinces Encumbered Estates Act, which provides for 4½ per cent on debtors' instalments.

For the future loans, the object of almost all the legislative measures has been to prohibit usurious or execessive rate of interest. The most drastic measure on this subject is the Madras Agriculturists' Relief Act of 1938, which abolishes all outstanding interest on debts incurred before 1 October, 1932, restricts the rate of interest to 5 per cent on debts incurred on or after that date up to 1 October, 1937, and fixes the rate of interest at 6¼ per cent on debts incurred up to the coming into force of the Act. Some of the money-lenders' Acts do not specify the usurious rate but have prescribed the maximum rates of intertst which could be granted by the Court, as shown in the table below. It will be seen that the maximum rate of interest varies from 9 to 15 per cent for secured debt and from 12 to 25 per cent for unsecured debt.

MAXIMUM LEGAL RATES OF INTEREST IN SOME PROVINCES OF BRITISH INDIA *

Province	Name, date and section of the Act	Rate of interest per annum: Secured Loan (p.c.)	Rate of interest per annum: Un-secured Loan (p.c.)
Bengal	Moneylenders' Act, 1933(4)	15	25
Punjab	Relief of Indebtedness Act, 1934(5)	12	18¾
Madras	Debtors' Protection Act, 1934(6A)	9	15
United Provinces	Usurious Loans Act, 1934(3)	12	24
Central Provinces and Berar	Usurious Loans Act, 1934(3·2)	12	18
Assam	Moneylenders' Act, 1934(8)	12½	18¾
Bihar	Moneylenders' Act, 1938(9)	9	12

* Cf. Various Acts mentioned above and also K. G Sivaswamy : *Legislative Protection and Relief of Agriculturist Debtors in India*, Poona, 1939, p. 217.

Compound interest has also been brought under control by most of these legislative measures. It is prohibited by some of the Acts, *e.g.*, the Assam Money-lenders' Act of 1934 and the Bihar Money-lenders' Act of 1938, the latter making it illegal after the coming into force of the Act, and regulated by others, *e.g.*, the Bengal Money-lenders' Act of 1933, which fixed the rate of compound interest at 10 per cent for both secured and unsecured debts, and the Punjab Relief of Indebtedness Act of 1934, which permitted compound interest at the rate of 9 and 14 per cent for secured and unsecured debts respectively, with annual rests.

CONCLUSION

From the foregoing discussion, it is seen that heavy rural indebtedness is a great hindrance to the mobilisation of the capital resources of the country for agricultural production as well as to the moral and material welfare of the cultivators themselves. It has also been shown that with a view to solving the problem, the Government of India, and especially the Provincial Governments within the past decade, have enacted a number of measures concerning the control of land alienation, liquidation of old debts and reconstruction of the credit system.

However important these measures may be, they alone are not sufficient to solve the problem. Like any other industry, agriculture requires credit facilities, without which no undertaking in agriculture is possible. The creation of State and mortgage banks and the development of co-operative credit societies are important steps in that direction, but their scope requires immediate enlargement. The underlying cause of rural indebtedness is, however, the low productivity of Indian agriculture and the real solution of the problem depends upon increasing the efficiency of the Indian cultivator and the reorganisation of Indian agriculture in the light of modern science, technology and business principles. In short, the solution of the problem of rural indebtedness largely depends upon making Indian agriculture more productive.



SHAKESPEARE AND THE INDIAN RENAISSANCE

BY DR. M. MANSINHA M.A., Ph.D. (Durham)

WE have to confess that in the sum total of the regeneration of the Indian mind Shakespeare's part is not very conspicuous. And there is nothing here to be wondered at. Mount Everest, the highest peak in the world, stands in isolated grandeur and serves no particular purpose to the world in general or India in particular. It is the long range of smaller hills that constitute the high mountain-wall of the Himalayas and help send the rain-bearing monsoon clouds back to the plains, that have been like a father to the India's millions of peasants who depend on the monsoon rains for their annual harvest.

Shakespeare has not founded a school in English literature, nor has he inspired other English writers in any conspicuous manner. Keats was a great admirer of Shakespeare but he was inspired by Chapman's Homer. In the long galaxy of English poets I do not find any who owe any poetical allegiance to Shakespeare. It is because Shakespeare is so extraordinary in his ways of working and his achievements that it is almost futile to try to imitate him. I can understand the desire of a young poet trying to write like Keats or Shelley, although here too the efforts have very little chance of coming anywhere near the originals, but I could not understand a man's efforts to write a play like *Antony and Cleopatra.* What is there to imitate ?—the story of the voluptuous love of a man and a woman is known in all lands and among all peoples. But no poet in no land could create a Cleopatra out of it. And there is nothing inspiring in *Antony and Cleopatra;* it is the last book to help regenerating a man or a woman, least of all a nation. It is first and last only a literay and artistic masterpiece of the very first order, and nothing more. And this explains to some extent the inconspicuous part of Shakespeare in the general Renaissance of modern India.

But there are other difficulties too, which have prevented the Indian in appreciating Shakespeare as an artist to the extent an Englishman can or does. We will discuss them by the way. In the meanwhile let us try to find out the exact nature of Shakespeare study in India.

With the opening of the universities in India, Shakespeare's works became an essential part of the syllabus in the colleges and schools in the land. And so for the last hundred years, every young Indian who happens to be in a school or college has been compelled to read and know about Shakespeare. And there begins the pathetic story of the bitter reaction in the mind of the average educated Indian for a great poet, due to the monsensical system of forcing him down unwilling throats. The other day when I got down at the railway station at Stratford-on-Avon I got talking with two ladies who belong to the place. I said to them, by the way, "You must be proud of being citizens of Stratford where Shakespeare was born?" "No," replied one of them, "We don't feel much like that. He becomes a terror to us through his plays from our school days!" If such a statement comes from persons who speak the language of Shakespeare, how much more natural and more tragic and more true is it for foreigners? The antique language of Shakespeare is a bore to many English scholars even. One can imagine then a foreigner's natural reaction to it. "And when we do open a Shakespeare play, what rant we often find ourselves reading, what doggerel and dull jokes, what tedious reading!"* Only when the historical and circumstantial background of the plays of Shakespeare are properly understood, these incongruities lose their obtrusive significance in the eyes of a sympathetic connoiseur. But that is seldom done in the schools or colleges in India. The boys are asked to read two or three plays of Shakespeare for particular examinations and greater emphasis is given to the explanations of difficult and obscure lines than to any artistic appreciation of the plays. In this atmosphere of vivisection one can imagine the poor chances a poet has of being appreciated at the hands of young men and women whose immature critical judgments require everything to be presented in complete and concrete shapes.

I remember an incident during my undergraduate days which illustrates effectively what

* *On Reading Shakespeare* : L. P. Smith, p. 5.

I am trying to prove. In one of the classes the play *As you Like It* was being taught and the teacher was an Englishman. With some mental *tour de force* the Indian boys had reconciled themselves to the fairy tale atmosphere of the play which was given to them as a masterpiece of the Greatest Playwright in the world. But when at the end of the drama the wicked Oliver was married to the sweet and beautiful Celia, it was a shock that the aesthetic and moral sense of the young Indians could never stand. They at once asked their teacher how a great poet like Shakespeare could do this. And instead of explaining the limitations under and the circumstances in which Shakespeare had to write his plays, the teacher told them that as Shakespeare was a great poet, we must take what he had written for granted and that he is beyond our critical judgment. And that is how the Indians are expected to appreciate Shakespeare.

But when a nation has been in contact with a great dramatic literature for nearly a century, the latter is bound to influence the former. The traditional Hindu theatre patronised by the royal courts had been almost extinct in India due to Mohamedan rule, when the British came upon the field. True, Sanskrit plays were studied by students in the native Sanskrit schools, but they were never performed. But the nation's instinct for dramatic amusements was seeking satisfaction in the rustic operatic plays performed by village bands under the open sky. The subjects were mainly mythological but to the people who have been brought up in the tradition of those stories, the mythology was more real than life itself. It was as much a part of their mental make-up as old testament stories are of a Christian's. And even to this day the vast mass of Indian peasantry knows no more moral and aesthetic entertainment than these street-plays, either improvised by the amateurs in the villages, or given by touring professionals. The performances begin generally a little after nightfall and, more often than not, end towards the small hours of the morning. Under the climatic conditions in India, a day-performance is impossible and the cool Indian nights give the actors and the audience a black and starry canopy under which the performance, in the glare of the torches, gains colour and atmosphere. The audience, than whom it is difficult to find a more eager and more interested crowd of playgoers in any city of the world, spread out on the street, leaving a circular space at the centre for the performers and a narrow passage for their exits and entrances, and squatting like Buddha, sit out the entire performance with perfect silence.

But such conditions are far from suitable in the cities. When the new cities of Calcutta and Bombay grew up under the British, the rich Indian merchants had the nautch-girls as the only entertainment, to which the English residents were often invited. But as the European population in such cities grew up into considerable proportions, playhouses, first amateurish and then professional, were started for their own entertainment on the model of contemporary European theatres. To such performances the rich Indian residents were often invited and the patriotism of the Indian at once caught up the idea of starting theatres of his own. It is thus that the modern Indian theatre began its life.

But, in fact, it is not the birth of the theatre in India, it is, as other things, only the revival of the old Hindoo theatres that had been forgotten during the six centuries of Mohamedan rule in India.

As in Elizabethan times, so in modern India, when theatres were started on a commercial basis and the main concern of the theatre-managers was to retain the patronage of the customers by novel entertainments, there was a run on suitable plots that could be easily adapted and placed on the Indian stage. So, both India and Europe were laid under tribute. Ancient Indian plays were revived, new Indian plays were written and plays from European literature were presented in Indian garb. And in this utilitarian search for plots among European play-wrights who could answer the purpose better than Shakespeare? The plots of Shakespearean dramas with their immense opportunities for suspense and surprise, thrilling meetings and partings, the mistaken identities and the disguised love-affairs, for songs and dances and loud declamations, became favourite with a large section of professional theatres in west and north India. But in this act of supplying plots for the newly grown Indian theatre Shakespeare was but one of the many European dramatists and poets. though naturally his share was the largest.* But apart from this and other reforms important in several other ways of which I shall speak presently, Shakespeare cannot be said in any way to have helped to create an absolutely new kind of literature in India. For one thing there was nothing absolutely new in the European

* See Chap. VII and VIII of *The Indian Theatre* by Prof. R. K. Yajnik.

dramatic literature that was not already in the old Sanskrit plays, except the tragic endings of certain types, for another there are different ideals of art that make it really difficult for Shakespeare to be appreciated properly by an Indian. And so in spite of recognised changes in the Indian theatre, due to the contact with Elizabethan plays, we cannot say the influence of Shakespeare has been anything like that which happened to certain Continental literatures in Europe. For instance, one scholar says with regard to the Norwegian literature :

"The name of Shakespeare is thus to Norsemen associated with the vernal awakening of Neo-Norwegian Poetry, a spring-tide of lyric enthusiasm which the nation looks back upon with feelings similar to those with which we witness the recurring miracle of the early anemones, lifting their sweet blue eyes from amidst the snow......"*

Nothing like that can be said with regard to Shakespeare's influence alone on Indian literature.

The most remarkable feature of the Western literature in the whole, is its bold realism which does not fear to couple the sublime with the ridiculous as they really happen in life. But lives differ greatly in the East and the West and although it is easy to appreciate the magnificent realism of life in the plays of Shakespeare, it is difficult to transplant it on Indian soil where the environments are so different. And there are different ideals of art too, as well as the ideals of society. And so therefore, although Shakespeare's plays on their first acquaintance gave their usual sensation of a new and splendid discovery to the Indian mind, failed to become a vitalising stream in the national fertilisation. Professor R. K. Yajnik who has made a special study of this problem of Western influence on the Indian theatre, has at last asked the question in his book *The Indian Theatre*:

"Why has the Western influence so far not produced satisfactory results in the several Indian theatres of today ? "†

And he has not given a satisfactory reply to his own question. After giving large details about the stage versions of the different plays of Shakespeare in the different languages of India, he has to confess that

"moving from the west to the east of India, one notices at once that the Bengali theatre has never taken seriously to the Shakespearean Comedy. The Bengali drama is the most original in India and tries to develop on national lines."

It is the same story with Shakespearean tragedies too in Bengal where, indeed, truly creative literature has been produced in the whole of modern India.

But that there has been certain reforms and modifications in the Hindu drama due to Shakespearean or European influence cannot be gainsaid. I can do no more than quote from Prof. Yajnik's book, where he sums up his findings in the following way :

If one bears in mind the ancient and medieval Indian drama, one canot fail to perceive the following remarkable changes in the modern plays today :

(*a*) Many plays now open with only a prayer, or without any ceremony whatsoever, and proceed straight with the business of the plot...... (*b*) Unlike the practice of the ancient drama, many short explanatory scenes (in which generally minor characters figure) are introduced in the manner of Shakespeare......(*c*) These many scenes are grouped in five acts in the European manner. The ancient mode of seven or ten acts has completely disappeared......however the modern tendency of three acts is usually welcomed. (*d*) The melodramatic elements involving murders, lust and sensational escapes and unnatural deeds have been borrowed profusely by the Gujarati-Urdu stage from the Elizabethan drama. (*e*) The concluding prayer or epilogue has now disappeared in many cases......The chronicle plays too, have exercised lasting influence on the Indian stage. Shakespeare pointed the way towards the glorification of great national heroes.‡

I may add, moreover, that in general, the Indian plays of modern times, be they histories or comedies, have tended towards a decent realism—a desire to come nearer to the life of the streets and everyday homes. And this is not only due to the Shakespearen plays but to the influence of the entire Western literature. We feel this particular contribution of the West more in the novels, short stories and short poems, rather than in dramas. There is no doubt that giant Shakespeare's shadows are unmistakable in modern Indian literature, but he has not been given such an 'at home' by the Indians as was done by the Germans and other Continental nations. The reason is that there are gulfs of fundamental differences between the East and the West, although there are bridges that unite the two.

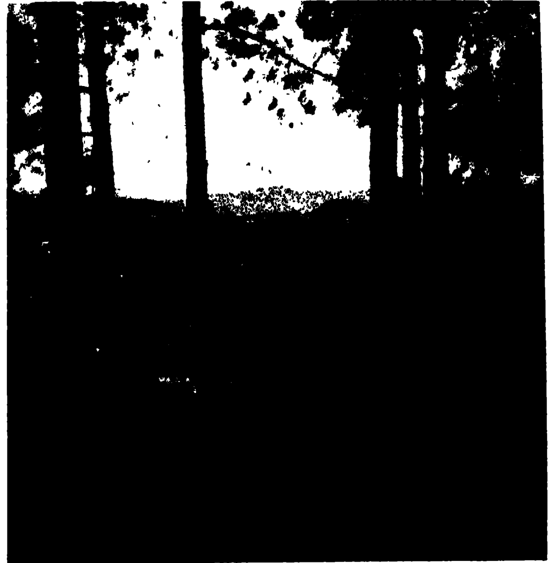
* *A Book of Homage to Shakespeare* : Chr. Collin, p. 499.

† *The Indian Theatre* by R. K. Yajnik, p. 242.

‡ *Ibid*, p. 230.



The forest studio and quarters at Almora



Almora seen through the pines

The whole ridge in the background is Sintola, 91 acres in area, granted to the centre by the U. P. Government. The place is under snow during winter as seen in the photograph

[*Courtesy*: Chaman Lal



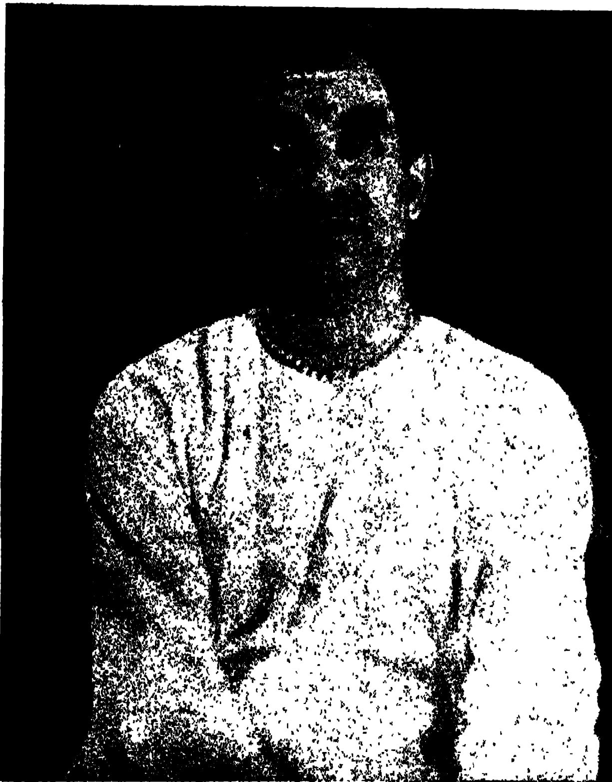
Krishna-Leela. Uday Shanker in the role of Sri Krishna

Killing the demon Gajasur. Uday Shanker in the role of Nataraja

UDAY SHANKER AND THE RENAISSANCE OF DANCE IN INDIA

BY KEDAR NATH CHATTERJEE

THE play of emotions in the primitive man probably first found full and coherent expression through the channels of Dance and Music. Just as the shouts of joy gradually were resolved into music so were the leaps, bounds and high steps of elation brought together into the rhythm of dance. With the developement of the mental functions of imagination and correlation of thought, other media of expression came into being and thus did man become the master not only of coherent thought but also of the art of expression. The cultural history of man gives us a continuous picture—the history of mankind being taken as a whole—of the evolution of these different modes of expression. Each race or nation has made its contribution in direct ratio with its cultural developement, and history has thus provided us with a gauge of inexorable precision by which the real measure of the soul of a nation can be taken. A nation may be great in the field of arms, like the Mongols under Chengiz Khan, or wealthy beyond measure in the markets of commerce but it will leave no marks on the pages of history, beyond the scars of suffering or impoverishment inflicted on their suffering victims which would heal in time, unless its contribution in arts and crafts has been of a solid measures. Conversely, the decadence of art, the degeneration of music, dance and other rhythmic modes of expression show beyond doubt that the soul of a nation has been stricken with malady and that the nation is on the downhill path to oblivion, however rich or powerful it might be otherwise.



Sj. Gurushunkeran Nambudri, director of the famous 'Kathakali dance' of the Uday Shanker Culture Centre, Almora

Ancient India was singularly rich in its cultural contributions to humanity. How rich it was, we have but a partial idea as yet. Foreign scholars have been very active in the past, firstly in the unearthing of the fragmentary evidence of our ancient heritage and laterly in the "imperialistic" attempt at belittling all these and in ascribing foreign origin for all or most of it lest we start dreaming of independent existence, but now that we are definitely on the move—culturally speaking—it is beyond doubt that the truth will be established in no distant future, with regard to what was the extent, qualitative and quantitative, of our contribution to the History of Civilization.

Just as in sculpture and painting so with regard to the dance of ancient India, the best evidence we have now of our past attainments is in the actual surviving fragments. Our classic literature gives at most fleeting glimpses, dazzling though they might be, of contemporary art. And just as in the case of sculpture so in dancing, protection has been most efficient where nature drew the merciful screen of forest and jungle to cover up the surviving fragments from the ruthless attention of the barbarian invaders. And in this way the out-of-the-way, trackless forests of Siam and Cambodia, and the forgotten and but recently re-dis-

covered islands of the Malay Archipelago provide us with the greatest measure of evidence regarding our cultural progress of a thousand years ago. For there can be no longer any doubt that the classic dances of Bali, Siam and Cambodia, like the ancient temples of those countries are surviving fragments of the glory of Ancient India, leading an exotic existence in lands once colonized and civilized by our forefathers. It is true that what we see today may carry some slight amount of foreign art in its most superficial elements, but the main structure, composition and technique is as undeniably Indian as are the ritualistic traditions on which these dances are based. The religious dances of Tibet and Mongolia, though now altered almost beyond recognition, are thus derived from the ritualistic dances of Mahajan and Vajrajan Buddhism. Buddhism through its religious and secular institutions carried the message of Indian culture far beyond the confines of the present-day geographical India, and uptil now we have not gone beyond the tracing of the routes over which those great caravans of culture carried their message of progress to far distant lands. As an example, it may be said that some foreign scholars



Sj. Uday Shanker Chowdhury, Founder of the Centre



Sj. Uday Shanker in the role of Kartikeya, before killing the demon Tarak

have recently come to the conclusion that the world-famous Russian Ballet owes its origins to the dances of Kiev in Central Asia, which in their turn bear the strong imprint of Buddhistic ritual dancing. Central Asia was one of the most fertile fields of Buddhistic culture, and the Buddhist Mongols of the Golden Horde, who overran Russia in mediaeval times, derived whatever cultural attainments they had from this source.

* * *

Enough has been said of the past. There can be no doubt that the Art of the Dance, like many other Arts reached a very high peak in this country a thousand years ago, even if we measure the art of that distant past by present-day standards. There is no use in speculating on what might have happened if there had not been any break in the continuity of progress. We had attained great advancement in culture and civilization and amassed immense wealth in consequence. This in its turn brought smug self-satisfaction. False standards of superiority were set up by a degenerate intelligentsia together with the barriers of caste system and "racial purity" complexes. We lost touch with the outside world and kept no count of material progress beyond the confines



Bhil Dance. Uday Shanker and his party



Group of members and students at Sintola for a week-end picnic. Sintola is about half-a-mile from the present site of the Centre at Rani Dhara, Almora



Sm. Simki, Sj. Uday Shanker's talented partner

in India at each of these periods, we thought that we knew all that there was to be known and the knowledge of the outsider was as contemptible as the uncultured outsider himself.

The problem before every race that is determined to rejuvenate, and to re-establish itself amongst the civilized peoples, is primarily that of modernisation. But in order that this modernisation be of a firm and lasting quality, it must be founded firmly on the rock of ancient culture. In order to do that there must be careful and painstaking study of ancient traditions and skilful analysis of existing modes and forms The revival of the ancient stream of culture is possible only when the renaissance is attempted by a school as well versed in the art of the ancients as in the technique of the moderns. Modern technique must be there, as the mere restoration of the ancient art, however skilled and accurate it might be, would never revivify it. Living art must have the life-blood of the modern age in its veins. It is sufficient that the progress be along the terrain marked out by the ancients and in the broad direction indicated by them. In order to do so the ancient art must be learnt piecemeal in all its tenets and technical details. All sources of art and tradition and all forms of surviving modern styles

of our own land, and thus when the cross-bow, the catapult and the fire-arms of foreign science were brought into action against us by the invader, our civilization collapsed, although there was no lack of courage or martial ardour. We provided another example of the historically established truth that no race or nation, however great in culture, civilization or wealth, can chew the cud of self-adulation, shutting its eyes and closing its ears to all the signs and sounds of progress in the outside world, without calling down calamity on its head. Measured fairly and strictly by contemporary cultural standards, India was superior by far in many respects to its invaders, Buddhist and Hindu India to the Greek, Bactrian, Huns, Arabs or Mongols, and Moghul India to the Portuguese, French or English of those days. But in one respect the invader was always superior and that was in his eagerness to acquire knowledge, whatsoever be the source, whereas

must be thoroughly explored by specialists trained to distinguish and separate the pieces of the ancient structure from amongst the surrounding and superimposed debris. But that does not necessarily mean that once the ancient ruin has been restored, it must be lived in. The structure for the living must conform to the atmosphere of the modern age. It should follow the grammar of the ancient architect and it should embody as many of those distinctive characteristics as would show that it is a true descendant of its ancient forbears. But there must be no attempt at the forging of a spurious antique. There is a school of thought that pounces on every imperfection and on every deviation from the ancient tradition, on the part of those who are trying to build a new art on the ancient foundations, and with howls of derision points out the "foreign" elements, the "mixed" technique and the "variation" from the ancient form in the modern presenta-

tion of an ancient cultural art. These gentry forget that Pharaoh's mummy, however beautifully preserved, cannot serve as a ruler of Modern Egypt, although it may prove to be a valuable source of inspiration.

This task of sifting the genuine from the spurious and grafting the new movement in harmony in the ancient rhythm on to the older art has been undertaken in the sphere of the ancient and glorious art of Indian Dance and Music by Uday Shanker. In his culture centre at Almora, amidst peaceful natural surroundings, he is getting together a band of earnest workers, both masters and pupils, who have settled down to this arduous work. The details of Uday Shanker's scheme together with the genesis of the new movement by him is beyond the scope of this introductory article.

The rehabilitation of this ancient art, which had fallen into evil days in India, was done by a great Master namely Rabindranath Tagore. The stern task of rejuvenation and revival into full vigour, has been shouldered independently by another devotee to the cause of Indian culture, who is fittingly much younger in years and who has of all Indians, the most varied and the widest of experiences in this highly specialized branch of Indian art. Let us hope that he receives the support and sympathy that he fully and rightly deserves.



L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India

MISS KANAK PURKAYASTHA has topped the list of successful candidates in the Matriculation Examination of the Calcutta University this year, securing nearly ninety per cent of the aggregate marks. She is the first girl, since the



Miss Kanak Purkayastha

creation of the Calcutta University to achieve this distinction. Miss Purkayastha hails from the district of Sylhet and is the daughter of Sj. Dineshchandra Purkayastha, M.A., B.L., Pleader.

SRIMATI BANALATA GUPTA, wife of Dr. N. Gupta of the Mitford Hospital, Dacca, has passed the B. A. Examination of the Calcutta University this year, at the age of about 50. She passed both the Intermediate and B.A. Examinations as a non-collegiate student. While looking after her usual household affairs, she could devote only her spare time to study, as such was unable to attend college classes. While the mother secured the B.A. degree. her youngest daughter also entered the portals of the University this year having passed the Matriculation Examination.

MISS AMITA SEN, who died last month at Dacca, had distinguished herself as a musician and was well-known for her masterly execution



Miss Amita Sen

of Rabindranath Tagore's songs. She took the B.A. degree of the Calcutta University with First Class Honours in Sanskrit and passed the M.A. examination in the same subject.



HOW TO ADVANCE SANSKRIT STUDIES

By Prof. Dr. RAGHUVIRA, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt., et Phil. (London)

Director, International Academy of Indian Culture, Lahore

It is a very great matter of pity that those bodies and persons who are responsible for prescribing courses in Sanskrit language and literature, as well as those whose business is to teach and to learn, none of them have ever cared to understand as to how vast the Sanskrit literature is, and how small a fraction of it is actually made known to the new generations of Sanskrit learners.

The Universities have generally two different courses of studies in Sanskrit. One of these is meant purely for such people as are interested only in ancient learning and civilisation. The other set of course is meant for the general student studying in schools and colleges. In both these systems the number of books with which a student gets acquainted is very narrowly limited.

In this article I do not propose to give statistics, but I must make the general statement that hardly 1% of works are utilized in any branch of Sanskrit literature. Let me illustrate. In the Vedic literature no student ever learns anything about the Kanva Samhita of the Yajur Veda. It is only some hymns of the Rig-Veda and a few from other Samhitas which are prescribed as courses for the students. There is a vast immensity of Vedic literature including the Vedic Samhitas such as the Paippalada, Brahmanas such as the Jaiminiya and nearly the whole of Srauta, Dharma and Grihya Sutras, commentaries on all of these without number, Prayogas, Paddhatis, Lakshana literature of the different Vedas, all this is ignored in a very indifferent fashion. Everybody takes it for granted that it is sufficient to read half a dozen books for one examination and more than that is unpractical. What I have said about the Vedic literature applies to other branches of Sanskrit literature also. Sanskrit literature represents the working of the mind of the Indian nation for thousands of years spreading over thousands of miles. There are great portions of this literature which are absent from our curricula altogether. With one or two exceptions, Buddhist literature is outside the scope of Sanskrit studies. Similarly Jainism. Phonetics as a subject does not appear. Shilpa does not appear. Epic as a subject does not appear, Even in subjects that we do teach at our universities, we have made a small selection and we teach year after year those few books only. The rest are all cast into oblivion.

The books which are selected for studies, many of them are linguistically extra-ordinarily difficult. They do not represent the usual simple and dignified flow which alone can represent the natural language. Such books as Subandhu are given undue importance.

Now I have to draw the attention of the Sanskritists to the following points. The present aim of Sanskrit education at the universities is to acquaint the students with standard Sanskrit. Of this a few books are given as examples. We have to go much farther than that. The aim of learning a language is not merely to learn that language but dive deep into the civilisation which that language represents. To be able to understand that civilisation, it is not enough to read a few books but to read as much as is possible. In the European Universities where it is common to learn foreign languages and literatures, the professors always impress upon the minds of their young students that even the language cannot be learnt unless and until at least 10,000 pages in that language have been gone through. This is a noteworthy principle. This in fact should be the objective of every one of our examinations. After having prescribed a few text books which are intended to be studied exhaustively, the student should be required to go through a large amount of literature. This can be given the name of rapid reading. In the two examinations, Intermediate and B.A., this quota of 10,000 pages ought to be completed. This means about 8 pages a day. This should not be considered unreasonable. In the case of students who study nothing but Sanskrit the number of pages will be proportionately three or four times.

The next thing to be kept in view is the rotation system under which every Sanskrit book worth the name will find a place in our Sanskrit studies. Out of some hundreds of dramas if 30 dramas are prescribed for rapid reading in different examinations we shall have

the satisfaction of having brought to the knowledge of students nearly the entire lot of available dramas within the compass of one generation. The professors will be the greatest gainers from a system of this type. They will have had a look at this great literature which in the present system is not possible. The study and teaching of Sanskrit will become a lively affair. The teacher will have to be active. That activity will be transferred to the students as well. The dullness of the present Sanskrit teacher tells very heavily on Sanskrit studies.

Modification to suit the needs and temperaments can of course always be made in every University.

There is another side of the question. If every portion of the Sanskrit literature is not brought to the views of the young students, the result would be that this literature will die a very sad death. It can hardly be expected that people should read after they have finished their University education. During the period of their study in the University the students are never put into the habit of reading extra books. Once this habit is created by means of rapid reading and some additional unseens, the boys, at least the better sort among them, will surely continue in their later life the study of at least one or two branches of Sanskrit literature to which they might have got attached. It must be remembered that if interest is not created among the students it is idle to expect them to read any thing afterwards. And there is no other way of creating interest.

The glory of India is bound up with Sanskrit literature. There is no harm in my repeating the truism that whatever is Sanskritic is Indian and that can be found nowhere else. India stands if Sanskrit stands and India falls if Sanskrit falls. Every educationist in India, whatever may be his religion or race, must realize this fact. Those who are blinded by their foreign loyalties are definitely harming India. Every true nationalist will have to concede that Sanskrit as the backbone should not be allowed to droop down. What I have suggested in this article needs careful consideration and adoption by all our Universities.

Moreover, Sanskrit studies need expansion in many different directions. Just as it would be unimaginable that an Englishman should not be acquainted with his own literature so it must become unimaginable that an Indian should be ignorant of Sanskrit literature. Every Indian before he can be called "educated," should have had a course of wide reading in Sanskrit literature. Uptil the end of the 18th century it was so. With the coming of Western education Sanskrit studies were thrown into the background. But now with the growing consciousness of nationalism Sanskrit must come at the top again. It is supid that an Indian should know more of Shakespeare and Shelley than about Valmiki and Kalidasa. This reflects very sadly upon our national character. This makes us intellectual slaves of a mean type. This makes us lose our self-confidence. This stands in the way of the development of our creative genius. This segregates us from our moorings. The inferiority complex thus created is really irremovable. We become strangers in our own land. We suffer from all the failures which are bound up with efforts at becoming Indian, while not being equipped to do so.

Study of Sanskrit does not mean any discouragement of modern scientific studies or of western literatures. Once we stand firmly on the bed rock of our own civilisation we shall be in a much better position to appreciate and to assimilate all that is best and useful in the western civilisation.

Students of law should study ancient Hindu Law from original ancient texts, students of medicine should do the same, students of music architecture, gardening and other arts should be given a thorough knowledge of the ancient Indian institutions. Similarly students of philoshophy and history. No one without a proper knowledge of things Indian in his own domain should be appointed as teacher or professor at our schools and Universities. In the initial stage special facilities and allowances should be given to promote this plan.

People have so often talked of nationalisation of our education without knowing really what it should mean. When this is achieved the major port of the nationalisation of our education will have been achieved.

I come to another vital aspect of the nationalisation of our education. All technical terms connected with scientific and literary subjects should be compulsarily derived from the fountain head of Sanskrit for all provinces and languages in India. This will be the uniting bond between the several parts of our huge sub-continent.

Sanskrit is the uniting factor between modern India and ancient India, as well as between different parts of India now just as much as it has been in the ages gone by.

I shall be glad to answer all inquiries and to assist in the formulation of definite plans for achieving the above aim.

FAVOURITISM, AND FAILURE OF BANKS

By AJIT ROY, A. B. I. (Lond.)

It goes without saying that Banks are the most sensitive of all the credit institutions inasmuch as their existence ultimately rests on public confidence which is apt to be damaged at the slightest provocation. Not only the factors of bad investments and other disapproved policies of a bank may damage its reputation but also its dissatisfied staff will be a stumbling-block to its progress. Successful bankers are men who can read human mind, character and capabilities. Not only have they to tackle varieties of men in the course of their business but have also to control a staff composed of different elements. An ambitious banker will pick up the cream of the staff and put them in more responsible positions. Any favouritism and nepotism in this direction will dissatisfy the neglected which will go to injure the reputation of the bank. Perhaps a word about the injustice and inequity will be said and some secret of the bank will be given out associating it with its insolidity. Thus forces of disruption and disintegrity will be let out to shake the very foundation of the bank. An ambitious banker will studiously avoid all these fusses and deliver full equity and justice to the staff as regards appointment, pay and promotion. Never will he risk the reputation of his dear institution for such slight fault and want of foresight.

Unlike some mechanised appointments, appointments in banks cannot devolve by right of heredity. The son of a bank-manager cannot be a manager only by virtue of genesis. He must possess the different virtues required for the post. He must be, above all, honest and have foresight; he must be a careful reader of human character. He must be affable to all yet not weak. He must work with a spirit of trust devolved on him as custodian of the money and valuables of hundreds and thousands of people which he should never betray. He will also keep himself abreast of the different markets of the world as people will often approach him as financial adviser regarding their investments and other financial difficulties. He must also possess organising ability and some executive power to control his staff. Last but not the least, he must know his trade—principles of investments and practice and law of banking.

Such are the qualities required of a bank-manager. They cannot come down by heredity or by a nepotic or communal chain. Men must be born for such positions and it is for the banker to pick them up. It is painful to note how these cardinal principles of appointment are neglected in Indian banking. Products of the Indian Universities are looked upon as the panacea of all evils and to fit in any position of life, by their patrons, irrespective of their qualities. The effect of this in the case of credit institutions like banks is ruinous. No example will support our contentions more than the life of Late Sir Sorabji Pochkhanwala, who rose to be the pioneer banker of India from a low position by virtue of the requisite qualities. Specially in the case of small banks should these principles of appointment and promotions be zealously maintained. They are like small boats assailable by the slightest blast which is nothing to dreadnaughts.

Not only the executive posts but also the lower posts should be filled in with deference to certain principles of recruitment and promotion for the efficient working of a bank. The essential qualities required of a bank clerk are honesty, promptness and accuracy. In short, he must have a strong commonsense and also cultivate knowledge of book-keeping and banking. It is deplorable to find that in India, specially in Bengal, young men having technical knowledge of some trade or industry are not given any preference to university men fresh from college. Sir P. C. Ray may cry hoarse for it but the problems of unemployment, want of definite vista on the part of our young men and want of disinterested and national outlook of our employers are baffling any progress in this direction. It will be clear to all employers that young men with some education will be better suited for the lower staff, after proper training, than the university products most of whom despise the idea of working in the lower grade. Any banker may find that a University graduate with nothing extraordinary in him will either make a lifeless and fastidious bank-clerk or a most inefficient bank-officer if he

is forced to this post. In the latter case, he will be like the flower-girl of the Pygmalion practising middle-class morality—yet often visible in her slot and slang.

Thus the employers may do a great deal in the sphere of trade, industry and commerce if they widen their outlook and take a social and national view of things and much of the failure in business may be avoided. In this connection, it is desirable that we should talk of another thing which, we expect, will not only ameliorate the condition of the bank-employees but will also pave the path of mutual understanding and reciprocity between them and their employers—consolidating the strength of the banking institutions. By this, we mean the inauguration of a union of the bank-employees. The bank authorities have nothing to be scared at the idea. Once surh a union is formed, the tasks of both the employers and the employees will be made easier and perhaps a better understanding will prevail cementing any differences between them and removing any cause for disruption and consequent disorder. It is also desirable that the Indian Institute of Bankers, being the only and central organisation formed for the uplift of banking in the country, should take some interest in the matter. We see no reason why it should not take upon itself the task of looking into the grievances of the bank-employees and also into the difficulties and inconveniences of the employers for any possible solution. Everything will be made easier when the initial difficulties of enquiring into all the possible problems requiring solution, are passed over and some definite rules framed for guidance. We invite the attention of the Council of the Institute to this task.



In the rains — Manindrabhushan Gupta

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL AND THE MUHAMMADANS

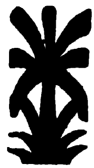
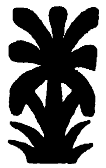
By J. M. DATTA

THE Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal is the oldest and the premier cultural research institution in Asia, established under the guidance of Sir William Jones in 1784. The objects of the Society were described by him at the inaugural meeting as "enquiring into history, civil and natural, the antiquities, arts and sciences and literature of Asia." Its members may, therefore, be supposed to take interest in all human cultural activities. Out of its 386 members, only 25 are Muhammadans; and of these 25 only 17 have given their addresses to be in Bengal. Excluding the Europeans and Jews &c., the proportion of Hindus : Muhammadans among its members is 9 : 1. The Bengali Muhammadans always claim their *hissya* or share in services under the State, grants to educational institutions, representation in elective bodies, etc., to be proportional to their population strength, *i.e.*, at least 55 per cent.

But when it becomes the question of shouldering responsibilities or paying subscriptions there the proportion suddenly dwindles to a mere fraction of their population strength. We are not, however, surprised at the low strength of the Muhammadans; and consider it to be natural. Broadly speaking, one who is likely to take interest in the cultural activities of such a society as the Royal Asiatic Society may be expected to be at least a graduate or to possess similar qualifications. The proportion of Muhammadan graduates is some 12 to 14 per cent only. If we take the proportion of M.A.s, the proportion would be still smaller. It is only very recently that the percentage of the Muhammadans in colleges has increased to as much as 13 or 14 per cent. Their progress is summarrised below :

Year	Percentage of Muhammadans in Arts Colleges
1886-87	4·2
1896-97	·5·6
1901-02	6·0
1913-14	7·8
1916-17	8·8
1921-22	12·8
1931-32	13·3

It is interesting to note that neither any one of the Muhammadan Ministers of Bengal, including the Premier—Education Minister, nor the Muhammadan Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, is a member of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. And the interest taken by the predominantly Muhammadan (and communally-minded) Ministry of Bengal in the affairs of the Royal Asiatic Society is evidenced by their neglect to restore the 20 per cent cuts (imposed in 1932 during the economic depression) in the annual grants to the Society. The Bengal Government used to pay Rs. 6,000 a year for the publication of Oriental Works and Works of Instruction in Eastern languages. It used to pay Rs. 3,000 for the publication of hitherto unpublished Sanskrit works. It used to pay Rs. 3,000 for the publication of Arabic and Persian works. It also paid Rs. 3,200 for the publication of the catalogue of precious and rare Sanskrit manuscripts acquired by the Society, and Rs. 3,600 for research work. In all the Bengal Government used to pay Rs. 18,800; and they retrenched it by Rs. 3,760. The Ministry, which is spending, shall we say squandering, lakhs and lakhs in grants to this and that new-fangled institution; and is wasting Rs. 30,000 a year by subsidizing the newspaper *Azad*, edited by one of its supporters and followers in the Legislature, has not restored the cut of Rs. 3,760. The Government of India used to give Rs. 5,000 a year for cataloguing and binding the Arabic and Persian manuscripts. The grant has been reduced to Rs. 2,500. But the Muhammadan M.L.A.'s have never pressed during all these 7 or 8 years for the restoration of the cut. Why should they ? They are out only to get loaves and fishes of office; they are not at all anxious for the cultural and scientific activities which require brains.

 INDIAN PERIODICALS 

The Indian Museum

The Indian Museum is not a single homogenous organism, but an association of scientific and artistic sections. The only common aim of the different departments which are responsible for the various sections is the maintenance of the several public show-galleries, but otherwise they have very different functions to perform and are even under the administrative charges of different departments of the Government of India. B. Prashad writes in *Science and Culture*:

The significance of the word "Museum" or Temple of Muses has changed a great deal since early times. The first recorded institution which bore the name "Museum" was founded by Ptolemy Soter at Alexandria about 300 B.C. This institution was not a museum in the modern sense, but in accordance with its etymology, it was a place dedicated to the cultivation of learning, and frequented by a society or academy of learned men who devoted themselves to studies and improvement of knowledge.

In the earlier ages certain great monarchs, such as Solomon of Jerusalem and Augustus of Rome, assembled together in their palaces curiosities received from different parts of the world, but no records for the existence of any permanent or public collections of natural objects for those times have been traced. The nearest approach to such collections is perhaps to be found in the preservation of remarkable specimens, sometimes associated with superstitious veneration, sometimes with strange legendary stories, in buildings devoted to public worship. As an example of this type may be mentioned the skins of gorillas brought by the navigator Hanno from the West Coast of Africa, which were hung in the temple at Carthage. With the revival of learning in the Middle Ages the collecting instinct, which is inborn in peoples of various nations, but which had not shown itself in any tangible shape so far, suddenly came to the fore, and museums or collections of miscellaneous objects, antiquities as well as natural curiosities, and often having associated with them galleries of sculpture and painting, became fashionable appendages of the establishments of many cultured and wealthy people.

All these earlier collections were formed and maintained by private individuals.

Sometimes physicians with a natural taste for biological sciences amassed collections of animals and plants for study. In some cases great merchant princes with trading connections in foreign lands and even ruling princes in their private capacity obtained from foreign countries objects which might be considered curious and displayed them in their houses or palaces.

Later when societies for the advancement of knowledge came into existence, they frequently in their corporate capacity included the establishment of a museum as a part of their functions, and the foundation of the Indian Museum in the earlier stages comes under this head.

This institution was started as a subsidiary activity of the Asiatick Society, Calcutta, (now known as the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal) in 1814 and has gradually developed into not only a single repository for exhibits which in other countries are scattered in museums of natural history, archaeology, economical products and art, but it has played a very important part in the advancement of knowledge in various branches in the country.

Its popular name "*Nia Jadughar*" indicates its relationship with the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal which is still generally known as the "*Purana Jadughar*." Incidentally it may be mentioned that "Jadughar," as applied to a museum, is a misnomer, for this name in other parts of the country is generally restricted to Masonic lodges.

Briefly the Indian Museum may be described as the national repository of collections of Indian antiquities, of the natural history of the country and in fact of most parts of Asia, of the economic products, and the arts and crafts of India. In addition it houses probably the finest collection of Indian pictures of the various Hindu and Mohammedan schools, as also some representative paintings of modern Indian art. It will thus be seen that the Indian Museum corresponds not only to the British Museum, London, before its natural history sections were transferred from Bloomsbury to their present quarters in South Kensington, but also includes within its domains the National Picture Gallery of the country as well.

The Indian Museum at present consists of the following sections:

(*i*) Zoological and Anthropological (anthropology is given a very wide scope, as it includes within its domain physical and cultural anthropology and ethnology); (*ii*) Geological and Palæontological; (*iii*) Archæological; (*iv*) Economic section, including the botanical department; and (*v*) the Art section.

The general management of the Indian Museum, which is vested in a board of trustees, is carried out by the honorary secretary with the help of a Committee of Management constituted by the Heads of the various sections of the Museum. There is no separate Director of the whole Museum, and the different sections are managed respectively by the Director of the Zoological Survey of India, the Director of the Geological Survey of India, the Superintendent of the Archæological Section (an officer of the Archæological Survey of

India), the Officer in charge of the Economic Section (an officer of the Botanical Survey of India), and the Principal of the Government School of Art, Calcutta.

The main Museum building was occupied in 1875, although it was not completed till 1877.

It is quadrangular building in Greek style, and is built of red bricks overlaid with a sandy-grey plaster. The western wing with the main entrance extends for over 500 feet along the Chowringhee and faces the famous Maidan of the city, while its eastern wing abuts on the Sudder Street. It is a very imposing building, of great simplicity and charm, and occupies one of the most central and conspicuous sites in the City of Palaces, as Calcutta is often styled. The four sides of this quadrangular building consist of public galleries on the first two floors, and on each floor there is a broad passage or corridor, enclosed by a colonnade in the Italian style and overlooking the turfed, rectangular open plot of the quadrangle in the centre. A third storey was later added on the top of the western wing for the laboratories and collections of the natural history section, now the Zoological Survey of India, and the Lecture Hall of the Museum. In addition to this main building there is the three-storied new wing built in continuation of the western part on its south side, which now houses the public galleries of pre-historic archæology and art on its ground and first floors respectively, and the offices of the Archæological Section and the picture gallery and office of the Art Section on the top floor. There is similarly a block on the north-east side of the quadrangle for the ethnological and industrial galleries and the herbarium.

The offices and reserve collection of the Geological Survey of India are in a separate building, which is situated in the same compound to the east of the main Museum.

A Story About Charlie Andrews

A. G. Fraser tells the following story about the late C. F. Andrews in the *Visva-Bharati News* :

The noblest British Governor I have ever met, Sir Gordon Guggisberg, asked me once if I could arrange a meeting between him and Charlie, as he was most anxious to meet him. He wanted, if possible, to have him to lunch at his club, the Army and Navy Club, in Pall Mall. Knowing how particular that Club is as regards dress, I told Sir Gordon that Charlie might turn up in any sort of clothes. He said he did not care, so a lunch was fixed up. I was with Sir Gordon when the hall porter came and said, "Sir, there is a man at the door who says he has an appointment with you but I did not like to let him in till you had seen him." I said, "That's Andrews!" and we went to the door, and there he was worse dressed than I have ever seen him. Guggisberg welcomed him gladly and we went into lunch at a small table. Whilst we were eating Admirals, Generals, Governors came up to the table to greet Sir Gordon and he introduced them all to Charlie. Then we retired to an alcove for quiet talk and Charlie's visit to British Guiana was fixed up. Then Charlie had to leave and Guggisberg saw him down to the street and put him in a taxi. Away Charlie went and Guggisberg followed the taxi with his eyes, his head bowed, till it was out of sight round a corner. There followed a silence, then he turned to me and,

said slowly, "I feel as though I had been honoured to give lunch to my Lord."

Between Two Wars: 1919-1939

Human history since 1914 has been a bafflingly complex affair. The political scene has been changing every day, often every hour, like a prepetually agitated kaleidoscope. In giving a succinct account of the two decades wedged between the world war that came to a close in November, 1918. and the one that started in September, 1939, Dr. K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar recapitulates in *The Twentieth Century* some of the principal events of the period:

Perhaps some of us do not quite realize that about twenty-five years earlier, in August, 1914, England went to war against Germany, also in the company of France. The menace then was the Kaiser's Germany as today the menace is Hitler's Germany. Then the war was fought to end all wars, to make the world safe for democracy, to preserve the integrity of small nations like Servia and Belgium. How is it that twenty years afterwards we are faced with an identical situation?

After the Armistice men and women yearned and prayed for one thing more than any other—the abolition of war as an instrument of national policy. People genuinely wished to outlaw war in future.

The German war machine that had more than held the entire world at bay for over four years was visibly cracking in the months of September and October, 1918. Germany sued for peace. It was not surprising that Marshal Foch's terms were severe,—they were indeed written "in the blood of his dead son and his countrymen." Anyhow fighting ceased at 11 a.m. on the 11th November, 1918. Preparations were soon afoot to hold the "Peace Conference" at Versailles.

On the 18th January, 1919, the Conference was inaugurated by President Poincare in the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles.

M. Clemenceau, the French Premier, was elected President of the Conference. There were seventy plenipotentiaries representing the twenty-seven allied and associated powers. Ultimately, "the Big Four"—Wilson, Lloyd George, Clemenceau, and Orlando (of Italy)—decided everything. Of the four, Orlando knew no English and neither Wilson nor Lloyd George knew French: only Clemenceau knew French as well as English, and this placed him at a strategic advantage. The deliberations within closed doors were seemingly interminable; there were recriminations and misunderstandings. At length the Treaty emerged, with the Covenant of the League of Nations as the first Chapter. It was presented to the German delegates on May 7. Brockdorff-Rantzau was aghast, and he is said to have remarked: This fat volume was quite unnecessary. They could have put the whole thing more simply in a single clause, 'Germany renounces her existence'."

It was almost as bad as all that. On the other hand, it is useless to heap odium on the heads of the peacemakers of 1919. Under the circumstances they could have done no better. Clemenceau had lived through the humiliation of the Franco-Prussian war of 1870 and had gone through the horrors of Verdun and Marne; and yet he was not half as vindictive as the bulk of his countrymen or as Poincare, the President. Lloyd George, and among his colleagues notably General Smuts, were for a comparatively lenient treaty. Wilson, of course, was as faithful as practicable to his "Fourteen Points"; and he hoped, moreover, that the extreme provisions of the Treaty would be suitably modified later on by the League of Nations.

Thus it was that Germany was obliged to sign the Treaty on June 28, 1919, five years to a day after the murder of the Archduke Frans Ferdinand. The blockade was lifted, and Germany was free to resume normal life.

The crux of post-war politics was Reparations.

Lloyd George had won his Armistice election by promising, against his better judgment, that Germany shall pay and that (futility of futilities!) the Kaiser shall be tried. On this account, Lloyd George's hands were more or less tied during the Peace Conferences and after. The French and the Belgians had ravished countries before them and, naturally enough, wished to recover damages from the defeated foe. No doubt, all the combatants had suffered losses in men and money, but France and Belgium had claims to special treatment. These two countries had been used as the world's battle-field; whole towns had been destroyed, the communications had been thrown out of gear, rich and fair fields had been laid waste.

The Allies, and their so-called "experts," computed the total damage at 132 milliard gold marks or £6,600 million, and demanded payment of this astronomical figure from an impoverished and prostrate Germany. For two or three years, bravely ignoring his rash electioneering promises, Lloyd George tried a policy of conciliation with Germany. At the Conference of Genoa in 1922 he was very near success, but soon Bonar Law and Baldwin brought about the fall of the Coalition, and the Wizard's palmy days were over. The problem of Reparations was no nearer solution than ever before.

Poincare, France's uncompromising Premier, now dominated the counsels of Europe. He would make the Germans pay. But the Germans were unable to pay—they said so, and stopped payments. The mark was falling, conditions in Germany were deplorable; but Poincare was adamant. The French army marched into the Ruhr in the early months of 1923. Bonar Law dissented, but did nothing more; Belgium and Italy tacitly, but not over-enthusiastically, supported France. But there was nothing doing; the Germans resorted to passive resistance, and ten million Germans laid down their tools.

No money could be screwed out of Ruhr where work was at a standstill. The stalemate was as vexatious to France as it was disastrous to Germany.

At this juncture Dr. Stresemann came to the helm of affairs in Germany and immediately started to accomplish the three-fold task that faced him: the stabilization of the currency; the restoration of order within the Reich; and the appeasement of the Allies. He established the Rentenmark, and the people rallied to its support; he quickly suppressed the Hitler-Ludendorff rising and made the authority of the Reich Government felt throughout the country. He abandoned the unequal passive resistance struggle in Ruhr and persuaded the country to accept the recommendations of the Dawes Committee. The scheme was finally accepted by Germany and her creditors at the London Conference of August, 1924. Germany also obtained a

loan of 800,000,000 gold marks to set herself on her feet. The first period, the period of chaos, is now over.

Poincare no more ruled France; a general election had placed Herriot in power, with Briand as his Foreign Minister. Soon Stresemann, Briand, Austen Chamberlain and Signior Grandi met in Locarno; Belgium, Poland and Czechoslovakia were also represented.

At last nine documents were agreed to and were later signed on October 16, 1925. France and Germany agreed not to resort to war against each other; and Britain agreed to fight against the aggressor should hostilities arise.

On the whole, the Locarno Pact was a landmark in post-war history. It enabled Germany to become a member of the League of Nations; and it paved the way for a few years of recovery and reconstruction in Germany.

Unfortunately, the subsequent financial troubles of France necessitated the return of Poincare as Premier. No doubt, the Foreign Minister was Briand still; but imperceptibly Poincare made it impossible for Briand to be as generous to Germany as he otherwise might have been. Thus the sores remained, however well bandaged by the Dawes Settlement and the Locarno Pact. England, indeed, had made two generous gestures towards the resumption of normalcy in European affairs. Under the Balfour Declaration, England was prepared to forego all reparations and inter-allied debts over and above what she herself owed to the United States.

Later, the Kellogg-Briand Pact, renouncing war as an instrument of national policy, was signed by all the principal countries in the world, including the United States and Russia. Thus, in 1928, it seemed as though the League could count on the unofficial co-operation of practically all the countries in the world.

American prosperity reached phenomenal heights in the early months of 1929.

The old industries were well organized and were yielding good profits and were expected to yield even greater—and still greater—profits in the near future. New industries were being organized and the money market was enthusiastic. The 'boom' seemed to have come to stay taunting the Cassandras who talked about "business cycles" and the unescapability of the alternations between booms and slumps. The speculative boom presently assumed monstrous proportions recalling the mad days of the South Sea Bubble.

The crash came—not unexpectedly—but with startling enough suddenness. There was panic in Wall Street on October 4 and, within a few weeks, American citizens lost 40 billion dollars.

The economic crisis that had developed under such extraordinary circumstances soon adversely affected the whole world. In a word, the days of "recovery" came abruptly to an end.

A difficult situation arose. Some countries raised tariff walls and tried to preserve, in Sir Arthur Salter's word's, "an island of undiminished profits in a sea of depression." Unholy competition led to an uneconomic reduction of prices—even to the wholesale destruction of American wheat and Brazilian coffee. There was depression everywhere, but, paradoxically enough, it was engendered by plenty rather than by scarcity.

Germany's position was none too happy. She was hit hard by the Great Depression. Stresemann was no

more, and Bruning was guiding her destinies hesitantly, warily. Hitler's Nazi Party, after a temporary eclipse, was gaining strength every month.

Bruning was assailed on both sides,—by the Nazis as well as by the Communists. To add to his troubles, unemployed figures steadily rose and presently touched six million.

Meanwhile another serious crisis developed on the financial front.

In May of 1931, the Credit-Anstalt, the banking institution most closely associated with Austria's industrial enterprise, became insolvent. This was a shock to the confidence of creditors. There was a 'run' on Germany and the Reichbank lost a quarter of its reserves within a fortnight.

While business was dislocated and money was scanty, the Governments were yet spending huge sums on armaments.

At length it was decided to hold a general World Disarmament Conference that was to tackle all types of armaments. After many delays the Conference was opened on February 2, 1932, by Mr. Arthur Henderson with a feeling speech.

Soon after the Conference commenced its work, bad news came from Germany. Bruning had gone into the wilderness and von Papen reigned in his stead, with Baron von Neurath as his Foreign Minister. Neurath insisted on the powers acceding to Germany's demand for equality in armaments. There were flutters in the dovecotes of Paris, Rome and London. After many alarums and excursions the principle of theoretical equality was conceded to von Schleicher's government (which had succeeded von Papen's) in December, 1932. Already it was too late. Events were moving swiftly in Germany in the first weeks of 1933, and on January 30, Hitler became Chancellor in a Coalition Government.

The period of insecurity now overflows into the final period of visible disintegration. It was obvious that Hitler meant mischief. His ruthlessness was a palpably fearful phenomenon. He quickly suppressed civil liberties in Germany, incarcerated the Communist and other opposition deputies, sent many Jews and similar undesirables to the "concentration camps" (those hideous institutions of Nazi savagery and ingenuity), dismissed scores of faculty members at the Universities of Berlin, Bonn and other centres, dissolved the Social Democratic Party and brought about the "voluntary" liquidation of the Nationalists and Centrists. There were no other organs of public opinion except those unscrupulously controlled by Dr. Goebbels. The local diets themselves were dissolved and all power was concentrated in Hitler's hands. All this was the handiwork of a few months.

The League—Yesterday and To-morrow

The Aryan Path observes:

Lovers of Peace everywhere must salute with respect as well as with sympathy the small State of Denmark which has suffered through the immorality of Germany. Denmark in 1929-1930 set a historic lesson to the world; it voluntarily disarmed itself and thus proved its sincerity and moral superiority by attempting, in a realistic manner, to carry out the programme for disarmament, relying on the peace machinery set up by the League of Nations. While others talked, Denmark acted. Its achievement was commented upon in our very first volume (May 1930) by the late Francis Perrot.

Francis Perrot concluded his article thus:

"It is admitted even by pacifists that disarmament involves some risks for the disarmed country. The majority of the Danes consider that the risk is worth taking so as to set an example of courage for an ideal. If Denmark disarms, her action will have an enormous influence in breaking the charmed circle of suspicion and fear which keeps the nations from paying more than lip service to the belief in the peaceful settlement of disputes, though—in form—war has been 'outlawed' in solemn pacts and treaties."

Apart from their own failure to make due preparation, Denmark with every other small State has suffered because of the failure of the League of Nations dominated by certain Great Powers.

As publicity officer of the League of Nations Union in London, Mr. Leslie R. Aldous has acted as observer at ten Assemblies of the League at Geneva. Writing, therefore, from intimate first-hand experience he says:

"Important States, exerting a powerful influence upon League policy at Geneva, have been too prone to pick and choose the occasions when, in their respective opinions, the League should be used. Almost all the Great Powers of the West were to blame for the League's ineffectiveness at the time of the Manchurian crisis."

France and Britain had a share in precipitating the present European catastrophe; the recognition of this fact may not be very necessary for the destructios of Hitler and his armies, which every lover of liberty desires; but is not such recognition absolutely necessary for the destruction of Hitlerism?

If world-peace is to emerge after the present war the victors' clear perception of moral principles and their thoroughgoing application of those principles to themselves will become necessary. Hitler victorious doubtless would mean the death of liberty and the corruption of culture; but will the victory of the Allies mean Liberty for all, Justice for all? Their actions between 1919 and 1939 do not inspire great confidence.

If they had followed the grand example of the small State of Denmark, and had acted not with the giant's strength but with gracious justice, Hitler would never have risen to power. Francis Perrot began his article of May, 1930 thus:

"The attention of the world is concentrated, as I write, upon Five Powers Naval Conference in London. After weeks of dreary and dubious negotiation, the issue is still doubtful. Will the statesmen of the great powers (minus Germany for whom the problem has been obligingly settled by her victors) display the statesmanship necessary to satisfy the longings of their peoples for some relief from the terrible burden of vast and expensive fleets? Or will the outcome be—to quote one of the cynical *Mots* which circulate in the ante-rooms of St. James's Palace—merely 'better, brighter and cheaper wars in the future'? No one knows whether fear or courageous idealism will emerge victorious in the momentous struggle that is going on in secret, though what is in question is not only national prosperity but the very continuance of our western civilisation."

Snakes

Knowing how to administer prompt treatment in case of snake bite will make one feel easier, and will perhaps enable one to save a life. C. F. Greeves Carpenter writes in *The Oriental Watchman and Herald of Health* :

Snakes do not necessarily have to coil before striking; they are usually only able to strike a distance equal to a third of their body length, unless they happen to be on a smooth surface when the force with which they lunge in striking might tend to slide the body forward. They cannot travel faster than about three and a half miles an hour, according to a recent investigation. They do not "spit" venom (except the spitting cobra), but must, instead, plant their fangs in the victim's flesh before they are able to inject poison. They cannot withstand exposure to the sun for more than twenty minutes or so, and thus are more likely to be encountered in cool, shady places. Of course, the tongue, which seems to dart incessantly in and out of the mouth, is *not* the instrument by which they inject venom, it is merely a highly sensitive organ by the aid of which they are able to tell the surface with which they come in contact. Snakes are seldom aggressive, preferring to keep out of man's way; but individual snakes are likely to act differently !

Of course, all snakes can bite; but the bite of the non-venomous varieties is harmless, and no more serious than a series of pin pricks, and the punctures are more or less a series of tiny indentations following the general shape of the reptile's jaw.

The fang punctures of the venomous snake, on the other hand, usually show only as two distinct punctures. The fangs are located in the upper jaw, and are really elongated teeth, and are folded back in a membranous sheath when not in use. In the act of striking, the fangs spring forward on hinges. The fangs probably are the forerunners of our modern hypodermic needle, for they are quite as sharp, and are canaliculated in much the same manner. Each canal connects with a venom sac located back of the reptile's eyes.

Once the venom sacs are emptied, it takes as many as ten days for them to refill.

First, the victim of snake bite should be kept as quiet as possible; running and alcoholic stimulants are dangerous, as either would increase the blood circulation and therefore the rate of absorption of the venom. A tourniquet should be placed above the bite, and drawn just sufficiently tight to cut off superficial circulation. Next, the area should be painted with iodine, and crisscross incisions, one-eighth to one-quarter inch deep by one-half inch long, should be made with a sterilized razor blade over the fang punctures, and then suction should be applied.

There are several other things which should *not* be done. Don't injure the tissues by injecting potassium permanganate, which is now known to be of no value as an antidote. Do not depend on snake-bite cures or home remedies commonly used, because they are of no value. Do not cauterize the site of the bite with strong acids or similar chemicals.

There are several excellent and very inexpensive snake-bite suction outfits on the market.

It is better to purchase one with metal cups, as glass ones would probably be dropped and broken in the excitement consequent upon a venomous snake bite. These cups are made in two sizes,—one small, so that it will fit on a finger, and the other larger for flatter surfaces. A rubber band is included with the outfit, which is to be used as a tourniquet. If one has neglected to obtain such an outfit, and has no cuts or abrasions on the lips or ulcerated teeth in the mouth, then suction may be applied by mouth. Suction is imperative, as it is the only way to remove the venom. It should be kept up for twenty minutes every hour or until medical aid can be reached. As the natural swelling from the venom increases in the area, fresh incisions should be made at the edges of the swollen area, and suction should be applied to them. In order to prevent gangrene, the tourniquet should be slowly loosened every fifteen minutes for a few seconds and then retightened.

Leather leggings are a protection against the long, sharp fangs of some snakes. The greatest protection of all, however, is to learn to recognize a venomous snake at sight, and to keep still should you suddenly see or hear one, for then, in most instances, it will glide off without molesting you.

There are many non-venomous species of snakes, and a word of praise should be given them, for they are most active in keeping down rodents, etc., which would be most harmful to our agriculture. Don't, therefore, wantonly, savagely, destroy every snake you may see.

A Strange Pilgrimage

G. Venkatachalam visits a fifteen-century old Buddhist monastery in Korea. He writes about this strange pilgrimage in *The Indian Review*:

Buddhism first entered Japan *via* Korea. It was a King of Kudara (Korea) who attempted to civilise Japan about the sixth century A.D. by sending priests, scriptures and artists to introduce the new religion in that neighbouring kingdom.

A few decades later, under the reign of the noble Queen and and Empress Suiko and her regent Prince Shotoku, Buddhism became the State religion of Japan. Prince Shotoku, like King Asoka, was a royal convert, who used all his power and influence for spreading this new faith in his land and in building schools, hospitals, temples and monasteries for the propagation of his religion.

Korea received the *Dhamma* indirectly from China and directly from India somewhere about the first century A. D.

A band of *Bhikkus* from India arrived in Korea during the reign of King Nankai of the Silla dynasty about the beginning of the Christian era and sought his help and sympathy for preaching the law and for erecting temples and monasteries in his kingdom.

The mountains of Kongo in the north-eastern corner of the Korean peninsula afforded an ideal shelter and seclusion for their retreat and worship. and here they built *chaityas* and *viharas*, the remains of which can still be seen in the Seiyo-ji and Yuten-ji temples of the Inner Kongo.

The Kongo mountains are most unique in the world. They are popularly known as the Diamond Mountains in geography books, famous for their beauty and sublime scenery.

Amidst these gorgeous mountain sceneries, reminding one of the majesty of some of the Himalayan side-valleys, lie scattered about some of the oldest Buddhist shrines and monasteries in the world. My visit to one of them was a thrilling experience indeed.

I had climbed Kimengan and Sansengan, two prominent peaks in the Outer Kongo, and was spending the night in the temple of Shinkei-ji (itself over a thousand years old), not far from the village of Onseiri from where I had attempted the climb that morning.

"Let's do Seiyo-ji monastery tomorrow. It's only a day's march from here," said my companion, a Korean student from a Japanese University, who was also hiking in those parts.

"What's special about it?" I asked him.

"It's the oldest Buddhist place in our country," my companion answered, "and also it was founded centuries ago by priests from India."

That, of course, settled it.

We made an early start as the way before us was all uphill climbing.

We rested at high noon at an old hermitage which hung precariously, supported by a copper pillar on the side of a steep mountain pathway.

Higher and higher we climbed till we emerged upon a storm-tossed terrace exposed to all the winds of the heaven. Looking from here we saw an unbelievably fantastic sight of a long range of rugged peaks appearing like a host of giant vultures perched upon tree-tops waiting to swoop down upon their prey in the valley below. We saw, too, close at hand rocks round-shaped, graceful in line and feminine in their beauty.

Descending down a gorge in which roared and thundered innumerable streams, big and small, we traversed more pine-clad valleys before we arrived at our destination towards sunset hour.

In the receding darkness the valley of Seiyo-ji monastery, with its greytiled roofs and red-pillared shrines, looked an enchanted castle.

In the centre was a polygonal structure painted red and supported by pillars. A large door with massive shutters opened at one side, flanked by the painted white elephants on either side of the doorway. A number of tiled buildings, in the Korean architectural style, surrounded this polygonal hall, and not far, in the compound, were the remains of a three-storied pagoda, a stone lantern and other relics of an yet more ancient temple.

We arrived silent and soft-footed, like two ghosts, and the monks, had the surprise of their lives. News soon spread of the arriyal of two strangers.

From an inner chamber emerged a portly personage, in loose flowing robes and with a massive head, and approaching us addressed my young friend in the Korean language. My companion explained who we were and introduced me as a pilgrim from India. He was visibly delighted when he heard that I was from the land of the *Buddha Dhamma*. He clapped and shouted and soon we were surrounded by a crowd of animated and gesticulating monks.

The next day we were taken round the temples and monasteries, and special ceremonial rites were held

in our honour and for our safety. The abbot told me, through my companion, that he and his monks were more than delighted to have me as their guest as I was the first Indian to visit their monastery after it was founded by an Indian Bhikku nearly fifteen hundred years ago. That was, indeed, an historic occasion, he assured me, and pleasure and surprise was all over his face.

As I sat listening to him, in that quiet corner of distant Asia, I could not help recalling to my mind, with pride and surging emotion, the glory that was Aryavarta's in those far-off days. What a cradle land of culture and civilisation, religions and philosophies, arts and sciences, seers and saints, heroes and heroines!

Akhnaton, Adorer of the Aton

It is the opinion of some Egyptologists that Pharaoh Amen-hotep IV, better known as Akhnaton, was the first human being who realized the Fatherhood of God and Brotherhood of Man. In his heart was the peace of the Aton, the spiritual sun. Manly P. Hall observes in *The Theosophist*:

Amen-Hotep IV, the Golden Hawk, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Only One of Ra, Son of the Sun, Great in Duration, the Mighty Bull, Lofty of Plumes, Beloved of Amon-Ra, and Lord of Heaven, was born at Thebes in the year 1288 (?) B.C. The name Amen-hotep, in Greek Amenophis, means "the peace of Amon." . . .

When Amen-hotep IV had reached his twelfth year his health brought general concern not only to his family but to the whole Empire.

The Prince was united in marriage with an Egyptian girl named Nefertiti.

A short time after the marriage, Amen-hotep III died in his early fifties, leaving the crown to the thirteen-year-old invalid who already showed a strange tendency to visions and dreams.

From earliest childhood the young Pharaoh was more of a priest than a statesman and well deserved the title "the Great of Visions."

Amen-hotep IV ruled Egypt for seventeen years.

The Inevitable conflict between the youthful idealist and the priesthood of Amon-Ra took definite shape in the fifth and sixth years of his reign.

It would be quite wrong to deny a deep spiritual significance to the ancient Egyptian religion. The gods of the various nomes, or provinces, of the Empire were symbols of the great spiritual truths of life. The Mysteries of Egypt were among the deepest of religious institutions, and the secret doctrines of India and the old world were preserved in the adyta of the Egyptian temples.

It was when Amen-hotep IV reached the nineteenth year of his life that he broke finally with the priesthood of Amon-Ra.

It was after this official break with the old hierarchy that he changed his name.

The name which he chose, and by which he is now remembered, was Akhnaton, which means "the Aton is satisfied."

As time passed, he realized that he must not only break with the ancient faith, but he must also depart from its city and all of the ties of tradition and culture that flourished there. The young Pharaoh chose a site for his new capital about a hundred and sixty miles up the Nile from Cairo. Here he built the city of Khut-en-Aton—the Horizon of Aton.

His new city with its temple to the Formless One being at last inhabitable, Akhnaton took up his residence there, in the eighth year of his reign.

Charles F. Potter, in his *History of Religion* writes:

"He (Akhnaton) was also the first pacifist, the first realist, the first monotheist, the first democrat, the first heretic, the first humanitarian, the first internationalist, and the first person known to attempt to found a religion. He was born out of due time, several thousand years too soon."

Abounding in virtues unusual to his time, inspired by motives incomprehensible to his contemporaries, Akhnaton suffered as all idealists must suffer.

Tiy, the Queen Mother, seems to have exercised a powerful influence over her son's political attitudes. She was a modifying and restraining force, and very possibly remained to her death in the faith of Amon. His respect for his mother held Akhnaton's religious enthusiasm within certain bounds, but with her passing this restraint was removed.

Soon after the death of Queen Tiy, Akhnaton issued an edict that the name of Amon should be erased from every inscription in Egypt. So complete and thorough was the work of his agents, that scarcely a statuette remained in which the hated name was not defaced.

The last two years of Akanaton's reign may be regarded as the period of discouragement. The faith he had founded was not strong enough to withstand the ever-present priest-hood of Amon.

Only a few of the most intelligent Egyptians could understand what he was trying to teach. The world was not ready for the rule of love. Added to his other perplexities were the clouds of war. It was the Hittite invasion of Syria that prepared the way for the end. Conspirators arose, the vassal countries that looked to Egypt for protection sent messengers in vain. The governors of provinces pled for help against the invaders and traitors, but Akhnaton would not send arms. To the dreamer-king, Aton was the One Father of all men and this ever-living God would not sanction war and pillage. The Pharaoh stood firm, but his firmness was of no avail. His cities were conquered. Little by little his revenues ceased, for his governors no longer had provinces to tax. In two short years the magnificent Empire of Thutmosis III was bankrupt.

On the front of his coffin he is called "Akhnaton, the Beautiful Child of the Living Aton, whose name shall live for ever and ever."

More than 3,000 years have passed since Akhnaton wrestled with the gods of Egypt.

The homage of the modern world, a little wiser in the mysteries of spirit, may be best expressed in the words of Professor Breasted: "There died with him such a spirit as the world had never seen before." . . .

Another modern student of the philosophy of Akhnaton, Mrs. Julia Ellsworth Ford, concisely states

the great Pharaoh's position in the evolution of civilization in her interesting article " Akhnaton : Pharaoh and Prophet " :

Akhnaton thus emerges as one of the most remarkable characters that have ever been born into the world. He was a prophet, a teacher of truth and sincerity, a seer, a philosopher, a reformer. a great poet, an architect, a lover of music. He was a brave and fearless rejector of dogma, tradition. superstition,—it is amazing the way he threw them off like dead leaves to the wind. Although a king, he believed in democracy and made friends of people of peasant origin. In all history and romance, there is no man who loved a woman more devotedly than Akhnaton loved Nefertiti. His position as ruler, his religion, his honours—all he shared equally with her—" my great wife, Nefertiti," as he called her. For the first time in history, 3,000 years ago, a government was run on the principle of Love. It was not his principles, but the lack of principle in his enemies that destroyed him.

The second millennium B. C. was a period of extreme religious obscuration.

The ancient world had not recovered from the collapse of the Atlantean culture. The great social institutions of pre-historic times no longer guided the course of empire. Humanity was adjusting itself to a new vision and new codes of living. The Mystery Schools still flourished but the number of adepts was small and the Secret Doctrine could only be given to people in fables, symbols and moral teachings of a simple nature. Most of the nations had their own gods, and an entirely national or tribal outlook in religious matters. The gods of Egypt were the guardians of the Egyptians but had no place in their hearts for other races. India still paid homage to its ancient tribal deities, worshipping spirits of fire and air. The Jew propitiated his own peculiar god as the Lord of Israel and protector of his tribe. The Golden Age of philosophy had not come to Greece, and it was to be more than seven hundred years before Buddha was to release India from the mis-interpretations of the Brahmins, and Pythagoras was to lift the Greeks to a first place among philosophic nations.

It was against the concept of a tribal god that Akhnaton hurled the strength of his inner conviction.

He stood in the midst of images and altars raised to patron deities and tribal tutelaries. This enlightened Pharaoh raised his voice in a glorious hymn of praise to the one secret and eternal Spirit that ruled all men. To him there were no longer gods of Karnak, gods of Luxor, gods of Thebes. To him there was no longer Jehovah, Adonis or Amon-Ra. There was one God, and, though His names were many, His essence was indivisible.

Acknowledgment

The pictures illustrating Mr. Chaman Lal's article, " Who Discovered America," published in the June number of *The Modern Review,* were reproduced from his recently published book *Hindu America,* by the kind permission of the author.



FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Peril of Pacifism

Writing in *The Month*, Thomas Corbishley discusses the pacifist attitude to war.

The pacifist need not think that his attitude to war is based on any novel discovery of his own. No man in his senses would not agree with him that if there is any possible alternative to war as a method of settling differences, it would be lunacy not to try it. But there are more horrible things than the butchery of warfare, even the large-scale slaughter of modern totalitarian warfare; there is the organized enslavement of the human spirit; there is the organized technique of lying and treachery and bad faith; there is the organized brutality of Gestapo and Ogpu; there is the organized impiety of pagan racialism and militant antheism. These are the evil things that are worse than killing and being killed. And, therefore, if war is the only means to their eradication, war it must needs be.

Let us look at pacifism with a more realist eye than the pacifist uses for war. Let us sppose that the pacifist *is* right—that it is the duty of all men, in the face of aggression, to submit to having their rights trampled underfoot. Is not this to co-operate in the sin of another by permitting injustice to prevail ? And if the pacifist quotes at us the text about turning the other cheek, we may surely ask him what he proposes to do in the case of someone else's rights being attacked. In other words, is not pacifism, as ordinarily understood, not a check upon, but an actual incentive to, injustice ? As the Dean of St. Paul's has written so well :

"It seems obvious enough that any wide prevalence of the pacifist doctrine in the nation today would help to condemn the world to a long spell of the most stupid kind of tyranny. The belief that the forward surge of this evil power can be prevented by passive resistance is chimerical. To anyone who understands the type of man with whom we have to deal it is ludicrous to suggest that they could be deterred by the spectacle of the Peace Pledge Union gravely disapproving of their action. The Jews could offer nothing but passive resistance to their persecutors, and we know what has happened to them; the Czechs were reduced to the same condition, and we know what is happening to them. What is to prevent a triumphant Nazi Germany doing the same to the inhabitants of these islands ? . . . When it was too late our pacifist friends would realize that they had been standing idly by while the soul of their people was being murdered." (*The Moral Issues of the War*, p. 33).

The paper concludes with the following remarks :

In a finite world, the interests of States will inevitably clash. Ideally speaking, of course, such a clash of interests need not and should not result in war. And it is to be hoped that through the very education which war brings, men will learn, will be driven to find, a less costly and more effective method of settling differences. It may be that such a discovery is in sight. But it is surely clear as the noon-day that, in face of the threat of armed force, the pacifist policy of non-resistance can only result in deepening the conviction of the aggressor that force alone pays. He must be taught that it does not. And since the only language he at present understands is that of armed might, it is of no use to speak to him in any other way. And those who, by a mistaken idea of the "duty" of Christian pacifism, help to perpetuate the reign of injustice and oppression in Europe will surely bear a grave responsibility.

Fallacious Arguments for War

The following extract is from a review appearing in *World Order* of Prof. W. C. Allee's "The Social Life of Animals," which has a chapter on "Some Human Implication."

The author considers the stock arguments on the inevitability and justification of war, arguments which since the publication of the book the present world upheaval seems to have rendered curiously inadequate. From the biological standpoint these arguments are fallacious. Advocates of the thesis that wars keep racial stocks vigorous "are troubled by the Chinese. This much-discussed and frequently invaded land was populated by the forerunners of the present Chinese during the days when Egypt, Assyria, Babylonia, Greece, and Persia, to name no more, were fighting the wars recorded in our general histories. Those warlike peoples have lost their racial vigor but the Chinese, who have been relatively peaceful, have retained it. This stumbling block cannot be removed by denying racial vigor to the Chinese; they have, in the, past, absorbed too many temporary conquerors, and have occupied and are occupying by peaceful penetration too much of the earth's territory, to be dismissed as a racially decadent people. There are anthropologists who reckon them biologically the most advanced people living today."

In exploding the stock over-population theory, he says that not long ago he heard an expert say "that population pressure is not a direct cause of war, but can be used by a clever leader to range a nation behind aggressive policies which lead to war. In the short run it is easier than to educate people to apply the available knowledge which would allow" a country to provide adequately for her people from her own potential resources without need of invading other countries.

The question of primary interest is : Can the basic principles of struggle and co-operation work together in the international relations of men ? The objection that the world is too large a unit for a workable international organization is no longer tenable. Prof. Allee describes the type of society of nations acceptable to the scientist. "Such an international organization might be set up much as the Federal Government of our own country was planned, to supervise the functioning of different States. This system calls for re-

presentative Government, a relatively unbiased court of final judicial appeal, and certain potential police power, which in our American experience has been used but rarely on a national scale."

Income in Russia

Certainly a state where incomes may exist in the proportion of 500 to 1 has strayed more than a little distance from the fundamental Marxist conception of socialism as a society which (by the action of a central democratic authority) obtains a fairer distribution of wealth, observes *The Living Age*.

The strictures of Soviet leaders and their press against "imperialistic capitalists," "capitalist war incendiaries," "sinister Wall Street" and variations of these tags suggest that the primary concern of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics is a more equitable distribution of the wealth of the land.

But the recent publication of details of the Soviets' new income-tax measures should prove an embarrassment to the millions that continue to believe in the ethical infallibility of Josef Stalin. According to G. E. R. Gedye, cabling from Moscow to the New York *Times*, these new rates disclose schedules for incomes ranging from 600 rubles a year to incomes in excess of 300.000 rubles, a range of income scarcely exceeded even in the "capitalist" United States.

It requires more intellectual legerdemain than the average citizen possesses to regard as "socialist" a State where yearly incomes have a swing (to use dollars as a gauge) of $600 to $300,000, or where Red Army members are privileged to buy at prices forbidden to priests and to citizens working in the professions. Indeed, any such economic disparity has, in most nostrils, a distinctly capitalist odor.

Weapons in Japan's Commercial Advance

Cheapness alone is not responsible for Japan's commercial progress, observes Ernest O. Hauser in *The Living Age;* it is backed up by a shrewd and understanding sales policy. Once a new outlet had been decided upon, scouts were sent to the scene with no other instruction than to study the local made of living.

In the East Indies and Malaya, in the Philippines and in Panama, in Egypt, South Africa, and Cuba, Japanese agents made sketches of every tool, every ornament, every device that people used. They filmed their daily life. They took colored photographs in Arabian bazaars and in New York department stores. They learned what kind of toys were preferred by children in American kindergartens. The scouts reported to their factories.

It was for this reason as well as cheapness that Japanese goods made their appearance in odd and unexpected places. In a Texas store today you can buy a jar with the picture of a cowboy on it and the inscription, "Let 'er buck." It's made in Japan. The Japanese have gone into every market and met the customer on his own terms. By the time Japanese trade expansion reached its peak, the merchants were exporting watches by the kilo to Switzerland, gold fountain pens to Austria and spaghetti to Italy! At the same time (1935) Japan exported 62,808 bottles of perfume and 10,140 cakes of toilet soap to France.

Trade missions, consisting of prominent Japanese businessmen, visited undeveloped markets.

A mission which visited Chile in 1933 carried seventeen *tons* of samples; it distributed advertising matter, quoted prices, and appointed local agents. In one of the largest hotels in Buenos Aires, and in hotels in other South American cities, Japanese commercial exhibitions were held. Japanese trade museums were established in the East Indies which offered sample rooms and information. There was, finally, the device of "sample ships"—Japanese freight or passenger boats which carried large exhibits arranged by Japanese manufacturers to find out the likes and dislikes of their prospective customers. All along the west coast of South America, as well as in Philippine and Australian ports, the shopkeepers would be invited to come aboard and look around. And all the keen-eyed Japanese had to do was to stand by and see which were the most popular displays.

After these preliminary scouting activities, Japan's commercial infantry swarmed in.

British or American firms set up local agencies with swank offices and a highly paid staff and try to get big customers. Not so the Japanese. Japanese salesmen who were sent into the untapped markets of Asia, Africa, South America, with their teeming colonial population, worked from the bottom up. They canvassed native stores and bazaars, marched along country roads, hot sidewalks of the *avenidas*, with tireless feet. They sold everything from glassware to umbrellas, enamel to bicycles, toys, gramophones, sunglasses, dolls, silk goods and cotton cloth.

They were the first to develop a sales technique designed for large colonial populations with many desires and little cash.

There are signs that in industrial methods, the Japanese are not merely adapting western models, with success, but are beginning to show an inventiveness of their own.

There is, for example, the Toyoda Loom, an automatic weaving machine designed to save man-power in the cotton mills of Osaka. While the factories of Manchester were still using machines requiring one worker for every four or six units, Mr. Toyoda's device made it possible to have as masy as 60 units of the machine taken care of by a single woman. His invention aroused considerable interest in Lancashire, and an English firm bought the license rights for a million yen.

In the Imperial Patent Bureau at Tokyo, 800 highly specialized examiners face a mounting tide of inventions. Most of the 100,000 patent applications are either too smart or not smart enough to be taken seriously. But some 20,000 patents are granted every year, and many of the new inventions or precesses are immediately taken up by the versatile industries of the country.

Today, Japanese inventiveness has taken up the struggle for new substitues to mitigate the hardships brought on by the painful kick-back of the war in China.

Somite, a waste fiber product acclaimed as a perfect substitute for metallic materials, is now used in the manufacture of tubes, hinges, door handles, and radio sets. Charcoal burning automobiles, with stream-lined rear engines, have been a common sight in the streets of Japanese cities. A material made of peanut shells and seaweed is used as a substitute for felt. Leather is made of fish skins. Pulp for the manufacture of rayon is produced from beech trees; Silkool, meant to combine the qualities of silk and wool, from soya beans; and syntheic rubber from carbide. A new method of extracting motor fuel from coal, incolving the removal of residue which otherwise would turn into ashes, was invented a few months ago.

A large Osaka department store recently arranged an exhibit of 1,200 newly found substitutes, including bicycles made of fiber and stiff paper.

—

"Justice" in Franco's Spain

Little is known of the fate which awaits Spanish citizens arrested by the state police or the private agents of the Phalangist (fascist) movement, states a Madrid report of the *No-Frontier News Service*. The Spanish newspapers say nothing about the sentences pronounced against men and women arrested by Franco's police on political grounds.

These prisoners, it appears, are numerous. Sometimes their names are published, when they are prominent, or if they happened to be in the public eye at the time of their arrest. Thousands of political opponents of the Franco regime are still at liberty. These are in hiding. The police hunt for them ceaselessly, day and night. Often the military judges themselves order the arrest of those denounced as enemies of the regime.

In this way, the *No-Frontier News Service* has learned, from a reliable source, but one which for obvious reasons cannot now be given, the astounding activity of one single tribunal, No. 11, which is working permanently in Madrid, and which recently summoned the Madrid businessman, Vicent Tarode, to appear. Since the surrender of Madrid, this tribunal has handled 55,514 political trials in a city numbering, in normal times, about a million population. This tribunal alone has condemned just over a twentieth of the normal population of Madrid to various penalties, which are not published abroad, and whish are not even known inside the country, for the press would not dare to print them in spite of its recently-acquired 'freedom.'

The sentences passed by this tribunal have reached the terrible daily rate of 165, or the monthly rate of 5,046. The exact figures of the death sentence are not known, but the foregoing figures by themselves alone suffice to establish that this tribunal has beaten all records. Where are the proofs against prisoners who can be judged and sentenced at the rate of twenty an hour throughout every working period of the day?

Is the Bible Infallible ?

In New York the other day Mr. William Floyd, Editor of the *Arbitrator,* took the Bible into court. An irresponsible evangelist by the name of Rimmer had challenged anybody to find a single scientific error in the Bible, and offered a thousand dolars reward for the feat. Mr. Floyd promptly sent a list of fifty-one such errors, but failed to receive the thousands dollars. Whereupon he entered suit.

But did he get anywhere ? He did not ! Amid resounding publicity that carried from one end of the country to the other, the judge threw the case out on a technicality, and asked unofficially and informally how he could be expected to admit as erroneous the sacred stories on which he had been reared from childhood. Again, the Editor of this paper recently published in the *Christian Century* an article in which he accused the Christians of "stealing" the Old Testament from the Jews to whom it properly belonged. He argued that the Old Testament was Jewish, not Christian, scriptures; and that the Christians had no right to add this Old Testament to their Bible (the New Testament), to claim it and use it as their own inspired literature, and even to introduce into it as margin comments and chapter headings, all kinds of references to Christ and to his church. Well, did this cause a furore ? It certainly did—some readers of the *Century* approving, others outraged, and all apparently excited. It all goes to show that in spite of generations of the higher criticism, the Bible, like the Ark, is still too sacred to be touched. The situation is peculiar ! All adequately educated persons know [observes *Unity* editorially] that the Bible is a noble but none the less utterly human literature, as much an historical product of its own time as any other literature, of course full of errors, quaint and in some cases terribly superstitious, as well as some of the exalted utterances of the mind of man. Along with this informed opinion stands the great inert mass of ignorant and superstitious folk who still regard the Bible as the infallible "word of God."

Alcohol—Foe of Nerves and Digestion

Arguments have been advanced to support the contention that good beer should be regarded not as alcoholic drink but as a beverage containing a very small amount of alcohol and and a relatively large amount of nutritive material. Some have even claimed that beer contains all the elements of the typical diet, with the exception of fat. These conclusions, points out *Inner Culture,* were long ago blasted by Dr. H. J. Kellogg, editor of *Good Health,*

who pointed out that it is impossible to drink beer in sufficiently large quantities to meet nutritional requirements without at the same time taking an appreciable amount of alcohol, capable of producing disastrous results. According to Metchnikoff and other authorities, the daily consumption of alcohol is sufficient to cause in time degenerative effects in the liver, kidneys and other vital organs, besides producing functional disturbances in digestion and general nutrition.

Dr. J. H. Kellogg insists that the nutritive material contained in beer is not of the most desirable nature. This is especially true of cereal salts, of which beer contains a considerable amount—about one-half ounce to the gallon. Cereals contain an excess of acid-reacting salts, being deficient in the alkaline bases which abound in potatoes and in other vegetables and fruits.

ALCOHOL HINDERS DIGESTION

The humble potato contains four times as much of the alkaline bases as does barley. Thus it becomes clear that beer is a very poor food—if a food at all—for it contains more poison than it does food, and an excess of undesirable acid-reacting elements.

Alcohol is a hindrance to the digestion of wholesome foods. Physiologists have adequate evidence to prove that an alcoholic does not digest his food with the same degree of efficacy as that employed by total abstainers. To demonstrate his conclusions, Dr. Harry Blotner, Boston stomach specialist, dropped pieces of hard-boiled egg-white into two glasses. In each glass he also diluted with a small quantity of plain water the digestive enzymes present in stomach juice. Into one glass only, he added an alcoholic beverage, and then allowed both mixtures to set overnight. By morning the egg-white in the alcoholized tumbler was still there, unchanged, while in the unalcoholized tumbler, the egg-white was liquefied, *i.e.,* digested.

Dr. Blotner then secured the stomach contents of eight drunkards who had been drinking one to two pints of whiskey per day for more than a week. Their digestive juices, too, had no effect on hard-boiled eggs, —"direct evidence," he stated, "that large quantities of liquor taken over a long period of time destroy digestive enzymes, and thus prevent the proper digestion and assimilation of foods." Consequently a deficiency condition due to malnutrition is inevitable.

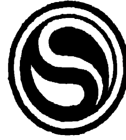
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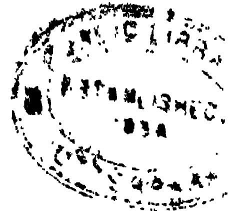
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By Maniklal Bandyopadhyaya

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NOTES

Nepalese Gurkha Troops Not To Be Used Against Hindus

Some months ago the Government of Nepal lent the Government of India eight thousand Gurkha troops, which are now in India. This fact gave rise to some comments in the Indian press.

The conditions attached to the utilization of the Gurkha troops lent by the Nepal Government are not generally known. We are in a position to state two of them, namely, that they are not to be sent abroad outside India, and that within India they are not to be employed against the Hindus.

The first condition evidently means that the Nepal Government's attitude with respect to the present war in Europe and Africa is one of non-belligerency, though not of strict neutrality. The second condition shows that, as Nepal is a Hindu Power and the only Hindu Power in the world, it does not desire that it should be considered hostile to Hindus even indirectly or by implication.

The Gurkhas who are in the British Government's army in India are not controlled by the Nepal Government. Hence they may be employed by the British Government in any way the latter may like to employ them, so long as they are in its service.

It is apprehended and anticipated in many quarters that there may be internal disturbances in India. Should these anticipations unfortunately prove true, the second condition mentioned above would have to be borne in mind.

China and Britain

China's ports having been seized and occupied by Japan, she had been hitherto obtaining arms and munitions via Indo-China and Burma. She had been importing war materials through Hongkong also. But at the "request" of Japan Britain agreed to close that route some time ago. When France surrendered to Germany Japan took advantage of the weakness of France to demand that China should not be allowed to import war materials via French Indo-China. France had to accede to the demand. Similarly Japan requested Britain to stop the conveyance of war materials to China via Burma. After some pourparlers Britain also has complied with Japan's "request". For the present the Burma route will be closed for three months. The British Government's view is that even if the route had not been closed during the next three months, the rains would have prevented the carrying of goods to China for at least two months. We do not know whether the road through Burma to China across the frontier becomes impassable during the rainy season.

It has been also urged on behalf of the British Government that in the course of the next three months the political situation may change materially. This may mean several things. Perhaps it is expected that in three

months' time peace may be concluded between China and Japan—through British mediation or otherwise, or China may be beaten to the knees by Japan. In either case, it would not be necessary to consider the question of the renewal of the Anglo-Japanese agreement relating to the Burma route. But we do not think that China will be beaten—not at least in three months. As regards peace, though people other than the Chinese may talk of the terms of some peace honourable to both parties, China has declared again and again that she will fight to the last man until all Japanese troops have been withdrawn from every inch of the soil of the Republic of China. Of course, China's defeat is not impossible, but it is improbable. In any case, no peace can be honourable to her so long as Japan continues to occupy even a square foot of Chinese territory.

The British Government may have another contingency in view. It may be that in the course of three months the war in Europe may come to wear a different aspect from now. Either Germany's powerlessness to invade or materially injure Britain may be demonstrated, or there may be war on the continent of Europe between Germany and some other European Power or combination of Powers, which would prevent Germany from directing all her fighting strength against Britain. In either case, Britain may be in a position at the end of three months not to take a serious view of the Japanese menace to her Asiatic possessions.

All this of course is mere speculation. Nobody knows what the future has in store either for Europe or for Asia.

At present Britain has felt compelled to accede to Japan's demand, because she cannot tackle singlehanded any hostile great power in addition to Germany and Italy. Had the United States of America sided with Britain in this war as in the last great one, it would have been a different matter.

The Japanese invasion of China is similar in character to Germany's invasion of Poland, Holland, France, etc. Japan's political principles are not different from those of Germany. If Britain is fighting to make democracy safe, and is engaged in a life and death struggle, so is China. Therefore, Britain would be naturally expected to help China by selling her and conveying to her territory war materials, but not of course to fight Japan as an ally of China. Some British M. P.s have expressed the view that closing th[illegible]rma route is equivalent to giving indi[illegible] Japan. We do not know [illegible]en selling munitions to [illegible]d, if so, whether after the closing of the Burma route she would go on selling arms and munitions to Japan.

The closing of the Burma route has caused some dissatisfaction in America. And needless to say, it has inconvenienced and dissatisfied China very much. For her supplies of war materials she must henceforth depend mainly on Russia; they must come from and through Russia. This would increase the hold of communism on China.

Chinese friendship may not be of much importance to Britain now. But it is not at all unimaginable that a time may come when she will stand in need of it, and China may then remember that Britain withheld help from her when her need was the sorest.

As India has had nothing to do with the closing of the Burma route, it does not affect Sino-Indian friendship in the least. In fact, if India had been mistress in her own household, either as an independent country allied with Britain or as a Dominion in the British Commonwealth of Nations, Japan would not have had the courage to demand the closing of the Burma route. For, an India free to make arrangements for her own defence would have had millions of trained soldiers in her mechanized land army, a very large and up-to-date navy and a correspondingly large air force; and consequently any open or implied threat of invasion of India would not have had any effect on the party or parties concerned. It may be asked, where would the money have come from for such vast defensive preparations. Why, a free India would have been vastly richer than she is at present. India's subjection has kept her both poor and without adequate defensive arrangements of her own.

The plight of China ought to be a lesson to India. If China had all along possessed factories for the manufacture of arms and munitions on an adequate scale, she would not have to look to foreign countries for supplies. So, India also should have her own factories for the manufacture of these things. Such factories in sufficient numbers ought to have been started long ago. That some have been started and more are going to be started soon is a matter for satisfaction.

China's Resolve

China's supreme leader Field-Marshal Chiang Kai-shek has reiterated China's firm resolve to fight till the last Japanese soldier has left Chinese soil. It is to be hoped China has at least made a beginning in manufacturing her own war materials, as it is not impossible

that supplies from abroad from all directions may be cut off.

That China should emerge victorious out of the struggle is not less necessary for the good of the world than for her own welfare.

Hitler's Minatory Peace Offer

It is probable that Hitler is finding it increasingly difficult to invade Britain. So he has made a speech offering her peace and at the same time threatening her with destruction of herself and her empire if she does not surrender. From the British side has come a fitting reply—Britain will fight to the last man.

Speaking generally, all parties and communities in India wish Britain victory. There is also intellectual agreement that Britain should be helped to win. Intellectual conviction becomes effective and leads to action when there is feeling behind it. If Britain makes a declaration by means of an Act of Parliament recognizing India's full freedom and her right to self-determination, then will the emotional urge be created moving all who think that Britain ought to be helped to actually help her.

Muslim "Non-Indian" M. L. A.s in Bengal Legislative Assembly

On the 19th July last in the course of a discussion or debate in the Bengal Legislative Assembly, Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerji made an effective speech. In the course of his speech when he said,

> "When the time came for taking up the question of framing the future constitution of India the Muslims should agree to look upon themselves as sons of India,"

there rose "cries of 'never,' 'never' from the coalition benches."

If those Muslim Coalition benchers who cried 'never,' 'never,' claim and can prove that they are sons of Afghanistan, Iran, Turan, Iraq, Palestine, Arabia, Turkey, Egypt, Albania, Algeria, Chinese Turkestan, Azarbaijan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Kirghiz, or any other foreign country, or if they claim and can prove that they dropped from the skies, it will be quite all right, and they may be entitled to a passport to return to their fatherland or motherland, or to the skies.

It is India's misfortune that some non-Indians who are natives of Britain have seats in India's legislative bodies. For the time being India has to put up with this stroke of ill-luck. But why should other "non-Indians" be given seats in India's legislative bodies or enjoy other facilities which are reserved for children of the soil in other countries?

Because of the unwise outburst of a few Mussalmans in Bengal, it would be unjust to think that all Bengali Mussalmans considered themselves sons of some country other than India. It would also be wrong to think Muslims in other provinces of India held a similar opinion. Mir Maqbul Mahmud, parliamentary secretary to Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan, chief minister of the Panjab, declared some time ago in the Panjab legislature, "We will make Panjab the brightest gem in Mother India's Crown." That means that he and his Punjabi Muslim brethren look upon themselves as sons of Mother India, as they really are.

Is Bengal Debt Settlement Equivalent to Confiscation?

That the administration of the arbitration boards set up for settlement of debts in Bengal is almost equivalent to legalized confiscation in very many cases has been shown in an article in the *Financial Times* of July, 1940, by Sjt. Manoranjan Choudhuri, M.A., B.L. He has confined his attention to the district of Noakhali and has given details and dates of 46 cases with the names of the Boards which disposed of the cases.

> 121 nominated Debt Settlement Boards have been set up, all with a Moslem majority of members, after the present ministry has come into power. The following astounding figures will prove to demonstration how within the course of the last 3 years, Hindu capital has been completely wiped out of the district or made totally ineffective.
>
> Total amount involved in the Arbitration Board :—
> Rs. 3 crores 76 lacs 70 thousand 2 hundred and three.
> Amount so far adjudicated upon :—
> Rupees 53 lacs 50 thousand 4 hundred and forty-five.
> Settled at :—
> Rupees 3 lacs 20 thousand 6 hundred and six.
> This amount is distributed in kists varying from 10 to 20 years to be realised by Certificate Proceedings.
> Conditions at certificate court :—
> The execution proceedings are delayed, terms varied and creditors further harassed.
> Court-fees are however charged on the total amount involved and so this amount is to be reduced from the amount settled.
> When the whole amount is adjudicated upon, at this rate, the settled terms may be near about 18 lacs. So a loss of Rs. 3 crores and 58 lacs and odd is likely. Of this, Moslem capital is never more than 58 lacs and so Hindu capital to be lost is about Rs. 3 crores. Considering the interests claimed and also the share of Hindu debtors it will not be far wrong to place absolute loss of Hindu capital at one crore of Rupees at Noakhali alone during the regime of the present ministry of Bengal.

The writer has "noted a number of vagaries of the arbitration boards of Noakhali reported to" him "by responsible persons in the district," a few of which are reproduced below.

1. Boards often refuse to accept written statements filed by creditors without assigning any reason and dispose of cases *ex-parte*.

2. A large number of cases are neither disposed of nor sent to special board though pending for years—cases are merely adjourned from day to day, and parties harassed.

3. Creditors are forced to compromise on inequitable terms under threats, and coercion.

4. False consent is registered to the detriment of the interest of Hindu creditors.

5. Written statements are not accepted unless signature is given in another blank sheet of paper which is used to register consent.

6. Orders are antedated to deprive the party of the right of appeal to S. D. O. or S. D. M.

7. Records are tampered with.

8. Statements of debt filed by creditor are often thrown away from the file and then order under Section 13/(2) B. A. D. Act is passed.

9. Orders are not written on the dates fixed.

10. Dates are sometimes fixed on Hindu holidays.

11. Orders read out to parties are often different from the order written in the order-sheet.

12. Records are not shown nor sometimes even taken to the board's office on the sitting dates.

13. There is unusual delay in granting certified copies, if they are at all granted.

14. No interest is allowed to creditors, interest already paid is deducted from the principal amount.

The article concludes :

The oppressed Hindu minority of Noakhali demand that all the cases so far decided with or without consent or now pending in the D. S. B. for the last three years be retried by Munsifs with Judicial experience according to the principles laid down in the B. A. D. Act, on just and equitable grounds, though the Act is otherwise imperfect.

All the facts stated and the charges alleged in the article require to be seriously investigated by an impartial and independent committee. It would be good if the work of the arbitration boards in other districts also were subjected to careful scrutiny by public-spirited persons as has been done in Noakhali.

Protest Against Anti-Hindu Policy of Bengal Ministry

Presiding over a crowded public meeting held in the Calcutta Town Hall on the 25th July last Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee sounded a stirring call to every progressive element in Bengal to join hands in a struggle to be launched against the Bengal ministry's misrule.

The Hindus, Dr. Mookerjee added, had met to make their demands which were urgent and specific. The anti-Hindu policy which the ministry had so long followed must immediately cease; the wrongs done in the past through legislative or administrative acts must be remedied as early as possible; and the three proposed reactionary measures, namely the Calcutta Municipal Amendment Bill, the Secondary Education Bill and the Agricultural Debtors' Amendment Bill along with the Government's decision relating to recruitment in public services must be wholly abandoned.

"Let us make it clear here and now," Dr. Mookerjee asserted, "that if we have decided to start a movement against the tyranny and oppression of the present ministry we do so because of the insolent challenge which they had thought fit to throw at our doors. The responsibility for creating the situation rests with the Ministers."

He added that the fight was with the ministers, not with the Muslim community.

There was only one resolution—a comprehensive one, moved by Sjt. Ramananda Chatterjee, editor of *The Modern Review,* to the following effect :

This meeting of Hindu citizens of Calcutta records its strong condemnation of the present reactionary policy pursued by the Bengal Ministry which has resulted not only in crippling the legitimate rights and interests of the Hindus but also in thwarting the general progress of the province.

This meeting notes with great regret that, in spite of the situation created by the European War which urgently calls for united action among different classes of people for securing internal peace and order, the Bengal Ministry should, even during this period, persist in adopting measures calculated to injure the interests of the Hindus in vital respects.

This meeting emphatically protests against the following legislative measures which the Ministry intends to place before the present session of the Legislature :

1. The Second Calcutta Municipal Amendment Bill,
2. The Secondary Education Bill.
3. The Bengal Agricultural Debtors' Amendment Bill.

(1) The Second Calcutta Municipal Amendment Bill destroys the very foundation of local Self-Government in the Corporation of Calcutta, reduces still further the rights and powers of the Hindus in the Corporation although they constitute the majority in the city and contribute by far the largest share of the taxes. The Bill also transfers in an unwarranted manner larger powers of control to a Government which by reason of its manifestly communal character has ceased to enjoy the confidence of all progressive sections of the people.

(2) The Secondary Education Bill introduces communalism in the sphere of education and aims at destroying the entire educational machinery in the province. Apart from its retrograde features purely from educational standpoint, the Bill strikes at the root of all cultural progress of the Hindus through whose sacrifices and labours, more than anything else, educational progress has been achieved and maintained in Bengal.

This meeting records its determination to oppose resolutely any educational measures adversely affecting the welfare of the province and the interests of the Hindus, who will never agree to place their schools and colleges at the mercy of the present Ministry.

(3) The Bengal Agricultural Debtors' Amendment Bill further destroys rural credit in the province, already shattered by the legislative measures and specially wipes out Hindu capital without any corresponding benefit to agriculturists.

This meeting records its opinion that no amendment of the B. A. D. Act should be made without a thorough and impartial investigation of the working of the Act during the last three years which will disclose an appalling state of affairs in rural areas in respect of internal trade and economic life of the people at

large. The Amending Bill, which empowers communally-biased Boards to re-open court sales and takes away the existing jurisdiction of the High Court, will destroy public faith in the sanctity of judicial decision and will create a situation fraught with dangerous consequences.

(4) This meeting further condemns the policy of the Ministry in making appointments to public services on communal considerations and not on grounds of merit and efficiency and notes with deep resentment its recent decision for recruiting Moslems from outside Bengal in cases where Bengali Moslems will not be available, deliberately ignoring the legitimate claims of better qualified Hindus and persons of other minority communities.

This meeting demands an immediate change in the present anti-Hindu policy of the Bengal Ministry and particularly the withdrawal of the above retrograde and mischievous measures.

This meeting calls upon all sections of the people, irrespective of party affiliations to combine and organise public opinion in an effective measure in order to resist the present oppressive and inequitous policy of the Ministry as evidenced by the above legislative and administrative measure.

This meeting records its emphatic opinion that no permanent solution is possible until the Communal Award is annuled and full justice is done to the Hindus.

This meeting resolves that 1st of August, 1940, be observed as an All-Bengal Protest Day when meetings and demonstrations should be held in all parts of the province demanding the immediate withdrawal of the above measures.

This meeting urges upon all political parties to put forth their joint efforts and carry on a systematic and determined opposition against the reactionary policy of the Ministry.

This meeting, in conclusion, calls upon the Working Committee of the Bengal Hindu Mahasabha to take steps for further action in the matter as circumstances may require in co-operation with other political parties in the province which may be willing to work together for the common object.

Placing the resolution before the meeting the mover expressed the opinion that

It would have been immensely better if the present meeting had been convened on behalf of all communities and political parties. For, doubtlessly enough, the resolutions embodied in it such recommendations as were calculated to be in the best interest of every section of people. But if no other parties or communities came forward there was no reason why the Hindu Mahasabha should remain inactive.

He added that he spoke there not as the representative of any particular community but as expressing his personal opinions as a citizen and as voicing the opinions of all right-thinking sections of the public.

That the measures strongly condemned at the meeting by speaker after speaker are felt to be retrograde, reactionary and injurious to the best interests of the province not only by the Hindu Mahasabha but by others, too, becomes at once evident on reading the comments of the newspapers owned, managed and conducted by Indians, except of course the papers owned or subsidized by the Ministry or by some minister or other. Bengal Congressmen, including those of the Bose group and those of the Congress Nationalist Party, are against these measures and against the general anti-Hindu policy of the Bengal Ministry. In fact one of the supporters of the resolution, Dr. Pramathanath Bannerjea, M.L.A. (Central), is a prominent member of the Congress Nationalist Party and spoke to the following effect:

These reactionary measures were the outcome of the communal ministry. He was not a member of the Hindu Mahasabha and in normal circumstances he would have hesitated to give his full support to the resolution, but it was very unfortunate that the Congress which was to have taken the lead in this matter had failed in its duty. The Congress was divided into two rival factions and was engaged in doing things which were of minor importance to the country, neglecting the vital issues of Bengal. In these circumstances, it was highly creditable on the part of the Hindu Mahasabha to come forward to the rescue of the afflicted people. He must tell them that although the Hindu Mahasabha in its personnel was confined to a particular community, its outlook was national. He felt sure if the Hindus rose today above all petty dissensions, the whole of India would rally round its banner.

The mover of the resolution, too, does not belong either to the Congress or to any other political party.

Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee read out a letter from Mr. Akhil Chandra Dutt, Deputy President of the Legislative Assembly (Central) and a prominent member of the Congress Nationalist Party.

Mr. Dutt stated that he was decidedly of opinion that the proposed legislative and executive measures should be withdrawn immediately and there could be no manner of doubt that the whole Hindu community were bitterly opposed to these measures. It behoved the Ministry not to take any step which was calculated to widen the gulf which had already separated the two great communities in this province.

Mr. N. C. Chatterjee felt that these measures were being deliberately introduced by the Ministry with a view to undermining the strength of the Hindus.

There were certain provisions in the proposed Calcutta Municipal Second Amendment Bill, which going as they did against every principle of equity and justice, would not be confined to officialisation of the Calcutta Corporation Departments but would ultimately wipe out the last vestige of the local self-government from this province.

The authors of the Bill, Mr. Chatterjee held, were sponsoring the measure not for any benefit of the Mussalmans but for bringing the Calcutta Corporation with its annual revenue of more than 2½ crores under the direct control of the Muslim League. The followers of the Muslim League in the province did not believe in any pact or alliance; for their only motive was to make the Muslim League a paramount power in Bengal. They did not regard themselves as sons of Bengal or India; rather they would look upon Arabia, Persia or Ispahan as their motherland. It was a strange anomally that

while 82 per cent of the revenue of the Corporation was supplied by the Hindus, forming more than 72 per cent of the city's population, their Mayor must come from Sind.

If Bengal was to be saved from the onslaught of these aliens, they must pool their resources together. Let all the progressive forces in the nation, either the Congress or any other party, forget all their dissensions and join hands together to free Bengal from the menace she today was confronted with.

Regarding the demands made at the meeting the President said :

We have met here today for making our demands. The demands are simple but urgent and specific. We know the 'Communal Award' is at the root of all problems and must be scrapped out before Bengal can have any permanent peace. Struggle against the Communal Award must continue unabated; but there are immediate demands which must be fulfilled in the meantime. First, there must be a clear declaration that the anti-Hindu policy of the Ministry which has become intolerable for any self-respecting Hindus must cease and cease immediately. Secondly, the wrongs that have been done in the past whether by means of legislative or administrative acts, must be remedied as early as possible. Thirdly, the Bills which form the subject matter of today's discussion and the Government's decision regarding recruitment to public services must be wholly abandoned.

As regards the Protest Day the President observed :

Our demands will be solemnly repeated on a selected day in all parts of the province, in hundreds and thousands of places; and we are suggesting tentatively 1st of August for this purpose. On that day meetings and demonstrations will be held not under the aegis of the Hindu Mahasabha alone but it is our hope and prayer that under the common banner of all progressive parties in the province. Let me make it clear that on that day we shall declare our solemn pledge to carry on the struggle for the vindication of our rights, irrespective of consequences. Our struggle will be a part of the struggle for freedom of Bengal and of India and let us prepare ourselves for making sacrifices for the attainment of our goal. Our cause is right and just and our immediate task is defence of our rights and liberties which are being deliberately encroached upon by a thoughtless and reactionary Ministry.

As I said at the beginning, the responsibility for starting this agitation during this period of world-wide crisis rests on those who are mischievously bent on destroying the progress of the Hindus.

I have not the least doubt that the call for united action given at this great meeting will find ready response from lacs of persons who will come out in the true spirit of disciplined soldiers and march forward for the attainment of victory, a victory of truth and righteousness, of justice and freedom."

We have pointed out more than once in previous numbers of *The Modern Review* that, while from the Secretary of State for India and the Viceroy downwards various arbiters of our destiny (including Maulvi A. K. Fazlul Huq, chief minister of Bengal !) have been delivering sermons for our edification and benefit on the supreme importance of unity and communal harmony during the crisis, not only does the so-called Communal 'Award,' the root of all present-day communal bitterness and bloodshed, stand intact, but various measures are being hurled and others are being forged to be hurled at the heads of the Hindus to ruin them and make them powerless. And no gubernatorial or other sermonizer lifts even his little finger to put a stop to these official anti-Hindu activities at least during the crisis !

All-Bengal Protest Day

"The Working Committee of the Bengal Hindu Mahasabha met on Friday evening (26th July, 1940) and discussed at length the situation arising out of legislative measures about to be introduced by the Bengal Ministry. The Committee generally approved of the terms of the resolution as passed at the Town Hall meeting on July 25 last but decided in view of the shortness of time that the All-Bengal Protest Day be held on Sunday, the 4th August, and not on the 1st of August as decided at the Town Hall meeting.

"The Working Committee further authorised Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee to devise ways and means for giving full effect to the Town Hall resolution."

U. S. Embargo On Oil For Germany And Italy

WASHINGTON, July 25.

A "virtual embargo" has been placed on fuel or lubricants supplies reaching Germany and Italy through intermediaries, it is learnt from an authoritative Federal source.

The statement followed an announcement by the Maritime Commission that it had a few days ago halted the sailing of two United States tankers laden with 200,000 barrels of oil bound for Spain from a port in Texas. The official explained that the action was taken because the Commission thought that it was dangerous to allow American ships to go so near Belligerent activity.

The official added that the Commission had adopted this general policy without being asked to do so by White House or the State Department. Foreign tankers, he added, were not affected.

Another authoritative source stated that the embargo was directed against potential go-betweens or Axis Powers or Japan and it was being applied under the recent Presidential proclamation authorising the Treasury Department to impose shipping controls. In case of shipment to Spain, it was declared the official reason was that the quantities were too large for Spain's normal consumption.—*Reuter.*

WASHINGTON, July 25.

Mr. Morgenthau declared that two shipments of oil to Spain were stopped because the cargoes appeared to be destined for Germany and Italy.

He declared that the action had no relation with reports that Britain is trying to prevent oil reaching Germany through Spain.—*Reuter.*

Will Postal Rates Be Enhanced ?

SIMLA, July 25.

The Indian public will presently be asked to pay more for sending letters and telegrams as a result of the

increasing demand for revenue due to the war. The Government of India are understood to have come to the decision for the enhancement of postal and telegraphic rates and an Ordinance announcing enforcement of the increased rates is expected to be issued shortly.

We cannot but strongly condemn in advance the enhancement of postal rates in India. They are higher here than in Britain, the United States of America and Japan, for example, which are richer than India. There is nothing in India to compare with Burma's proposed (or perhaps already current?) minimum pie postage for newspapers. Increased postage rates affect the poor and the middle class more than the rich, who alone ought to be subjected to emergency taxation.

It is to be noted that there has been an unexpected increase of revenue for 1939-40. And yet the poor are to be taxed.

Mussolini's Eye on Palestine

LONDON, July 25.

According to reports reaching the Jewish Telegraphic Agency, a campaign has been launched in the Italian press suggesting that the inclusion of Palestine in the Italian Empire is one of Italy's war aims. The Italian Government is reported to be seeking to induce the Vatican to demand "a Catholic Holy Land." The *Tribuna* publishes a detailed plan for the administration of Palestine after the war on lines similar to Albania. The newspaper proposes that the Jews shall be evacuated from Palestine in a mass and says that the Jewish problem can only be solved by new dispersals of Jews to sparsely populated territories.—*Reuter.*

Should the report prove correct, the war would spread to Asia at no distant date and would come close to India.

Gandhiji's Advice to The Princes

We read in *Harijan* :

A few friends, who came from the Princes' India, drew a lurid picture of the state of things there—the panic and the insecurity and the impending anarchy. What are the Princes to do?

Briefly put Gandhiji's answer was: "They should cease to be Princes and become servants of the people" He developed the answer in the course of his conversation:

"They will have to descend from their pedestal and seek the co-operation of their people. If they do so, they need not use force at all to put down the forces of disorder. The Congress does not want to do away with the Princes, and they can seek its co-operation in bringing about peace and contentment in their States.

"They will have to be genuine servants of the people. When they do so, no one will think of eliminating them. If they are the servants and the people are the masters, why should the masters do away with the servants? You say there are a number of smaller Princes today who are anxious to make up with the Congress. If they are, what prevents them from doing the most elementary things?"

In particular Gandhiji advised them to do two things first:

One is that they have to purify their lives and reduce themselves to utter simplicity. The fabulous amounts they spend on themselves are unconscionable. I cannot understand how they can have the heart to squander the people's money in riotous living, when thousands of their people cannot get a square meal a day. Why should they not be content with two or three hundred rupees a month? But my point is this. Let them take what the people will give them. Their privy purse must be votable. No reforms and no budget can have any value unless the people have the fullest right to say how much their ruler will take for himself. A new age has already begun, and no ruler can conceivably be tolerated whose life does not correspond largely with the life of his people and who does not identify himself with them.

"That is one thing. The other thing is that their judiciary will have to be above board and therefore independent of them. I cannot say today with confidence that in any State the judiciary is really independent. And there must be complete civil liberty."

Pan-American Conference

The Pan-American conference at Lima was very important. It was held long before the present war had broken out. The Havana Pan-American conference is also very important. If the right to self-determination of the peoples of both small and large countries could be effectively established in the two Americas by peaceful means, that would be no small gain to humanity. The establishment of that right was one of the main objects for the attainment whereof the League of Nations was established. But it could not be gained because the principal members of the League were more concerned with keeping their hold over their own Empires and with safeguarding and gaining their other imperial interests and objects than with promoting its main political object.

Considering the great importance of this conference some of the main items of news relating to it are given below in an abridged form.

NEW YORK, July 21.

The Pan-American Conference, attended by representatives of 21 American Republics, opened in Havana today.

Today's proceedings consisted of the formal opening ceremony in Cuba's new capital and the welcoming address by Cuban President, Mr. Frederico Laredo Bru.

The Pan-American Conference was convened by the United States primarily to consider questions arising from the European war.

Subjects expected to be discussed include a proposal that a joint protectorate should be established by 21 Republics over the western hemisphere possessions of Nazi occupied countries and a United States plan to form a Pan-American cartel to dispose of surplus products of American States.

The Havana correspondent of the *New York Times* says: "Evidently the delegates will attempt to co-operate, to the fullest extent, in keeping the western

hemisphere at peace, but, from the standpoint of economic and political unity, undoubtedly, the two Americas still exist."

South American delegates are anxious to consider any United States proposal that might solve the problem of lost markets, owing to the European war, but some scepticism is noted with regard to the practicability of the United States plan.

HAVANA, July 23.

Addressing the Pan-American Conference, Mr. Cordell Hull at the outset declared that the purpose of the conference was "to devise measures whereby a number of pressing problems may be met."

He said: "It has been increasingly clear in the vast tragedy which has befallen large portions of the earth that there are dangers to American nations as well, which it would be suicidal not to recognise in time and not to prepare to meet fully and decisively." Mr. Hull added: "The American Republics must not blind themselves to the possibility of an attack from within or to externally directed attacks to undermine them from within."

Proceeding Mr. Cordell Hull said that the United States Government endorsed the suggestion that all American Republics should establish collective trusteeship over European possessions in the Western Hemisphere. "We have no desire to absorb these possessions or extend our sovereignty over them or include them in any form of sphere of influence, but we could not permit these regions to become the subject of barter in a settlement of European differences or the battleground for the adjustment of such differences. Either situation could only be regarded as a threat to the peace and safety of this Hemisphere, as would any indication that they might be used to promote systems alien to inter-American system. Any effort, therefore, to modify this existing status of these areas—whether by cession, transfer or any impairment whatsoever in the control heretobefore exercised will be of profound and immediate concern to all American Republics. It is accordingly essential that we consider a joint approach to this common problem. We must be in a position to move rapidly and unhesitatingly.

AIM OF COLLECTIVE TRUSTEESHIP

After announcing the United States Government's endorsement of the suggestion of collective trusteeship, Mr. Cordell Hull said that the United States Government was prepared to co-operate should occasion arise in its execution. He added, the establishment of collective trusteeship for any region must not carry with it any thought of creation of special interest by any American Republic. The purpose of collective trusteeship must be to further the interests and security of all American nations as well as interests of the region in question. Moreover, as soon as conditions permitted the region should be restored to its original sovereign or be declared independent when able to establish and maintain stable self-government.

SINISTER CAMPAIGN

Mr. Hull referred to the "threat to our security arising from the activities directed from without the Hemisphere, but which operate within our respective borders." He added: "Make no mistake concerning the purpose of this sinister campaign. It is an attempt to acquire domination of American Republics by foreign Governments in their own interest."

TERMITES OF ALIEN PROPAGANDA

Citing as a warning example elsewhere in the world where "termites of alien propaganda had undermined governmental structures, Mr. Hull declared: "We have long ago recognised the source and extent of this infection. It is now urgently incumbent upon us to take decisive remedial action to the end that the independence and political integrity of each American Republic may be fully safeguarded."

NO AGGRESSION: NO THREAT

Mr. Cordell Hull continued: "To this no friendly Government can legitimately object. An inter-American system carries no implication of aggression and no threat to any nation. It is based solely on a policy of self-defence designed to preserve the independence and integrity of all American Republics. It implies no hegemony of any member of the inter-American group, but equally rejects the thesis of hegemony by anyone else. It in no way resembles regional policies recently pursued in other parts of the world, which pretend to invoke our inter-American system as a precedent. The difference is that our sole purpose is self-defence, while these other policies will instead be pretexts for conquest by sword, for military occupation, for complete economic and political domination of free and independent peoples."

INTER-AMERICAN CO-OPERATIVE PROGRAMME

Declaring that the immediately pressing situation confronting American Republics was the result of curtailment and the changed character of important foreign markets, Mr. Cordell Hull proposed the following immediate co-operative programme:

(1) The strengthening and expanding of the activities of Inter-American Financial Economic Advisory Committee for consultation in trade matters.

(2) Creation of facilities for temporary handling and orderly marketing of accumulated surpluses of commodities, which are of primary importance for the maintenance of the economic life of the American Republics whenever such action is necessary.

(3) Development of commodity agreements to assure equitable terms of trade for both producers and consumers.

(4) Consideration of methods for improving the standard of living of Latin American peoples.

Mr. Cordell Hull further suggested a study of the broader system of inter-American co-operative organisation in trade matters to complement co-operation in long-term economic development and in foreign exchange.

Mr. Cordell Hull continued: "By helping each other and carrying out with vigour, determination and loyalty whatever decisions are reached, the American nations can build a system of economic defence that will enable each to safeguard itself from dangers of economic subordination from abroad and economic distress at home. It is not a part of our thought to obstruct trade with Europe or elsewhere, but rather to promote trade with nations willing to meet us in good faith, in a spirit of friendly, peaceful purpose and on the plane of frank and fair dealing. Against any other kind of dealing we naturally will protect ourselves."

Mr. Cordell Hull's co-operative programme, if given effect to, cannot but have its repercussions in the Indian market. Hence it is imperatively necessary for our Indian Chambers of Commerce to keenly watch its developments in the two Americas.

DR. CAMPA ELECTED PRESIDENT

Mr. Cordell Hull's speech was warmly received by the delegates.

The Cuban Foreign Secretary, Doctor Campa, was elected President of the Pan-American Conference.—*Reuter.*

NEW YORK, July 23.

Commisions of delegates are now preparing definite resolutions based on Mr. Cordell Hull's speech to offer to the Pan-American Conference, according to reports reaching here from Havana.

Argentina has hitherto shown herself shrewdly reserved towards the United States proposals.

Brazil will probably assent more readily to some form of trusteeship of European possessions in the western hemisphere if she could secure some direct influence over the Guianas which bite into the Brazilian coastline.

Mr. Hull, however, has already assumed a strong leadership at the conference and does not appear discouraged. Most Republics gave his keynote address a cordial reception.—*Reuter.*

HAVANA, July 24.

The Pan-American Conference held a secret session yesterday. Mr. Cordell Hull was elected President of the Commission for the Preservation of Peace. Senator Suarez, for Affairs Commission and Senator Melo of Argentina, head of the Neutrality Commission.

It appears that a bloc, headed by Argentina, is unwilling to establish a definite trusteeship scheme over the European possessions in the Western Hemisphere, such as Mr. Cordell Hull seemed to envisage, writes the Havana Correspondent of the *New York Times.* The Correspondent adds that German diplomatic and unofficial observers are now spreading the word that Germany would welcome any scheme preventing European possessions in the Americas from falling into the hands of the British. In addition, Germany would welcome the permanent divorcement of all European political ties in this Hemisphere in order to prevent the furnishing of ammunition for such spokesmen as President Roosevelt who is regarded as the Nazi Enemy No. 1 in this part of the world for his assertions that Hitler intends to invade the Western Hemisphere.

Mr. Cordell Hull's speech at the Pan-American Conference was followed by one Doctor Leopoldo Mel, the Argentine delegate, who warned the Conference "against untried experiments or attempting a premature solution of problems that might never arise."—*Reuter.*

HAVANA, July 27.

Complete agreement was reached this morning by a sub-committee of five in regard to trusteeship of non-American possessions in the Western Hemisphere. The sub-committee consists of representatives of the United States, Cuba, Argentina, Brazil and Panama.

The agreement reasserts the right of self-determination of all territories in the Western Hemisphere and proclaims the rights of Americans to protect themselves against a possible transfer of sovereignty of such territories.

It is understood that the agreement now being drafted also includes a convention for establishing a machinery to make this "declaration of Havana" effective and a resolution providing for the creation of an emergency committee to deal with any situation which may arise pending the establishment of a permanent machinery.

The draft principally takes account of the United States proposal for a trusteeship plan and includes the Argentina demand that the peoples of the Colonies in question shall be consulted before any action is taken. It also embodies proposals by Brasil and Cuba for the establishment of a machinery permitting immediate action in the event of a threatened transfer of any of the Colonies.

FIFTH COLUMN ACTIVITIES

The neutrality commission of the conference today adopted a resolution submitted by the United States against Fifth Column activities, providing for exchange of information concerning subversive activities, restriction of the rights of diplomatic envoys and non-admittance to foreign legations of an extraordinarily large staff with diplomatic status and collective action in the event of the sovereignty of any State being threatened by such subversive activities, if that State calls for help.

French Ex-Ministers to be Tried !

LONDON, July 24.

M. Daladier, a former Prime Minister of France, and three other ex-Ministers are to be tried by a French Court 'for the part they played in declaring and conducing war against Germany'. Three other French ex-Ministers and a Deputy are to be court-martialled by a Military Court as deserters.—*Reuter.*

As if France's surrender and subjection to German tyranny were not sufficient humiliation, and therefore to make her cup of disgrace and misery full the defenders of her liberty must be tried like felons ! Should Marshal Petain be ever able to recover for France her honour and freedom, of which there does not seem to be any prospect, there would be time enough to indict his predecessors who fought gallantly to defend their country but failed.

Has the Petain Government succumbed to Nazi domination so far as to do Hitler's bidding even in a matter like this ? What depth of degradation !

It would be good for France and for mankind at large if France were not obliged again to pass through a time of tribulation with successive guillotining as its main horrible feature.

Calcutta University's Note to Other Universities on School Final Examinations

"The standard of the School Final Examination (Science Section), which is prevalent in some of the provinces, is not at par with that of the Matriculation Examination of the University of Calcutta. This decision of Calcutta University based on the recommendation of the Special Committee appointed by them to go into the matter, has been communicated to the educational authorities in the various Provinces where the system of the School Final Examination prevails."

"The Special Committee in their report state that they have considered the list of subjects prescribed in the School Final Examination, syllabuses of studies in the different subjects and the question papers forwarded by the Secretaries of the School Final Examination Boards. They find that the syllabuses in English and Vernacu-

lar of the School Final Examination are of a standard decidedly lower than that prescribed for the Matriculation Examination of Calcutta University. Besides, history, which has been prescribed a compulsory subject for the Matriculation Examination of this University in order to ensure that every student could have a general historical background, is not a subject of study at the School Final Examination. Again, elementary scientific knowledge will be a compulsory subject for the Matriculation Examination of Calcutta University from 1942, whereas it is only an optional subject in the School Final Examination. The Committee have, therefore, come to the decision that the School Final Examination (Science Section) could not be recognised as equivalent to the Matriculation Examination of Calcutta University."

Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia Become Soviet Republics

BERLIN, July 22.

The German News Agency reports that the Lithuanian Minister for Interior declared that Lithuania will be a Soviet Socialistic Republic, at a meeting of the Parliament today. The Minister is reported to have added that Soviet constitution will be introduced immediately.

The Lithuanian Parliament unanimously agreed to this course, the report adds. Following proposals are stated to have been placed before the Lithuanian Parliament: First the question of acceptance of the new constitution; secondly, the question of co-operation with the Soviet; thirdly, regulation of a land question; and fourthly, the question of dispossessing big banks, factories and large enterprises.

LATVIA'S DECISION

Latvia has also decided to become a Soviet Republic and join the Soviet Union by a unanimous vote of the Latvian Parliament, states the German News Agency Riga Correspondent.

ESTONIA'S DECISION

The German News Agency correspondent in Tallinn states that the Estonian Parliament has unanimously voted for union with Soviet Russia.

A London message says:

Confirmation has been received from *Reuter's* correspondents in Tallinn, Kaunas and Riga of the reports that the Parliaments of Estonia, Lithuania and Latvia have proclaimed themselves to be Socialist Soviet Republics.

RUSSIAN GAINS

A Bucharest message says:

Reports from three Capitals, Tallinn, Kaunas and Riga, state that mass demonstrations favouring the decision of the Parliaments of Estonia, Lithuania and Latvia to become Soviet Republics were held last night. The decisions mean that without shedding a drop of blood Russia has added over 60,000 square miles to its territory and has increased the population of the U. S. S. R. by nearly six million and has gained 75 miles of the Baltic Coast line with important ice-free ports, Russia had a new 120-mile frontier with Germany along the Lithuania-East Prussia border.

Political circles interpret the statement in Hitler's speech that Russia and Germany had fixed their respective sphere of influence as a suggestion that Germany has no designs on Rumania which has been delegated to the Soviet sphere of influence.—*Reuter.*

It looks as if the continent of Europe were going to be parcelled out between Germany and Russia. But what will Italy get?

Soviet Russia's annexation of the three countries has been strongly criticized in the United States of America.

All-India Congress Committee Confirms Wardha Statement

At its Poona session the All-India Congress Committee passed the following resolution by a majority of votes:

"The A.-I. C. C. has considered the statement issued by the Working Committee from Wardha on June 21, 1940 and confirms it. The A.-I. C. C. is of the opinion that, as explained therein, while the Congress must continue to adhere strictly to the principle of non-violence in the struggle for independence, it is unable, in the present circumstances, to declare that the principle should be extended to free India's national defence.

"The A.-I. C. C. desire to affirm that the Congress organisation should continue to be conducted on the principle of non-violence and all Congress volunteers are bound by their pledge to remain non-violent in the discharge of their duty and no Congress volunteer organisation can be formed or maintained except on that basis. Any other volunteer organisation for the purpose of self-defence with which Congressmen are associated must likewise adhere to non-violence."

In our last issue, pp. 20-21, we have commented on the Wardha statement. We shall not repeat our observations.

We are not surprised to find that many Congress leaders continue to hold the wrong opinion that the present war in Europe "has demonstrated the inefficacy of organized violence on however vast a scale for the defence of national freedom and the liberties of peoples." We have shown in our last issue the unhistorical character of this opinion. As the present war has not yet ended, we have every hope that Britain will be able to show that "organized violence" on an adequately vast scale **is** efficacious for the defence of national freedom and the liberties of peoples.

That the Congress will adhere to non-violence in its struggle for independence does not prove conclusively that it believes in the *principle* or *ideal* of ahimsā. It only proves its belief in the *policy* of ahimsā. For no one but a fool can think that under present circumstances India can carry on an armed struggle for independence with any hope of success. Therefore, it is political expediency which has compelled the Congress to adhere to non-violence in its struggle for independence. An apparent compliment is paid to Britain by the Congress in sticking to non-violence in its struggle for freedom against British opposition. For it is implied in this resolve to remain non-violent that an appeal

to Britain's reason and conscience alone, without resort to force, will enable India to gain independence. On the other hand, in repelling foreign aggression and in quelling internal disturbances Congress believes resort to force would or might be necessary. That means that possible foreign aggressors and possible internal disturbers of the peace will not respond to appeals to their reason and conscience, and hence force will have to be requisitioned against their hostile intentions and acts. We do not know whether the Congress believes Britishers to be more reasonable and conscience-ruled than all other powerful foreign nations and than all possible disturbers of the peace residing in this country.

Working Committee's Delhi Resolution Passed by A.-I. C. C.

At Poona on the 28th July last, after eight hours of debate the All-India Congress Committee passed the Congress Working Committee's Delhi resolution printed below.

"The Working Committee have noted the serious happenings which have called forth appeals to bring about a solution of the deadlock in the Indian political situation; and in view of the desirability of clarifying the Congress position they have earnestly examined the whole situation once again in the light of the latest developments in world affairs.

"The Working Committee are more than ever convinced that the acknowledgement by Great Britain of Complete Independence of India is the only solution of the problems facing both India and Britain and are, therefore, of opinion that such an unequivocal declaration should be immediately made and that as an immediate step in giving effect to it a provisional National Government should be constituted at the Centre, which, though formed as a transitory measure should be such as to command the confidence of all the elected elements in the Central Legislature, and secure the closest co-operation of the responsible government in the provinces.

"The Working Committee are of opinion that unless the aforesaid declaration is made, and a National Government is accordingly formed at the Centre without delay, all efforts at organising the material and moral resources of the country for defence cannot in any sense be voluntary or as from a free country, and will, therefore, be ineffective.

"The Working Committee declare that if these measures are adopted, it will enable the Congress to throw in its full weight in the efforts for the effective organisation of the defence of the country."

We have not understood the C. W. C.'s resolution, now accepted by the A.-I.C.C., to mean that people should not or will not help the British Government, in all practicable ways, to win the war, unless Great Britain makes an unequivocal declaration acknowledging the complete independence of India and takes the suggested immediate step to give effect to it. We have understood it to mean that, unless Great Britain makes that unequivocal declaration and takes the immediate step suggested, sufficient enthusiasm for helping Britain will not be roused in the country, and, therefore, "efforts at organizing the material and moral resources of the country" will be ineffective. We know, if Britain does not act as suggested in the resolution, nay, even if Britain does not make any promise at all, some "voluntary" help may be forthcoming. In fact, there has been already some such help. But the fact that the war defence loan has not yet been a roaring success and civic guards are not coming forward in overwhelming numbers, shows that the Congress Committees' view is right. The resolution is not a bargainer's terms, it is the statement of a fact.

Our own view is that whether Britain be just in her dealings with India or not, she should be helped, because the enemy she is fighting is a most powerful menace to human freedom and civilization. At the same time we hold that unless Britain allowed India to be free she would thereby prove that her assertion that she was fighting for human freedom and the salvation of all mankind was a lie.

There may be those who think that Britain would win even if India did not help her in any way. The vast preparations already made in Britain to carry on the war in the air, on land and in the ocean, the large numbers of fighters recruited and the astronomical figures mentioned in budget after budget, gives an idea of her resources. But the appeals to India for help, expressed in words and in other ways, indicate clearly that, whatever the reasons, Britain desires to have India's help. And in order that that help may be forthcoming to the limit of India's power and resources and may be rendered freely and willingly, the Congress Committees have passed the resolution under discussion.

We think the resolution is statesmanlike. Immediate complete implementing of a declaration acknowledging India's full independence is not practicable. Whether the kind of government suggested can be considered a really National Government is questionable. But under present circumstances perhaps that is the only kind of "national" government we can have at once.

Suggested Provisional National Government

The Congress Committees' resolution suggests that "a provisional National Government should be constituted at the Centre which,

though formed as a transitory measure should be such as to command the confidence of all the elected elements in the Central Legislature and secure the closest co-operation of the responsible governments in the Provinces."

Supposing that such a Government were formed at the Centre commanding the confidence of all the elected elements in the Central Legislature, that Government could not be called a truly National Government; for the elected elements in the Central Legislature do not represent the entire nation. In that legislature the eighty millions of Indian States' people are entirely unrepresented, the Princes alone being represented by their nominees. Moreover, there is not a single M. L. A. or M. L. C. there who has been returned by any constituency consisting of electors of different communities and classes. The M. L. A.s and M. L. C.s represent only particular communities or classes. We know there are very many persons among them who are "nationally"-minded; but strictly speaking they represent only the community or class to which the voters electing them belong —not one of them is a national representative.

The nominees of a few hundred Princes have been given a disproportionately large number of seats in the Central Legislature. The Hindus form more than 70 per cent. of the population of India. But they have been reduced to the position of a minority by being given much less than half the seats in that legislature, whilst the Muslims have been given many more seats than their numerical strength, education, tax-paying capacity, public spirit or any other factor can entitle them to. Lastly, the present members of the legislature were elected many years ago, when, it may be held, they fairly represented public opinion. If a general election were held now and they were again elected, they could be regarded as the chosen representatives of their constituencies, but not otherwise.

But the Congress has practically accepted the Communal Decision and a general election now would raise many fresh issues and would also take some time. So the Congress leaders have suggested a "provisional" National Government at the Centre. It should always be borne in mind that it is nothing more than provisional.

Whether British rule continues or India becomes free, the Communal Decision must go and the people of the Indian States must have their fair share of representation at the Centre.

Wanted Acknowledgement of India's Independence By Parliament

As it has been declared in effect in both Houses of the British Parliament without a dissentient voice that "No statement by a Viceroy, no statement by any representative of the Sovereign, no statement by the Prime Minister, indeed no statement by the Sovereign himself, can bind Parliament against its judgment" (*Hansard*, House of Lords, 13th December, 1934, Vol. 95, No. 8, Col. 331), an Act of Parliament acknowledging the complete independence of India can alone be accepted as an unequivocal declaration binding on all parties concerned.

Amendments to Delhi Resolution

Altogether seven amendments to the Delhi resolution were moved, mostly by socialists and communists. The main trend of the amendments was that the Delhi resolution was a serious departure from the Ramgarh resolution and was an attempt to pursue a policy of surrender to British Imperialism. Though the resolution was not revolutionary, we do not think it was in any way a surrender to British Imperialism. Revolutionary resolutions and revolutionary activities merely for the sake of being revolutionary, are not to be commended. With Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, we are in favour of "grasping whatever opportunity offered itself for advancing our cause." "He was not afraid of internal chaos or other disorders that might be in store for them. Nevertheless he could not be a party to creating chaos for chaos's sake." "It may be," he added, "that the dancing star of independence may emerge out of chaos, but it may also be that nothing but black clouds may emerge out of chaos. So it may be wise not to create chaos at certain times."

Nehru and Rajagopalachari on 'Time Limit'

In concluding his speech on the Delhi resolution,

> The Pandit made a request to Mr. Rajagopalachari to clear one point, and that was, were they going to have this resolution hanging over them indefinitely, say more than a reasonable period of two or three weeks, if by then they had no satisfactory response from the British Government. He felt a reply to this question would clear the atmosphere considerably.

Sri C. Rajagopalachari said with reference to this request:

> "I agree with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru that this offer cannot be holding the field indefinitely. At the same time I do not like to lay any particular time limit. I can only assure you that the Working Committee will consider this aspect of the question and you need have no worries about it."

Sir J. P. Srivastava At Hindu League Session

Sir J. P. Srivastava, M.L.A., Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Hindu League, welcoming the delegates, held that

Comprising as they did one-fifth of the world's total population they could after necessary mobilisation of their existing and potential resources, hold their own against any totalitarian State.

Entering an emphatic protest against the Pakistan Scheme, he said the logic of the situation is so clear that it is difficult to understand the mentality of those Muslim League leaders who have raised today the cry of Pakistan. He quoted the analysis of the scheme by Khan Bahadur Alla Bux, emphasising its financial aspects. He added that Indian Muslims, whether they liked it or not, would not be regarded as a separate nation by their co-religionists abroad.

Sir J. P. Srivastava was sharply critical of the Lucknow Pact, holding that it had only served to stiffen Muslim demands.

Mr. Aney's Presidential Speech At Hindu League Conference

A note of warning against the dangers of the "fratricidal scheme of Pakistan," an appeal for unity at the present critical juncture, a reiteration of the one-nation theory and a plea for a policy of benevolent neutrality towards the Indian States, were the keynotes of the presidential address delivered by Mr. M. S. Aney, M.L.A. (Central) at the first session of the All-India Hindu League Conference held at Lucknow on the 27th July last.

The president made a rapid survey of the international situation and passed on to a discussion of the situation in India which he described as a house divided against itself. The Congress had been weakened by disclaimers from the Hindu Mahasabha and the Muslim League. Holding that their helplessness could be overcome only by their determination to stand united Mr. Aney appealed to the majority community to shoulder the responsibility of shaping their destiny.

"The first and foremost idea that must dominate and guide the activities of all sections of the Indian population if they want to be a free nation, is that India or Hindustan is one whole indivisible nation." He called upon Hindus who wanted to stand for the fulfilment of the ideal of the Indian nation.

The president disagreed with most Congress leaders in their views relating to the Princes of the Indian States.

Urging the need for the restoration of confidence in the minds of the Princes, the President said that it was unfortunate that the growth of the conception of an Indian democratic state is viewed with great suspicion and fears by the Ruling Princes. The main reason for this was the socialistic bent of mind of some of the leading politicians who play a very important part in the Congress politics. He had no hesitation in saying that the sudden departure made by the Congress in its traditional policy of neutrality in regard to the administration of Native States was a blunder. And the direct participation of first rank Congress politicians like Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Dr. Pattabhi Seetaramayya and Seth Jamnalal Bajaj in the agitation carried on in certain States was a still greater unpardonable blunder. But the most deplorable feature of this agitation which has caused almost irreparable wrong to United India was the part played by Mahatma Gandhi himself. Mr. Aney then alluded to his fast at Rajkot.

The President declared that the Congress must definitely repudiate the socialistic doctrine and declare that in the scheme of independent India "the order of the Princes and Ruling Chiefs have got a place of honour and that it is definitely opposed to the principle of setting up the people of the Native States against their rulers." What they wanted to achieve in British India was the establishment of the sovereignty of the people. The form of Government may be republican, totalitarian or even monarchic, but the independence of the States is a recognised fact.

There are some princes whose States are on the whole not worse ruled than British India; in fact, there are some States which in some respects can compare favourably with British India. But there are others where misrule and oppression are chronic.

This attitude of benevolent neutrality towards the Native States was subject to one exception. If they found that the administration in any Native State was perversely persisting in the pursuit of a fatal policy of racial or communal discrimination, he would insist on Indian public men giving up their policy of neutrality and using all means of persuasion against such a State to abandon this path.

But if persuasion fails?

All-India Hindu League Resolutions

The resolutions passed by the All-India Hindu League at Lucknow are printed below.

PRESENT POLITICAL SITUATION AND CALL FOR UNITY

On a motion from the Chair it was resolved that the League viewed with anxiety the present political situation complicated by the communal demands and the separatist tendencies of the Muslim League and called upon every organisation in the country to direct the nation's energy into a common channel and promote unity among all its sections, groups and parties.

PAKISTAN SCHEME CONDEMNED

By another resolution the League condemned the Pakistan scheme as "entirely anti-Indian and suicidal" and trusted that all those who looked upon India as their motherland and wished to preserve its culture and integrity would make every sacrifice and offer the stoutest opposition to the scheme of partitioning India into communal blocks. It called upon the Congress, the Forward Bloc, the Hindu Mahasabha, the Liberal Federation and other political bodies to face it by united counsel and action.

ORGANIZATION OF ANTI-PAKISTAN MOVEMENT

A third resolution authorised the President, Mr. Aney, to take all necessary steps in connection with the organization of the Anti-Pakistan movement and a correct recording of facts in regard to the Hindu community in the ensuing census in India.

ABOLITION OF SO-CALLED COMMUNAL 'AWARD' URGED

The League by another resolution urged the abolition of the Communal Award as "it hampered the healthy growth of nationalism, interfered with the harmonious relations between the different communities and jeopardised peace and tranquillity in the country, culminating in the Pakistan movement."

AGAINST UNTOUCHABILITY

A resolution on untouchability enjoined on Hindus the duty of doing everything in their power and adopting all practical measures to eradicate untouchability and to promote equality and fraternity between caste Hindus and the scheduled classes.

IMMEDIATE DECLARATION OF DOMINION STATUS

A resolution recorded an unqualified condemnation of the spirit of Nazism as being completely opposed to the Hindu traditions and a menace to civilization and the freedom of nations. The League asked Britain immediately to declare India a Dominion based on the Statute of Westminster with a view to securing her maximum support and co-operation in the task of defeating Nazism.

NATIONAL DEFENCE

A resolution was passed holding that the question of Self-Government was indissolubly bound up with the question of National defence and therefore, urging His Majesty's Government and the Government of India to take immediate steps to nationalise all the arms of Indian Defence, namely, Army, Navy and Air Force. An amendment was accepted asking for enrolment of Hindus including Sikhs in as large numbers as possible so as to secure the preponderance of the Majority community in the future national army of the country.

Mr. Aney's Concluding Remarks At Hindu League

Mr. M. S. Aney in the course of his concluding remarks made a moving appeal for unity among the various Hindu organisations in the country. He said that there was no antagonism or contrariety of interests between the Mahasabha and the Hindu League. The latter was designed to devote all its energies to the task of combating the Pakistan movement. As long as there was a single Hindu alive in this country, he said, they would resist the introduction of the scheme.

Referring to nationalisation of the Army he said that by nationalisation he meant not recruiting of some more men from the so-called martial classes but raising them from all the provinces and from all classes of the population, so that the force thus raised would be national in every sense of the term.—*A. P.*

Convocation of The Indian Women's University

The annual convocation of the Shrimati Nathibai Damodar Thackersey Indian Women's University of Poona and Bombay, founded by Professor Dhondo Keshab Karve, was held at Bombay last month. The distinguishing feature of this university is that all subjects are taught through the medium of Indian languages (at present Marathi and Gujarati). English is not ignored, but it is taught as a second language. The standard of knowledge to be attained by the students for obtaining its degrees is not lower than that of other Indian universities. Sir M. Visvesvarayya of Mysore delivered this year's convocation address. Like other educationalists who have devoted serious thought to the subject of the education of Indian girls and women, he laid stress on fitting them by their education for the life they would have to lead as housewives, while not ignoring the need of a liberal education for them. Domestic science and similar other subjects should be taught to them. He also pointed out the importance of giving them what is called in Japan "bridal training." This does not mean that women are not to do public work according to their tastes and capacity. It simply means that most women should become wives and mothers, as most of them do, and should be trained for successfully filling the roles of mothers and wives.

Seva Sadan Society's Annual Meeting

Last month the Seva Sadan Society's annual meeting was also held in Bombay. Mrs. Maneklal Premchand, a distinguished Social welfare worker of Bombay, presided on the occasion. For decades the Seva Sadan has done work of great value to society in Poona and Bombay.

Holwell Monument To Be Removed

A statement has been made by Bengal's Chief Minister that the Holwell Monument will be removed.

Sj. Sarat Chandra Bose, leader of the Congress Assembly Party, has made a statement suspending the agitation against the Holwell Monument.

Telephone Connection With Santiniketan

Santiniketan was put on the telephone map of India on the 24th of July last.

Santiniketan is a small village, but its importance is very much greater than its size. For this reason its connection with the rest of India by telephone will be highly appreciated.

At the time of the last serious illness of the Poet, Rabindranath Tagore, the editor of this *Review* was at Sylhet presiding over a conference. In the midst of the proceedings a newspaper was received from Calcutta containing news of the Poet's illness. Instantaneously the proceedings came to a standstill and prayers were offered to the Most High for the Poet's recovery. We still remember what frantic efforts were made that day and the next and what difficulties were encountered in obtaining news of the Poet. If telephone connection with Santiniketan had then existed, the anxiety of thousands all over the country could have been relieved.

That was of course an exceptional occasion whose recurrence no one will desire. For ordinary business transactions and other normal work, including cultural contacts, the telephone connection will be a great advantage.

Chinese Leaders Reject Proposal To Get Closer To Germany

CHUNGKING, July 24.

Well-informed quarters state that a proposal by certain Chinese leaders that China should enter into closer relations with Germany and Italy has been firmly rejected.

The majority of leaders present when the proposal made at a recent meeting voted for the continuance of the Government's policy of placing their hope in the United States and Russia for assistance in their war against Japan while maintaining friendly relations with Britain, Germany and Italy.—*Reuter*.

Condemnation of Compulsory Collection of War Funds

POONA, July 26.

The Congress Working Committee had three hours' sitting this morning when there was further general discussion.

The Committee issued the following resolution :

"The Working Committee has received reports from many parts of the country that compulsion is being applied on a considerable scale on the part of subordinate officials for the purpose of realising contributions for war purposes.

"Collections ordered to be made by officials from peasants and wage-earners are bound to result in considerable harassment, coercion and distress. Compulsory levies are not only against the existing law of the land as well as emergency laws but are also opposed to the declared policy of responsible officers of the Government. All compulsory levies and coercion in the collection of funds should be immediately stopped. and where such compulsion is applied people should refuse to submit to it."—*A. P.*

French Possessions in India and the Petain Government

SIMLA, July 27.

With the declaration by the Government of India of several French Colonial possessions as enemy territory, public interest has naturally been aroused over the status of the French towns of Pondicherry and Chundernagore in India. Inquiries made here however tend to discount the probability of any action to be taken by the Government of India in regard to these towns as the French Indian Government have not owed allegiance to the Petain Government. Meanwhile the Government of India are believed to be not unwatchful in the matter of the prevention of entry of contraband goods and undesirable aliens through Pondicherry or the neutral port of Goa at both of which places. adequate Customs cordons exist with a view to prevent smuggling.

Company for Aircraft Manufacture in Bombay

BOMBAY, July 27.

A Joint-Stock Company to be known as Indian Aircraft Company, Limited with an authorised capital of five crores of rupees has been registered in Bombay for the purpose of manufacturing aeroplanes, airships, seaplanes and accessories required for building aeroplanes.

Messrs. Walchand Hirachand and Santi Kumar Morarjee are the first two Directors of the Company, and, it is understood, the Scindia Steam Navigation Company are likely to be appointed Managing Agents.

A scheme submitted to the Government of India by Mr. Walchand Hirachand in this connection is, it is learnt, being scrutinised by His Majesty's Government.

It is proposed to erect a factory at Bangalore.—*U. P.*

This enterprise is worthy of industrially go-ahead Bombay.

Extracting Rain From the Clouds

KARACHI, July 26.

A novel way of augmenting the water supply of Karachi, which of late has been threatened with a water famine, is suggested in a resolution to the Karachi Municipal Corporation by Mr. Naryandas A. Bechar, M.L.A., Labour leader.

Mr. Bechar has recommended to the Corporation to direct the Chief Officer to explore every possibility of extracting rain from the clouds by scientific methods adopted with the aid of aeroplanes as is done in Russia.—*U. P.*

When we were at Karachi at the time of the last Karachi session of the Congress we were enabled to form some idea of the problem of water-supply of that enterprising city. Mr. Bechar's recommendation evinces a courageous modern spirit.

In the Bengali book "Biswa-mānaber Lakshmi-lābh" by the late Surendranath Tagore a brief account is given of Soviet Russia's endeavour to extract rain from the clouds.

Army Recruitment From Bengal

A non-official resolution, moved by Rai Keshab Chandra Banerji Bahadur, asking the provincial Government to move the Government of India "to recruit soldiers from among the Bengalees so as to raise a permanent unit with a view to its incorporation into the Indian Army" was unanimously carried by the Bengal Legislative Council on the 27th July last. The mover said, in part, in support of his resolution :

They were told that the distinction between the so-called martial and the non-martial races in India had been done away with by the authorities in order to fill the quota of the first hundred thousand men needed for the expansion of the army. They were further told that a decision had been reached already for the formation of a Bengalee battalion in the scheme of the Indian Territorial Force. They welcomed the formation of a Bengal Coastal Battery to be incorporated in the regular army. The raising of a battalion in Bengal would hardly serve the purpose for which it was intended. Military training should be thrown open to the youths of the country without any restriction in order to enable Bengal to discharge her obligations to the State in all the departments of modern warfare, namely, land, sea,

and air. When he asked for this concession, he had the unanimous support of all sections of the public of Bengal.

It is not a "concession" but a right, which implies a duty which Bengalis should be placed in a position to perform.

In rising to give his support to the resolution Professor Humayun Kabir said among other things :

Raising of a battalion of territorial force from Bengal for the duration of war was not enough. One of their misfortunes was that British policy in respect to the question of raising an Indian army for the defence of India had been always half-hearted, vacillating, and pusillanimous. The question before them was simple. The question was that India was to be defended and they required an army. They could not be satisfied by raising a lakh of men as had been proposed and certainly Bengal could not be satisfied with the concession made to her.

Further, the statement that Bengali Hindus and Muslims were never martial was a travesty of truth. Because it was common knowledge that it was Bengal which gave more trouble than any other province to the Delhi emperors.

Replying to the debate, Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin, Home Minister, said, in part,

that the question of discrimination between martial and non-martial races in respect to recruitment of soldiers did not now arise because the Government of India had recently announced that recruitment of soldiers in connection with the war would not be confined to only martial races and that recruitment would be made on an all-India basis.

THE JINNAH SCHEME

He would however, like to say that if Bengal really wanted an army of her own Bengal would have to pay for it. "It was Mr. Jinnah's zonal scheme which can give you your own army. That was the only possible way," remarked the Home Minister.

Otherwise, they could not expect an improvement in the existing state of affairs. There was no reason why those who were responsible for selection of men for the army should take men of inferior quality. By that, however, he did not say that Bengalees were inferior to others but what he did say was that those who were responsible for selection of men for the army would always prefer men of better qualities. And in a federal form of Government if Bengal was not strongly represented those who would be responsible for selection of men would not certainly prefer Bengalees to non-Bengalees. Because they all knew how Bengalees were now being looked down upon in other provinces and that Bengalees now-a-days did not occupy that high place which once they did either in official circles or in the sphere of politics.

The mention of Mr. Jinnah's absurd zonal scheme in this connection was irrelevant. No Province has a separate army of its own. The United States of America has a federal army recruited from all the constituent States, no State having a separate army of its own.

The Khwaja's remark that Bengal must pay for the soldiers raised in the Province was the height of absurdity. No Province pays any separate and specially ear-marked amount for the soldiers recruited within its boundaries. The policy of the British Government has led it to recruit more soldiers from the Punjab than from any other Province, but the Punjab does not pay for them. It is the Central Government which pays from its revenues raised from all the Provinces. And it is notorious that that Government takes from Bengal a larger share of its revenues and a larger amount than from any other province, and thus Bengal already pays more for the army in India than any other Province. It has been a standing and crying grievance of Bengal that though the army expenditure is met from revenues raised to a greater extent from Bengal than from any other province, yet Bengal does not get back any portion of her contribution in the form of salaries paid to soldiers, because no soldiers are recruited from Bengal or have been recruited on a permanent footing. So the Khwaja's remark that Bengal must pay for her soldiers is like spraying a wound with salt, as the Bengali adage goes.

It is a just requirement that Bengali recruits must be up to the mark. In fact, we want that they should be equal to the best recruits from elsewhere. Sir Nazimuddin would not have raised this point at all if he had been acquainted with the fine record of the 49th Bengali Regiment raised during the last great war. He will find all about it in Subedar M. B. Singh's Bengali book "Sainik Bāngāli," which has recently undergone a second edition. But we forget : the Khwaja does not perhaps know Bengali !

Bengal's Unenviable Place in "Official Circles and in Politics"

That Bengal does not at present occupy a high place in official circles or in the sphere of politics is true. Official circles, following the lead of the British imperialists and bureaucracy, do not like Bengal because of the part which Bengal has played in the struggle for freedom. Bengal has been cutting a sorry figure in all-India competitive examinations, because the educational system of Bengal has been weakened at the base by the recruitment of the inspecting and teaching staff of schools, not according to merit, but mostly according to creed. Our students, moreover, being utilized by demagogues for their purposes and their energies being dissipated by too many distractions, cannot pay adequate attention to their studies. Formerly Bengal used to supply officials, high and low, to many other provinces. Now the Muslim Ministry goes a-hunting in other provinces in search of candidates for appointments ! The Hindus in Bengal have all along occupied a high place in Indian politics. But their own

internal squabbles and the so-called Communal Award have dislodged them from their high place.

Recruitment of Soldiers and the Governors of Madras and Bengal

In the course of a recent speech of his the Governor of Madras has reminded all whom it may concern that in the early days of the East India Company sipāhis recruited in the Madras Presidency (along with other soldiers recruited from areas which have long been considered unfit to supply them) helped British generals to win their battles and extend the British Empire. He thus combated the false distinction between the so-called martial and the so-called non-martial peoples of India and made known his desire that sipāhis should again be recruited from the area under his charge. As regards what the Governor of Bengal has done or not done in this matter, *The Leader* observes:

Addressing the convocation of Dacca University the Governor of Bengal said, "The essential interests of Great Britain and India have never before been so closely linked as they are today and never before has so much depended on the outcome of the joint effort to which they have set their hands." His Excellency is a newcomer to Bengal. But he cannot be unaware of the fact that the Indian army does not contain even one soldier recruited from Bengal. This exclusion of Bengalees from the army, which is one of the most important national services, is incompatible with the appeal of the Governor of Bengal to the province to help in the prosecution of the war.

Lawlessness in Sind

Lawlessness has been rampant in Sind for a comparatively long time past. It has been on the increase recently, leading *The Leader* to write thus on the subject:

The maintenance of law and order is one of the primary duties of a Government. This duty the Sind Government have failed to fulfil. In October, last year, there broke out riots which continued for many months. The situation was so serious that entire villages were evacuated. The Government appointed a committee to inquire into the cause of the riots and to suggest steps to prevent their recurrence in future. The committee has yet to submit its report. Meanwhile lawlessness is again growing in the province. At Karachi and other places public meetings were held drawing the attention of the Government to this deplorable state of affairs and asking them to take steps to restore law and order. How serious the situation is can be realized from what the Premier of Sind said in a speech at a Conference of Police officers at Karachi. "Lawlessness in the mofussil," said Mir Bande Ali Khan Talpur 'has spread to such an extent, and criminals have got so much emboldened, that an honest person finds his life and property insecure and has therefore to pass sleepless nights........' We appreciate the Premier's straightforwardness of speech but not his conduct of affairs. Why did he allow so much lawlessness to spread and the criminals to grow so bold?

A message from Karachi says that in view of the fact that there exists a feeling of insecurity among people living in small villages, the Government have decided to grant plots of land where necessary to such persons as feel impelled to move their habitations permanently to the towns and larger villages. To place the smaller villages or any part of a province at the disposal of the criminals is not our conception of good Government. In civil administration there can be no strategic retreats. Next the Sind Government may ask the people to evacuate the larger villages also and to congregate in towns. If previous Governments could maintain law and order in the smaller as well as larger villages, why can the present Government not do that also? If Sind is much too poor to maintain an adequate police force, it is better that it should be amalgamated with Bombay, than that such lawlessness should prevail and people pass sleepless nights.

Our contemporary guesses that "Next the Sind Government may ask the people to evacuate the larger villages also and to congregate in towns." But are the towns in Sind safe? Has the Sind Government been able to maintain "law and order" in its towns? Sukkur is an important town in Sind. The barbarities perpetrated there are of recent date and are still fresh in public memory. Sind should either permanently go back to Bombay, or be placed under the dictatorship of a Hari Singh Nalwa for a sufficiently long time.

Dr. Moonje at Hyderabad Hindu Conference

HYDERABAD (Deccan), July 26.

Dr. B. S. Moonje who inaugurated the first Hindu Conference in the State today paid a tribute to H. E. H. the Nizam who, he said, had realised that people were longing for freedom and had, therefore, announced the introduction of Constitutional Reforms. Dr. Moonje thought that the reforms were a stepping stone to responsible government and had conceded most of their demands for civil liberties.

Referring to the term "Muslim State" Dr. Moonje said this could be interpreted in two ways. If it meant that it was a Muslim who founded the State it was correct, but he thought it was as ridiculous to call Hyderabad an Islamic State or Muslim Raj as it was to call British India, Christian India.

Dr. Moonje complimented Sir Akbar Hydari and said it was good fortune for Hyderabad that such a responsible and wise statesman was at the helm of the administration. In conclusion, Dr. Moonje advised the Hindus of Hyderabad to bring their grievances to the notice of their ruler in a peaceful manner and he felt sure that they would be redressed.—*A. P.*

The Holkar's Donation For 'Harijan' Welfare

INDORE, July 26.

From the annual grant of one lakh of rupees sanctioned by His Highness the Maharaja Holkar from his Privy Purse for the housing of the poor, a sum of Rs. 79,445 has been allotted for the construction of 91 sweepers' quarters in the Raj Mohalla, the Harijan locality of the city.

It may be mentioned here that Indore has been foremost in regard to the Harijan work, and this is yet another example of His Highness's practical sympathy for the oppresed class of his subjects.

The Malaria Scourge

Of six million persons who die annually in India, between a million and a million and a half die from causes attributed to malaria. Deaths from malaria are twice as frequent in rural areas as in urban areas. These mournful facts are revealed in an official report for 1939, which shows that only areas five thousand feet above the sea-level are non-malarious.

Four widely separated regions, namely, Eastern Bengal, the north-eastern portion of the Brahmaputra Valley in Assam, and two narrow strips of territory in Madras Presidency in the Northern Circars and around Madras City are relatively free from the disease. In the rest of India malaria is found in varying degrees of prevalence.

Describing malaria as the most important health problem in the country, the report classifies it under three heads, urban, industrial and rural.

As regards urban areas, Bombay is mentioned as a centre where anti-mosquito measures have caused a marked decrease in incidence. Control of malaria in industrial concerns, tea and coffee estates, rubber plantations, mines, sugar factories and cotton mills is carried out in many parts of India and is largely the result of the activities of the Indian Branch of the Ross Institute. Conspicuous success has been achieved in Assam and the foothills of Bengal.

The work done by the Anti-malaria Co-operative Societies in Bengal owing their initiation to the efforts of Dr. Gopal Chandra Chatterjee also deserves mention.

Rural malaria, says the report, provides the most difficult problem, since the communities to be protected are widely scattered and very poor. This problem is being tackled on a small scale by the Rural Reconstruction Department of Visva-bharati. To a recent number of *The Modern Review* Sjt. Sukumar Chatterjee of Sriniketan, Surul, contributed an article on its co-operative health societies. Copies of that article may perhaps be still had of him.

One-Rupee Notes

The re-circulation of one-rupee paper notes will for the time being remove the inconvenience felt by the public owing to the inadequate circulation of rupee coins. But rupee paper notes cannot be a permanent substitute for metal coins in a country where the vast majority of people have neither pocket-books nor leather purses to keep paper money in. Consequently great wastage would be involved in the circulation of one-rupee notes. They should be substituted by silver coins as early as practicable.

Sarada Charan Ukil

The world of art has suffered a heavy loss by the untimely death of Sarada Charan Ukil at New Delhi on the 21st July last. He was a distinguished member of the modern Indian school of painting, if it can be called a single school. He had a style of his own, marked by originality of conception and subtle and fine shades of colouring. He and his two artist brothers, Barada Charan and Ranada Charan, promoted the cause of Art not only with their brushes but also by conducting a School of Art at New Delhi where pupils of both sexes were taught, by maintaining a sort of permanent Art Gallery, and by holding occasional Art Exhibitions. One of the exhibitions of Indian paintings in London was held mainly as the result of the efforts of his brother Barada Charan. If the project of establishing a National Art Gallery in New Delhi becomes a *fait accompli*, as we hope it will, it will be due to the zeal and labours of the Ukil brothers, particularly of Barada Charan Ukil.

Sarada Charan was a man of wide culture and one of Nature's gentlemen. He lost his wife years ago. He bore the loss with resignation, but it was evident that the bereavement had affected not only Sarada Charan the man but also Sarada Charan the artist.

Prof. Karve's Maharashtra Village Primary Education Society

The Hindu Widows' Home at Poona, about which we wrote a short note last month, and the Indian Women's University, on whose convocation there is a brief note in this issue, are great achievements of Professor D. K. Karve. He is still in touch with these two comparatively big institutions, though he has practically retired from any active exertion for them. He thought, however, when he was about eighty, that he should have some light work to keep him engaged in his advanced age during part of the day. So he established the Maharashtra Village Primary Education Society four years ago. Its fourth annual report shows that in 1939 thirty-two schools received help from it. Its help is given only to those schools where villagers show a spirit of self-help, find a teacher and run a school for two or three months and then come to seek the help of the society. Thus the Society does not take the responsibility of providing for the teacher if the school comes to be closed. If the teacher starts another school in another village, the Society helps him.

Professor Karve is now past eighty-two. His conception of light work is that this year, too, he is carrying on his work of moving about

in different parts of the city of Poona for two hours a day with the help of a volunteer. He goes from door to door, seeking help from persons who can understand the importance of the work. Contributions even of an anna or so are thankfully accepted. His main object is to come in touch with as many people as possible so that they may know how his work is going on.

Big donations in aid of institutions for the good of society are welcome. But the value of small contributions can be understood from Professor Karve's method of work. If even young men and women do every day the kind of "light work" which he does in his advanced age, they will be blessed and society will be benefited.

Sadharan Brahmo Samaj Orissa Flood Relief Appeal

Our countrymen are, no doubt, aware of the great havoc caused by devastating floods in the East Coast of Orissa. When the cry of suffering humanity reaches us it is our sacred duty to do whatever we can to relieve the distress. The S. B. Samaj has decided to open relief centres there, and has already sent one of its representatives to the affected area. Our friends and sympathisers have always helped us liberally in relieving the distress of our countrymen and we earnestly appeal to them to contribute their mite in this sacred cause. Contributions may be sent to the Secretary, Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, 211, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.

Sir P. C. Ray, President, S. B. Samaj, Flood Relief Committee.

Prof. S. C. Mahalanobis and Sj. Barada Kanta Basu, Secretary, S. B. Samaj.

Sj. Ramananda Chatterjce and Dr. D. M. Bose, Treasurer, S. B. Samaj.

Prof. Upendra Nath Ball and Dr. P. K. Ghosh, Jt. Hony. Secy., S. B. Samaj, F. Relief Committee, 1940.

"Hindu Civilization in Ancient America"

Srijut Chaman Lal's book on "Hindu America" has been noticed in *The Modern Review*. It is a scholarly, painstaking and interesting work, of which we hope to publish other notices in some future issues.

So far as we are aware the earliest Hindu writer on the subject of Hindus in ancient America was the late Kedarnath Basu. He was a brother of the late Dr. Mrs. Kadambini Ganguli, one of the first two lady graduates of the Calcutta University and the first lady graduate of the Calcutta Medical College. Kedarnath Basu was Corresponding Member of the Anthropological Society of Boston. The full title of his booklet is *Hindu Civilization in Ancient America*. It is a pamphlet of thirty pages royal octovo. It was printed in Calcutta in 1888, fifty-two years ago, by H. C. Gangooly and Co., 12 Mangoe Lane. For a copy of it we are indebted to Sjt. Prabhat Chandra Ganguli a nephew (sister's son) of the Author. Its first two paragraphs are transcribed below.

"Modern researches by Western Scholars and *Savants* distinctly point out that the mythologics, philosophies, creeds and customs of ancient Greece, Italy and Egypt were of Asiatic, specially of Indian origin. I need not dwell on that question here, as my theme in this paper is to show that the civilization of Ancient Mexico, Yucatan, Central America, and Peru was of Hindu origin. The traditions, legends, myths, idols, and the style of architecture, etc., of ancient America conclusively prove that they were of Indian or Hindu origin; and that their striking similarities with Hindu traditions, legends &c., cannot be supposed to be *accidental*, for various reasons.

"That long before the discovrey of the American continent by Europeans, the land was peopled by a civilized race is admitted by all. But it remains to be seen whether the people were an autochthonous race and had evoluted by degrees from primitivism to a civilization of no mean merit, or whether they belonged to an Asiatic stock which had migrated to the 'New World' with its civilization. From a study of the subject we are inclined to believe that the American Indians, and the ancient civilized Mexicans and Peruvians were of Asiatic origin but that they belonged to two distinct races. We will now produce the facts upon which we rest our claim of having discovered a branch of the Hindu people in ancient America."

The Author then proceeds to produce his facts.

Azad Muslims Emphatically Repudiate Pakistan Proposal

An emphatic repudiation of the demand for 'Pakistan' and an appeal to Indian Muslims to get over their 'minority complex' were made by Maulvi Abdul Majid in the course of his presidential address at the First U. P. Azad Muslim Conference held at Lucknow on the 20th July last. The Azad Muslims of the Province mustered strong at the conference. It was attended by over five hundred delegates from all parts of the Province.

Khaksar Movement in Bengal

In the Bengal Assembly, on the 25th July last, replying to Dr. Suresh Ch. Banerjee, the Home Minister said that at present no steps had been taken by the Bengal Government to check the Khaksar movement in and around Calcutta.

None who has read Dr. Amiya Chandra Chakravarty's article in the New York *Asia* magazine, written from first-hand information, can have any doubt that the Khaksar organization is military in its formation and discipline and is professedly not non-violent. Dr. Chakravarty's article may not be easily available to many. But the article on the Khaksar movement contributed to our last June number by a distinguished scholar, who calls himself "An Indian Student of Political Science," may be read in public libraries. In it he proves by quoting the exact words of the founder of the movement that its object is to gain political ascendancy in India and mastery of the whole world. He is bitterly hostile to the British Government as well as to the Congress, and is also denunciative of the British character. For the establishment of Muslim rule in India, the organization has created a 'Beit-ul-Māl' or treasury. All other necessary and detailed information will be found in the article referred to above.

To treat it as similar to other volunteer organizations would be a blunder of the first magnitude and would lead to the repetition of what the Khaksars have done and been doing in the Panjab.

Non-Bengali Muslims For Public Services in Bengal and Universal Muslim Brotherhood !

The Bengal Government's policy of recruiting Muslim candidates for Public Service from outside the province, overriding the claims of qualified applicants of other communities in Bengal, was the subject of an adjournment motion in the Upper House on the 30th July last.

Amusing observations were made, in course of the debate that followed, by prominent Coalitionists, including the Chief Minister, who sought to defend the policy lately enunciated in the Lower House by Minister Tamizuddin Khan.

Islam, the Premier argued, was a great democratic religion recognising the brotherhood of Moslems throughout the world. It was that feeling which had actuated his Government to come to the decision so adversely criticised by the Congress members.

Khan Bahadur Syed Muazzamuddin Hossain went so far as to state that the Muslim nation was not confined to Bengal or India alone but extended to all other parts of the world. The interests of the Bengalee Muslims would thus be better served by Muslims imported from outside.

The brotherhood of Muslims would seem to be a very queer affair. There is no reciprocity in it. Whilst Muslims outside Bengal can have a share of Bengal's revenues in the form of salaries, allowances and so forth, they need not contribute to these revenues;—that unpleasant task being performed by the people of Bengal, particularly by the Bengali Hindus ! It also seems to be the accepted view that Muslim officials imported from outside Bengal are here to serve the interests of Muslims alone, though their salaries are paid from revenues contributed mostly by the Hindus !

The theory of universal Muhammadan brotherhood is trotted out whenever the policy and self-interest of communally-minded Muslims require that it should be so done. But when Bengali Muslims suffer from famine, floods, hurricanes, epidemics and other natural calamities, outside Muslims, even the richest among them, do not help them out of a feeling of Islamic brotherhood;—it is the Hindus who labour and pay for their relief. Thousands upon thousands of Muslim pupils have received and continue to receive education in schools and colleges founded and conducted by or maintained out of funds mainly contributed by Hindus, not by a single Mussalman from outside Bengal. There are numerous Bengali Muslim employees who are employed and paid wages by the Hindus and Muslims of Bengal;—Muslims from outside Bengal do not make remittances for the payment of these wages.

World-wide Mussalman brotherhood exists more in theory than in practice. When Indian Khilafatists proffered their unwanted advice to the Turks, the latter retorted, "We know that you can talk; but where were you when the Britishers were fighting us in Iraq ?" The Arabs and Turks are brothers in faith. But that did not prevent the Arabs from fighting the Turks and getting rid of their domination. That has not prevented the Turks, too, from shaking off the domination of Arabian culture. The Afghans, the Iranis, the Iraqis, the Egyptians, the Arabs, ... all stand for the people of their respective countries. Not so the Bengali Muslim ministerialists.

Important Amendment to Co-operative Societies Bill Carried

Government sustained a surprise defeat in the Bengal Legislative Assembly on the 30th July last over an Opposition amendment to clause 74 of the Bengal Co-operative Societies Bill, 1939.

The Opposition amendment moved by Dr. Nalinaksha Sannyal (Congress) wanted that the Registrar of Co-operative Societies should have

no power, as provided in clause 74 of the Bill, of modifying the authenticated statement of accounts of a co-operaitve society prepared by an audit officer, which, according to the provisions of the clause in the Bill, would be final and binding on the society.

This is an important amendment. Every effort should be made to see that it is not negatived in the Upper House.

Sri Aurobindo Contributes Rs. 1,000 to Viceroy's War Fund

SIMLA, July 30.

The following *communique* has been issued :

Sri Aurobindo and Madame Alfassa of the Sri Aurobindo Ashram, Pondicherry, have jointly contributed Rs. 1,000 towards His Excellency the Viceroy's War Purposes Fund.—*A. P.*

Police Assault on Students in Islamia College

When we say that we condemn the assault on students in Islamia College, we do not imply thereby that we approve of police assaults on students in any other college or elsewhere, or that we approve of police assaults on others assembled for any legitimate and non-violent purpose. It is good that the Chief Minister of Bengal has promised an enquiry and has expressed regret for what has happened, even though he never before did anything of the kind when non-Muslim students and educational institutions were concerned and though his recent attitude was due to the fear of losing the confidence of his constituents, who are all Muslims.

Official Action Against Students' Strikes

An official order has been circulated to the effect that, if the students of any Government or Government-aided institution join strikes, they will have to leave those institutions, and, if they enjoyed any scholarships or stipends, they would forfeit them.

We do not approve of students' strikes. But in our opinion it is desirable that the good sense of the students themselves and the arguments and moral influence of their guardians and teachers and professors should stand in the way of their occurence rather than that they should be prevented by orders of the Government.

Release of Political Prisoners

Our opinion in favour of the very early release of the political prisoners remains unchanged. Our arguments in favour of such action have been stated again and again.

Percentage of Hindu and Sikh Soldiers in the Army

On the motion of Sir J. P. Srivastava the Hindu League has demanded the enrolment of Hindu and Sikh soldiers in the army in sufficiently large numbers to ensure their forming as large a majority in the army as they are in the general population of the country. This is quite a just demand. There is plenty of excellent material to be found among Hindus and Sikhs to enable them to supply all the recruits necessary.

Dacca Vice-Chancellor's Address

On the occasion of the Convocation of the Dacca University Dr. R. C. Majumdar, the Vice-Chancellor, delivered a thoughtful and thought-provoking address. We are glad to find from it that the University has been making good progress.

Congress Follows Mahasabha's Lead In Bengal In Part

Presiding over a public meeting held in Shraddhananda Park, Calcutta. on the 28th July last, Sj. Sarat Chandra Bose, leader of the Congress Assembly party in Bengal, "called upon Hindus and Mussalmans, irrespective of political affiliation, to resist the enactment of the Calcutta Municipal Amendment Bill, the Secondary Education Bill, and the Co-operative Societies Bill, measures which, in his view, if passed into law, would do incalculable harm to the nation." We entirely agree. The first two of the above-mentioned three Bills were among the four measures of which the withdrawal was demanded at the Town Hall meeting convened by the Hindu Mahasabha on the 25th July last.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee on Injustice to Hindus in Bengal Public Services

Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee has issued a telling statement exposing the preferential treatment of Muslims and the injustice done to Hindus in Bengal Public Services and showing in detail how the claims of qualified Hindus are brushed aside. It deserves very wide circulation and attentive perusal. But that alone would not be sufficient. Action, too, is needed.

FREE MUSLIMS ARE DEMOCRATIC IN POLITICS

By RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

WHENEVER it is said that some pronouncement or measure or other of the Bengal Ministry or the Punjab Ministry, or some pronouncement or statement of Mr. Jinnah or his Muslim League is anti-democratic, there is the obvious comment, whether openly made or not, that the parties concerned will not take such criticism as any disparagement of their actions; for as Muslims they are against democracy and do not pretend to be democratic in their politics. But though it is true that they are not democratic in their politics, it is not true that a Muslim must necessarily be anti-democratic or that Islam is against democracy. In fact, those Muslim leaders who are anti-democratic in their politics proudly proclaim that Islam is socially the most democratic religion in the world, and that is a fact.

Various circumstances have combined to give people an impression that Islam favours autocracy. The Mussalman monarchs who ruled over different parts of India were autocrats. Outside India the most powerful Muslim country in the world was Turkey and its monarch was a despot. Afghanistan and Iran (Persia) were formerly known to be despotically governed. In India, owing to the policy of the British Government of favouring those who keep aloof from political agitation of a nationalistic and democratic character, an influential section of Muslims have kept aloof from the Indian National Congress from the days of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan. That section, at present represented by the Muslim League, has all along been recognized by the British Government as the only party voicing true Muslim opinion in India. This governmental recognition of the Muslim League has misled even non-official non-Muslim opinion to such an extent that until lately the non-Muslim public seemed to be oblivious of the fact that Muslim members of the Indian National Congress and other democratically inclined Muslim nationalists far outnumbered the members of the Muslim League.

Another cause which has created a wrong idea of Islamic politics is ignorance of Islam and of the personality and rule of the early caliphs. Add to this the fact that owing to inadequate teaching or, in some cases, no teaching, of geography in our schools and colleges there is extensive ignorance of the systems of government prevailing in independent and free Muslim countries and regions.

It is not implied in the heading of this short article that in India there are no Muslims who are democratic in their politics—we have stated above that there are many such Indian Muslims. What the heading suggests is that in free Muslim countries and regions the prevailing type of politics is democratic.

And therefore Mr. Jinnah and his Muslim Leaguers are not the world's typical Muslim politicians.

> "The religion of Islam in its origin, in its development and in its progress has been saturated through and through with the spirit of democracy. Wherever it has found its home it has favoured the doctrine, if not of the brotherhood of man, at least of the brotherhood of the members of its own creed." (*The Modern Review*, June 1907).

So wrote the late Major B. D. Basu, I.M.S. who had a personal and intimate knowledge of the transfrontier Pathans and was an Arabic and Persian scholar.

The late Dr. Leitner of the Punjab wrote in his *Indigenous Elements of Self-government in India*, Introduction, pp. v. and vi:

> "For, say what one may, the traditions which have maintained Indian society for thousands of years are Republican. If its fabric, shaken to its foundation, is to be consolidated in a manner worthy of British rule, it must be by the spread of Republican institutions. That these are not a novelty may be shown by a brief reference to the three great communities that inhabit the Punjab."

Of the Muslims Dr. Leitner wrote:

> "The Muhammadans, in so far as they are Sunnis and people of the congregation (ahljamas'at), have no *raison d'etre* if they do not acknowledge the elective principle in political matters, the ground on which they separated from the adherents of the hereditary principle, the Shiahs. Indeed with the latter the sovereign has sunk below the priesthood, whilst with the former the greatest ruler is only acknowledged if he rules theocratically. The experience of their institutions, the absence of class or caste in pure Muhammadanism, and the partial success of the "Umuma" Turkish Parliament, so long as it lasted, not to speak of the Council of all races of the revered Al-Ma'mun and other Khalifas, the autonomy of every race and creed under Turkish rule, are the examples, if not proofs, to be held out for our encouragement in the noble task which the Government has undertaken, if not for the guidance of our Muhammadan fellow-citizens."

Dr. Leitner gave similar descriptions of the democratic institutions of the Hindus and the Sikhs also.

In 1910 Mr. (afterwards Lord) Balfour having made the unfounded assertion that Orientals had never shown any capacity for self-government, Sheikh M. H. Kidwai wrote to the London *Daily News* on the 16th June, 1910, in reply :

"In reply to these assertions I challenge him to show me any other period in the history of the world when the equality of man to man of every colour and race was more practically established, when the government of a country—an Empire—was on a more popular basis and with less autocracy, bureaucracy or officialism or absolutism than the glorious Khalifat of Omar. It was real self-government in the strictest sense of the term, as even a sweeper had a voice and a hand in the administration of his Empire. It is in fact the only period in the history of the world known to us when true socialistic principles were tried in the administration of an Empire and in the regulation of a harmonious and gradeless society which extended over countries and continents."

In 1913 Professor Feroz-ud-Din of Aligarh College quoted the following words of the Khalifa Omar (in translation) in an article which the Professor contributed to *Muslim India and Islamic Review* :

"My brothers ! I owe you several duties, and you have several rights over me. One of them is that you should see that I do not misuse the revenue; another, that I may not adopt wrong measures in the assessment of the revenue; that I should increase your salaries; protect the frontiers; and I should not involve you in unnecessary dangers. Whenever I err, you have a right to stop and take me to task."

After quoting these words of the great Khalifa the Professor observed :

"That the great Caliph during his whole regime kept these words to their very spirit is above every criticism. His own well-known saying, 'There is no Caliphate without the consultation of the general body of Mussulmans,' characterized all his career as a ruler. The emoluments of his office were just sufficient to enable him to keep body and soul together, and to cover his body with a shirt of rough coarse cloth with twelve patches in it; in fact the total daily expenses of his household did not amount to more than a shilling. In the beginning he did not take anything from the *Bait-ul-Mal* (Treasury), but later on he found that the duties of his office were interfered with by his private efforts to earn a livelihood for himself. He then put the question of his stipend in the hands of the 'Majlis-i-Shura' (the representative body of Councillors) as well as before the Mussulmans at large congregated in the mosque for the Friday prayers, and it was decided that he should be given just as much as he required for his ordinary needs."

As our Muslim chief and ordinary Ministers are neither descendants nor successors of Khalifa Omar, no one need be disappointed to find no patches in their clothes nor feel surprised to find them overfed.

We have given above some idea of the democratic character of Islam and its institutions and indicated also the democratic character of the early Caliphate. Let us now turn to more modern times and take some Muslim country as an example of Islamic political ideals in practice. For instance, let us take Afghanistan, our immediate neighbour. In the last century Elphinstone wrote in his *Account of the Kingdom of Caubul* (Second edition) :

"The Afghans themselves exult in the free spirit of their institutions. Those who are little under the royal authority are proud of their independence, which those under the King admire and fain would imitate. They all endeavour to maintain that "All Afghans are equal," which, though it is not nor ever was true, still shows their notions and their wishes. I once strongly urged to a very intelligent old man of the tribe of Meeankhail the superiority of a quiet and secure life under a powerful monarch to the discord, the alarms and the blood, which they owed to their present system. The old man replied with great warmth and thus concluded an indignant harangue against arbitrary power : 'We are content with discord, we are content with alarms, we are content with blood, but we will never be content with a master.'" Vol. i, p. 279.

We will extract two more passages, out of many, from Elphinstone's book to give the reader some idea of self-government in Afghanistan in his day.

"As each tribe has a government of its own and constitutes a complete commonwealth within itself, it may be well to examine the rise and present situation of those commonwealths, before we proceed to consider them as composing one State or one confederacy, under a common sovereign." Vol. i, page 253.

"The name of Ooloose is applied either to a whole tribe, or to one of these independent branches. The word seems to mean a clannish commonwealth." Vol. i, p. 254.

There were Hindus in Afghanistan in those days, as there are in our day. Of them Elphinstone wrote in his book, in part :

"......they are not treated with any particular contempt or hardship; they are employed in situations of trust and emolument, and those who reside in Afghanistan appear as much at their ease as most of the other inhabitants." Vol. i, pp. 317-318.

"They are often employed about the Court, in offices connected with money or accounts; the duty of steward and treasurer about every great man is exercised either by a Hindoo or a Persian. There have even been Hindoo governors of provinces and at this moment the great Government of Peshawar has been put into the hands of a person of that religion........ I have mentioned the degree of toleration which the Hindoos meet with, and have only to add, that many of them are in very good circumstances, and that they possess the best houses in every town if we except the palaces of the nobility." Vol. i, p. 503.

We will now conclude with brief descriptions of the constitutions or governments of free

Muslim countries or free countries in which there are considerable numbers of Muslims.

Afghanistan.—The government of Afghanistan is a constitutional monarchy in which the supreme legislative power is vested in the Parliament consisting of the King, a Senate and a National Assembly. The Senate consists of a maximum of 40 members, who are nominated for life by the King. The National Assembly consists of 120 elected members.

Arabia.—The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is the most powerful State in this country. Its Constitution in its present form provides for a Council of Ministers under the presidency of the Amir Feysal, the King's second son, who is also Minister for Foreign Affairs and in whose office the Ministry of the Interior has been merged. The religious law of Islam is the common law of the land, and is administered by courts at the head of which is a Chief Judge who is responsible for the Department of Sharia (legal) Affairs. The Constitution also provides for the setting up of certain advisory Councils, comprising a consultative Legislative Assembly in Mecca, Municipal Councils in each of the towns in Medina and Jedda and Village and Tribal Councils throughout the provinces.

Egypt.—Egypt is a constitutional monarchy. Its constitution provides for a Parliament, composed of a Senate and a Chamber of Deputies. Two-fifths of the Senators are appointed by the King and the remaining three-fifths elected. The Chamber of Deputies is composed of more than 200 members, at least 30 years of age. For both houses the vote is based on universal male suffrage. Soldiers have no votes. There are Provincial Councils endowed with various powers. More than 91 per cent. of Egyptians are Moslems and more than 8 per cent. Christians. There is no communal discrimination, privileges or separate electorates.

Iran (Persia).—Iran is a constitutional monarchy with a National Assembly, called the 'Majlis.' The government of the country is in the hands of the Cabinet.

Iraq (Mesopotamia).—The Organic Law passed by the Constituent Assembly in June, 1924, provides for a limited monarchy and a responsible government. The legislative body consists of a Senate of 20 nominated elder statesmen and the Lower House of 108 elected deputies.

Turkey.—Turkey is the most powerful Muslim State in the world. But it has an entirely secular constitution and body of laws. It is a Republic. The Grand National Assembly of Angora voted, on January 20, 1921, a Fundamental Law which declared that all sovereignty belonged to the people and that all power, both executive and legislative, was vested in the Grand National Assembly as being the sole representative of the people. There is no provision for a Senate. All the members of the Grand National Assembly are elected by voters of both sexes of the age of 23, who can become members of the Grand National Assembly at the age of 31. The President of the Republic is chosen from among the deputies of the National Assembly.

Azerbaijan, Turkmen, Uzbek, Tadzhik, Kazakh, and **Kirghiz** are Constituent Republics of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics (U. S. S. R.), and **Bashkir, Tartar, Dagestan,** etc., Autonomous Republics of U. S. S. R.

China.—Hitherto we have mentioned those countries of which Mussalmans form the majority of the inhabitants. But the largest number of Mussalmans outside India, living in a single country, inhabit China and are there a minority. But they are as thoroughgoing republicans of the Republic of China as the Chinese professing other religions. They are fighting for the freedom of their country with as much zeal, courage and partriotism as other Chinese. They have never asked for or obtained 'weightage' or separate electorates, nor do they seek or obtain any specific share of appointments in the public service, on 'minimum qualifications,' in excess of what they may pray for on the basis of their numerical strength.

The Muslims of China are a minority, a smaller minority than Indian Muslims are in India. But they are not oppressed by other Chinese, nor do they seek protection from them under the influence of some pretended or imaginary fears.

It is not necessary to describe the government of the Republic of China in detail.

ALL MEN WISH TO BEGIN AGAIN

By BERTRAM GODWIN STEINHOFF

Optat ephippia bos piger, optat arare caballus
—Hor. Epist. XIV. 43

WHATEVER his walk of life, it seems that there has never lived a man, who has not, at some time, said to himself, 'If I could only begin again!' But it is curious to reflect that this thought, or this wish, is by no means confined to the 'failures': it is just as common in the case of men, who, in the world's estimation, are looked upon as conspicuous examples of 'success'.

Byron, a man of letters, wished that he had been a man of action. By the irony of Fate, his wish was granted, and he died a man of action, at Missolonghi, fighting for the Greeks. Carlyle, the greatest man of letters of modern times, warned a young friend utterly to avoid 'that great froth ocean called literature.' Had he been a man of action, he might have been happier—but not we. He was our conscript, on whom the lot fell, and, fighting our battles in the realm of thought, he has left us a record—thirty volumes—which shall be, to succeeding ages, a perennial source of inspiration, and a motive power for righteous living, and noble endeavour, in every sphere of life, practical, and contemplative. Dryden lamented, too late, that he had grown old in the pursuit of so barren a reward as Fame, when half the time and labour might have got him the highest honours of the gown. Boswell has recorded some passing remarks of Johnson's, which show that Johnson also was not free from such thoughts, and wishes.

Shakespeare, 'the greatest intellect that has left a record of itself' (Carlyle: *Heroes and Hero Worship*), a genius so consummate, that, in the line he chose for himself, he had attained the utmost limit of success, is no exception. See his sonnet commencing, 'When to the sessions of sweet silent thought,' and more particularly, the one commencing, 'O for my sake do you with Fortune chide.' Had these thoughts, or wishes, appeared in his plays, they could have been put down to the requirements of dramatic propriety; but in the sonnets they are his own, for there he 'unlocked his heart.' Napoleon, a man of action, and also of thought, said, at the zenith of his career, that the happiest period of his life was, when, as a young man, without a job, he promenaded the streets of Paris, looking for a hotel, where he might get the cheapest dinner. Goethe said he could remember only fourteen really happy days in the whole of his life. See those exquisite lines in his dedication to *Faust*, Second Part, ending,

> Was Ich besitze sehe Ich wie im Weiten,
> Und was werschwand wird mirzu Wirklichkeiten.

Diocletian voluntarily surrendered the mastership of the world and preferred growing cabbages on the outskirts of the empire (*see* Gibbon). Danton said, too late, when led to the guillotine, "It is better to be a poor fisherman, than to have anything to do with the governing of men."

Now, to take an example from famous men of the present day, there is Ezra Pound, the chief exponent of modern poetry (or verse?), and also of obscurity in literature, this is what he says:

> O Venus, O Mercury, patron of thieves,
> Lend me a little tobacco shop, or install me in any profession
> Save this damned profession of writing, where one needs one's brains all the time.
>
> (Ezra Pound, *The Lake Isle*).

Sir Hugh Walpole, recently interviewed by a newspaper man, spoke in much the same strain. Milton, Gibbon, and Wordsworth appear to be examples to the contrary; but it may be only that they left no record of their inmost feelings on this matter; though there are many passages in *Samson Agonistes* where Milton seems to speak for himself. In fact, the whole of that great drama, perhaps the only one that has been written in modern times in the manner of the Greeks—this was Goethe's opinion—is a running commentary on the subject of this paper: 'All men wish to begin again.'

The above examples have been taken, at random, from among the great, and the famous. The like, however, may be found in the humblest ranks of life. You may read the words—'If I might begin again'—written on the faces of the middle-aged men, sitting on the benches, in the parks, and open spaces, in London, in Bombay, in Madras.

In the realm of fiction Hamlet is the noblest example of all such ineffectual wishers. But Shakespeare's characters can hardly be called fictitious, in the ordinary sense of that term, they are as real as flesh and blood.

The only humans, who seem to have been free from this wish, and to whom the thought itself seems to have been subjectively unknown, are the saints and the sages. It would be hazardous to associate this thought, or wish, with St. Paul, or St. Francis of Assissi, or with Socrates, Gautama, Sankara, or Gandhi, and Rabindranath Tagore. Though one of these—St. Paul—did make a second start, fairly late in life, and in a direction diametrically opposite to his first. But had he not done so, he would not now be looked upon as a saint, but only as a persecutor of the Christians. Having once, finally and irrevocably, committed themselves to the doctrine of renunciation, it is not opened to them, afterwards, to wish for any other course of life than the one they have chosen. They never 'look before and after'; or, if they ever do, they never 'pine for what is not.' They have emancipated themselves from the desire of fame, that 'last infirmity of noble mind' and even of glory, which, Renan said, is, after all, the only thing that has the best chance of not being altogether vanity. Their motto is: 'Seekest thou great things, seek them not.'

A little consideration, however, will convince us that it is not possible to begin again, in the way in which we all wish to do so. The wish arises after an experiment has been made, after the cake has been eaten, and is due entirely to knowledge subsequently acquired. It is, therefore, obvious, that if some benign fairy were to put us back again at the same starting point, we must, for want of that subsequent knowledge, make the same start, and the same choice over again; unless we are like the proverbial ass, of the metaphysicians, between two bundles of hay, and make no choice at all. The cake, once eaten, cannot again be un-eaten; and to go on eating one cake after another, is only, over and over again, to be taken in by the gilt on the gingerbread.

Horace has laboured the point in one of his Satires (Book I. Sat. I), but he does not come to any satisfactory conclusion. Browning grappled with this spectre round the corner, in one of his subtlest poems, 'Childe Roland to the Dark Tower Came.' But neither Horace, nor Browning, could find a way of disentangling themselves from the Laocoon coils. The following stanza contains the gist of Browning's poem:

"Thus had I so long suffered in the quest,
Heard failure prophesied so oft, been writ
So many times among 'The Band'!—to wit
The Knights who to the Dark Tower's search addressed
Their steps—that just to fail as they, seemed best.
And all the doubt was now—should I be fit."

This subtle, full-blooded poem has often been quoted by his detractors, in support of their charge, against Browning, of flat unintelligibility. But this poem is not half so unintelligible as the daily output of the present-day writers of 'modern verse'.

If life is to be viewed from the standpoint of 'the choice of a career,' then here is an instructive dialogue, real, or imaginary, between Pyrrhus and a Greek philosopher, condensed, and abridged from the old Greek Classics:

Pyrrhus. I will conquer all Greece first.
Philosopher. And then ?
Pyrrhus. I will conquer Rome.
Philosopher. And then ?
Pyrrhus. I will conquer Egypt and all Africa.
Philosopher. And then ?
Pyrrhus. I will conquer Asia Minor.
Philosopher. And then ?
Pyrrhus. I will conquer Persia and India.
Philosopher. And then ?
Pyrrhus. I will conquer all Scythia.
Philosopher. And then ?
Pyrrhus. I will return to Epirus, build a small house in a garden, and live there contented and happy.
Philosopher. So ? But why not at once now set about planting that garden, and building that small house ?

So Pyrrhus spoke, so the sage suggested.

The fact of the matter is this : the choices before us in the race of life, are so multitudinous, and our knowledge at the starting point is so meagre, that, whatever choice we may make, it is almost inevitable that, later on, we shall be inclined to wish that we had chosen differently. But when we consider that the race is a collective one, in which each individual plays but a small part, the difficulty vanishes.

Inque brevi spatio mutantur caecla animantum,
Et quasi cursores vitai lampada tradunt.

—Lucr., *De. Re. Nat.*

It is enough if the torch is handed on to the next.

If there were no choice, there would be no after-misgivings, or regrets. In this world—the only such place in the whole universe—who knows ?—it is the high privilege allowed only to man to be able to make a choice. In other words, man alone has been given a free will with reason and intelligence, to make a choice, in every sphere of life, active, and contemplative. No other living beings have this privilege.

The lower animals act on a blind, but unerring, propulsion, and have no misgivings, no regrets: undoubtedly a happy condition, but not a higher. Adam and Eve, before the Fall, would have gone on happily to the end. But a choice was put to them. They chose wrongly. Misgivings and regrets followed, by a logical sequence, and these have been handed down to their progeny. And so all men have, at some time or other, wished that they might be able to begin again. (The old story in Genesis affords a better solution to most of the problems of life than do the various and conflicting speculations indulged in by philosophers in all ages.) It is inherent in human life. The 'quietists' sought to surmount it, or walk round it, by mere negations. But no 'escapist' can escape, so long as he lives. Life is action. Man finds himself at the cross roads. He cannot stand there motionless. He must move on, if not by this road, then by that. But once he has begun to move, he cannot come back again to the first parting of the ways. This condition is not a matter for regret: it is a high privilege, and, properly viewed, and acted on, constitutes one of the chief motive powers of all human endeavour. A live dog is better than a dead lion. A man is worth more than many sparrows, said the Greatest Man that was born of woman, who grappled every problem of life, struggled with every variety of conflicting impulses and then went unswervingly on, till He uttered His last words: *'It is finished.'*

THE FALL OF FRANCE

By J. M. GANGULI

The tragic fall of France, preceded by the pathetic appeals for help by her Government, has evoked widespread sympathy.

There is always pity in a fall, and sympathy goes out from the human heart to the fallen instinctively, without even judging his faults or follies. The greater the glory and the higher the position from which the fall happens, the more the pity and the wider the expression of sympathy. When pitying and sympathising with the fallen, one is generally disinclined to look at his bad side or his unedifying past, but rather points to and praises whatever good there may be in him. This generous feeling is one of the finest qualities of the human heart, and the higher our spiritual growth the more spontaneous and over-flowing this feeling becomes.

But such falls have great lessons to learn from also; and, therefore, after offering the hand of sympathetic help to the fallen, it is wise to reflect on his doings in the past.

In the case of the present fall of France the sympathetic world today is eulogising her love of "liberty, equality, and fraternity," and praising her refinement, culture and civilisation. But in doing so the world must not also miss the great lesson of it by neglecting a critical study of France's doings and tendencies in the past. I am referring to her past here to draw the attention of those Imperial Powers, who may be careless and unmindful of the causes that have led to the French disaster, and also of those people who are unthinking admirers of the culture and civilisation of France.

If we critically and with open mind review the political and the Empire history of France the one fact that stands out very clearly is that this history is neither glorious nor reflective of high and true civilisation. The slogan of liberty, equality and fraternity, raised during the French Revolution, which influenced the French people against the ruling Bourbons, and which earned the reputation for France for love of freedom, was after all a cry that has always come, in one form or the other, from the people oppressed and tyrannised over by their rulers. As soon as the oppression and the tyranny have been thrown off, the people raising the cry have forgotton it, and have even adopted the opposite course as power and influence have come into their own hands. It was not otherwise in the case of France; and, as the revolutionaries under Napolean came into power, replacing the Bourbons, the republican cries were heard no more. Rather, by giving support to the imperial ambition of Napolean and by acclaiming with great joy and elation his military victories and territorial acquirements, the French people showed how little their mentality had been really changed by the Revolution. Read the following in *Les Misérables* :

"What a splendid destiny it is for a people to be the empire of such an Emperor, when that people is

France, and adds its genius to the genius of that man! To appear and reign; to march and triumph; to have as bivouacs every capital; to select grenadiers and make kings of them; to decree the downfall of dynasties; to transfigure Europe at double quick step; to follow in one man Hannibal, Cæsar, and Charlemagne; to be the people of a ruler who accompanies your every day-break with the brilliant announcement of a battle gained; to be aroused in the morning by the guns of the *Invalides;* to be the great nation, and give birth to the great army; to sound a titanic flourish of trumpets through history; to conquer the world twice, by conquest and by amazement—all this is sublime, and what is there greater?"

What spirit do those lines breathe?

Post-Revolution France invaded other peoples' territories, subjugated the weak, extended the empire, and dispossessed, where she could, the innocent natives of other lands of their freedom and their birth-rights, even by going across the seas and oceans.

Were those the doings of a people, who believed in and had adopted the liberty, equality and fraternity ideas of the Revolution; or of a people, who were actuated by selfish, imperial desires and by lust for pleasure, advantage and aggrandisement at the expense of the weak, just like the others of that type?

Today also look at the dealings of France towards others. In her imperial possessions have the children of the soil anything like political freedom, or equality of treatment? Are they not kept under subjection for exploitation and for the benefit and enrichment of France?

If that be so, what claim could she have to world sympathy, when a similarly motived and actuated stronger power is giving her a taste (and that too not fully) of her dealings towards others in the past as well as today?

If we turn again to the culture and civilisation of France, little is found to praise and appreciate, unless by culture and civilisation we mean the direction and application of imagination and inventive genius to subtleties of physical enjoyment and luxurious living, and to means of impulse satisfaction. Have the French culture and civilisation contributed, in the least, to human happiness, and even to the real happiness of the French people themselves? Has that culture sought to help the French people, and those who have been influenced by it, in making any progress in true human evolution leading away from animality? Or, rather, has it not turned human thought and activity to the desires and cravings of the flesh, which mean all to the lower animals but should not so mean to human beings?

To those, who would say that in living and also in pleasure-seeking France has been the leader in taste and refinement, I would point out that such taste and refinement have been responsible more for the moral degradation of the French than for their progress and welfare. In simple and unluxurious living, and in what is called unrefined physical enjoyment the mind remains less attached to enjoyment and the imagination does not create much keenness in desire. It is for that reason that the animals and also the simple village folk, who are unaffected by the modern civilisation atmosphere are freer in mind and less brooding on physical enjoyments than those calling themselves civilised. The former follow the laws of nature and natural impulses till their satisfaction but the latter pursue them in imagination thereafter and thereby excite themselves unnaturally, and think out new and novel means and ways of satisfaction. It is these subtle and luxurious means of various desire satisfaction, which modern civilisation calls taste and refinement, though they really only kindle cravings and prevent our mind from concentration on truer objects and ennobling thoughts.

If, therefore, "Gay Paree" has popularly stood for "ebullient, almost impertinent gaeity, for refined sophistication, for a free art and a delectable culture all its own," and, if her influence outside has been for the spread of loose thinking, frivolous tendencies, the lowering of moral standards, the dishonouring of motherhood in women, the shameful prominence given to the physical attractions of women over their virtues, the debased and perverted outlook on sex relationship, and generally for the misdirection of human intelligence, thought and energy towards merely enjoyment-seeking and short-sighted materialistic view of life from their concentration on impulse-control, thought-purification worthy of human beings, and spiritualisation of the human nature,—well, can it be said that a danger to such French civilisation, through a political fall of France, will be a loss to the world and to humanity?

Rather, should not that fall open our eyes to the inevitable consequences of the life of frivolity, animality, depravity, and debasing luxury covered and justified by what are wrongly called culture and refinement?

Indeed, apart from giving a polished cover to the crude sense of pleasure and enjoyment what else has this culture produced?

Some scientists, who have examined and analysed some properties of matter, and studied some laws of nature? But other countries also have more or less produced such scientists. Moreover, have those scientists, after their work in the laboratory, transcended it and risen to a higher level to take a broader, deeper

and a synthetic perspective of their work in order to appreciate the supreme purpose behind the manifestations of Nature? And, have they meditated over the ultimate teachings and indications of science and applied them to the advancement of human virtues and lasting happiness ?

In art and literature also what better contribution has come from the French civilisation? What great thinker, philosopher, world saviour, or selfless sympathiser of human woes, whose heart has wept for the suffering people, has it produced ? Did it prepare the French soil and atmosphere for the birth of a Buddha, a Jesus, a Sankaracharyya, or even a Socrates and an Aristotle ? A few great writers like Hugo has it produced, who have inspired the nobler instincts and feelings in men; but so many Daudets have appeared and swelled literature by writings, which have excited and pandered to the vile propensities of men and women.

Such have been the characteristic and tendency of the French culture and civilisation, the influence of which over Europe, America, and elsewhere, too, has been injurious and corrupting. If the one result of the war be a rude eye-opening shock to the thoughtless admirers of it, the war will not have been in vain. And, if the war would demolish this 'civilisation', and give the wisdom to the French people and also to others elsewhere to build up another altogether different civilisation founded on higher ideals and on a spiritual understanding of human life, the war will not have been wholly ruinous and without justification. There is a faint indication of such wisdom dawning. Marshal Petain, on the eve of the Armistice, reminded the French people that "Since the victory of 1918 the spirit of pleasure has prevailed over the spirit of sacrifice." How true is that, though the Marshal has done the mistake confining his vision to the after incidents of the last war and not stretching it beyond. For, this demoralising spirit of pleasure has not merely followed the victory in the last war, but has been the keynote of their much applauded civilisation and culture. Let the French people realise that and see, in their hour of misfortune, where the civilisation and culture, which they have developed and pursued, are bound to lead. Should that realisation go deep and touch their heart, the French will rise and rise gloriously to heights yet unattained by them, from where they will throw new light on Europe, the light leading to enduring peace, happiness, real freedom for all and the spiritual progress of man.

BENGALI INFLUENCE OVER ANDHRADESA

By P. RAJESWARA RAO

In spite of the fact that Andhradesa is not an adjacent territory to Bengal and Bengalis as a community never migrated to this part of India, the Bengali influence over it is considerable. In fact there are many common traits between the Andhras and the Bengalis. Emotional temper, spirit of service and sacrifice, confidence in their own capacity are common to both. Whenever an opportunity for mutual contact arose in any walk of life, these helped to bring them together.

Bengalis had the first fruits of English education. Great religious movements like the Brahmo Samaj and the Ramkrishna Mission originated in Bengal. In public life as well Bengal lead the way. Anti-Partition agitation was responsible for rousing the political consciousness of India. The late Mr. G. K. Gokhale rightly evaluated the position of Bengal when he proclaimed: "What Bengal thinks today the rest of India thinks to-morrow."

The late Mr. Veeresalingam Pantulu, the greatest social reformer that Andhradesa has so far produced, derived inspiration from the example of Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar. Further he was the product of Brahmo culture. The spread of Brahmo Samaj in Andhradesa is mainly due to the late Sir R. Venkata Ratnam Naidu, the renowned savant and scholar. The Anti-Partition agitation at once attracted the Andhras. The late Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal was the idol of the politically-minded Andhras. His clarion call emptied the colleges and showed the way to National Education.

In the realm of education the influence of Bengal is apparent. Even today most of the students who go to Calcutta from the South are Andhras. Sir S. Radhakrishnan became what he is today after joining the Calcutta University. The late Prof. B. Ramachandra Rao made his mark as an economist in the Calcutta University. The Poet, Rabindranath Tagore, is adored in Andhradesa. His model of free verse is widely followed by the younger generation of Andhra poets. A good many Bengali novels are translated into Telugu every year. The instances so far cited are merely illustrative and not exhaustive. It is expected that closer contact and co-operation in future will engender excellent results.

THE HOLWELL MONUMENT

By Professor RAMESH CHANDRA BANERJEE, M.A.

According to Messrs. Cotton and Wilson, the original Holwell Monument was erected by Mr. Holwell at his own cost during the short term of his governorship of Calcutta in 1760. This monument, already dilapidated, was totally removed by order of Lord Hastings in 1821. The present monument, a replica of the old (a "personal gift"), was erected by Lord Curzon in 1902, on the same spot, *i.e.*, where the dead bodies of those who died in the Black Hole and the fighting, were thrown into the ditch.

With regard to the inscriptions upon the monument, Lord Curzon not only made the corrections in the list of the dead but made a very important omission, in the light of the latest researches. In the original inscription, Mr. Holwell had inserted the following, besides other things:

> (After recounting the names), ..."who with sundry other inhabitants, military and civil, to the number of 123 persons, were by the tyrannic violence of Suraj-ud-Dowlah, Suba of Bengal, suffocated in the Black Hole prison of Fort William."

Further down, the inscription said:

> "This horrid act of violence was as amply as deservedly revenged on Suraj-ud-Dowlah," etc.

The inscriptions put up by Lord Curzon omitted all this; because, as his Lordship said in the speech delivered on 19th, December, when he unveiled the monument, later researches did not substantiate Holwell's statements. (*Old Fort William* by C. R. Wilson, Vol. I, p. xxvii, also, *Calcutta Old And New* by H. E. F. Cotton, p. 416.)

The present monument, therefore, does not mention anyone's name as being responsible for the Black Hole incident. The inscriptions, as anybody can see, do not mention Siraj at all; and, therefore, the question whether Siraj was responsible for the Black Hole or not, does not arise, so far as the writings on the tablets are concerned.

Siraj was long ago absolved of all personal responsibility, in the matter by the highest authorities on the subject. For example:

Mr. S. C. Hill says that Siraj ordered those prisoners (Europeans) who had assaulted the Nawab's men in a drunken excitement to be confined in the Black Hole; but

> "the native officers applied this order to all the prisoners without distinction." (*Bengal in 1756-57*, published 1905, Vol. I, p. xc).

Mr. C. R. Wilson, describing the old Fort, says:

> "Within its walls was situated the Black Hole prison in which on the stifling night of June 20, 1756, 123 brave souls were needlessly and cruelly done to death through the stupidity of those in charge of them." (*Old Fort William*, published 1906, Vol. I, Introduction, para I).

Mr. H. H. Dodwell, after describing the Black Hole incident, says:

> "No one has ascribed this event to the personal orders of Sirajuddowlah." (*Dupleix and Clive*, published 1920, p. 122).

The same author in another book calls the Black Hole tragedy "an accident." (*Great Events in History*, 1934, p, 439).

Dr. Vincent A. Smith:

> "The Nawab was not personally and directly responsible for the atrocity." (*Oxford History of India*, first published in 1919, second edition, p. 489).

In this view, no historian worth the name has as yet opposed the persons quoted above. The latter occupy eminent positions as historians and they have thus all absolved Siraj of personal responsibility.

The historians quoted above are, at the same time, men who believed that the Black Hole story was true. But there were two persons of note, one Indian and another English, who tried to prove that the Black Hole story was false and a "libel", too. But libel upon whom? The answer given by these two gentlemen is, "The British." And the names of these gentlemen are: Messrs. Akshoy Kumar Maitreya and J. H. Little. It will be interesting to know the full story as to how these gentlemen came to champion the cause of British honour and British love of truth.

In the year 1915, Mr. J. H. Little published a paper entitled "The Black Hole and the Question of Holwell's Veracity" in *Bengal Past & Present* (Vol. XI, p. 75 *et seq.*). In this, he wanted to prove that Holwell's version of the Black Hole was false because he was a liar (though historians have noted that the Black Hole story does not rest on Holwell alone but a dozen or so persons more). In its place Mr. Little sets up his own story, which is briefly as follows:

When Siraj attacked the Fort, the British offered the most stubborn resistance and fought to the last with the heroism characteristic of the British. The fighting was so desperate that only nine or ten men were alive when the Fort was stormed and some of these men were wounded. These men, including Holwell, were taken captive and put in the Black Hole for one night. They suffered from the heat of the summer, no doubt, but nobody was suffocated, as alleged by Holwell. The idea that a hundred and forty-six British officers and men should be so cowardly as to surrender to the Indians instead of fighting to death, apparently was humiliating to Mr. Little. This will be evident from what he says in the beginning of his paper while introducing his story :

"It (*i.e.*, his story) presents to the British nation a band of heroes not unworthy to rank with those who turned at bay in the retreat from Mons, with those who held the trenches at Ypres or those who stormed the blood-stained heights of Gallipoli."

After giving his own version, Mr. Little again says :

"Thus stands revealed the story of a memorable and gallant defence, a defence so desperate that it did not cease till all the defenders except a mere handful were lying dead or dying on the bastions of the Fort, a defence worthy of a place in the annals of British valour."

Mr. Little's paper was published in 1915. The next year, the Calcutta Historical Society held its famous Black Hole Debate, full proceedings of which are to be found in *Bengal Past & Present* (Vol. XII, p. 136 *et seq.*). In this debate, Mr. Little pressed his point, urged the acceptance of his story in place of Holwell's and, in conclusion, said :

"If you accept this evidence, the Black Hole story disappears at once and *brave men come to their own again.*"

His appeal to British pride, however, did not succeed in softening the minds of Britishers. The Hon. Mr. E. J. Monahan, who participated in the debate, concluded his speech thus:

"It had not been conclusively proved that the (Black Hole) story was false."

Professor E. F. Oaten, who mercilessly demolished Mr. Little's theory, said :

"I am forced reluctantly to the conclusion that the attractive *argumentum ad hominem*, the picture so attractive to Englishmen, of Englishmen resisting to death, and dying gloriously on the bastions as English officers know how to die so gloriously, that there were not enough left to fill the Black Hole, needs more convincing testimony."

But there was an Indian, the only Indian who joined in the debate, who supported Mr. Little's theory of heroic and desperate resistance of the British. This was the late Mr. Akshoy Kumar Maitreya, C. I. E. Mr. Maitreya referred, in the early part of his speech, to his "doubts" about the truth of the Black Hole published "twenty years ago." These doubts certainly are in his Bengali book *Sirajuddowlah* in which he had tried to disprove the Black Hole story in order to vindicate the honour of Siraj. In the Black Hole Debate of 1916, he, in the company of Mr. Little, vindicated the honour of the British. This is what he said :

"As the story goes, it is *an undoubted libel against some at least of the British heroes*, who sacrificed their lives in doing their duty—nay, it is also *a general libel against the British love of truth.*"

Not only this. The speaker perhaps wanted that some sort of memorial should be erected to the honour of the British Heroes who (did not die like trapped rats, in the Black Hole, but) died fighting heroically to the last against Siraj. At least that may be the meaning of the following :

"The noble band of heroes who sacrificed their lives in ignorance of Holwell's solicitude to surrender have a legitimate claim upon the recognition of History."

From the above it will clearly appear that, according to Messrs. Little and Maitreya, the Black Hole story as narrated by Holwell and others is false. Further, it is a slur upon the British heroes of Calcutta, as Mr. Little insinuates; for, the men who are said to have died a cowardly death in the Black Hole, actually died fighting like true British heroes, and as soon as the Black Hole story disappears, "brave men come to their own again." What Mr. Little says by implication, is stated openly by Mr. Maitreya, whose words are:—"It (*i.e.* the Black Hole story) is an undoubted libel" against some British heroes and "a general libel against the British love of truth."

It follows from the above that the Holwell monument, which commemorates the Black Hole incident, is a mark of disgrace to British heroism, for it perpetuates the "libel," that is, the false story of abject surrender and capitulation of the British heroes of Calcutta.

THE LAND REVENUE COMMISSION REPORT AND THE SUNDERBANS

Notes on the Floud Commission Report

BY SANAT KUMAR ROY CHOUDHURY,
Advocate and Ex-Mayor of Calcutta

THE main objection to the Land Revenue system now in force was the objection to the Permanent Settlement.

GROUNDS

(*i*) Loss of Revenue to the State,
(*ii*) Zemindars did not spend money on improvements (p. 46),
(*iii*) Absence of contact with cultivators,
(*iv*) More stringent measures of legislation than has been found necessary in temporarily settled areas,
(*v*) Margin between the fixed Land Revenue and the Economic rent has permitted the creation of a number of intermediate interest,
(*vi*) Leads to an immense volume of litigation,
(*vii*) Zemindars' records indifferently maintained and manipulated,
(*viii*) Remission of Revenue cannot be given.
(*ix*) Increasing loss of occupancy rights,
(*x*) Accumulation of arrear rents.
Khas land of zemindars and their homesteads also are to be acquired.
They are to be left in possession if they cultivate through servants or by hired labour.
Fishery rights, except in tanks to be acquired.

Reason (*i*) : Loss to the State cannot be predicated of the Sunderbans Estates.

At the time the jungles were leased out the State had neither the machinery nor the capital to reclaim these lands.

It was let out at -/8/- annas per bigha permanently. The lessees could not pay.

There was commutation and rents were reduced to -/2/- annas per bigha on surrender of permanent rights.

This has led to reclamation of large areas of jungle and colonization. But for this the pressure of population on *hasil* lands would have been much greater.

Now these lands have mostly been re-settled and the Revenue has been settled at 30-70 p.c. of the rayati assets.

Far from there being any loss to the State, the Sunderbans settlement has brought in and is bringing in huge income to the State.

The abolition of the Lease system will be hardly of any benefit to the State, because the collection charges and embankment costs must be paid by the State. Deducting these amounts the margin of profit to the lessees is scarcely sufficient to meet the cost of a superior grade staff official.

Reason (*ii*) : It can never be said that the zemindars did not spend money on the improvement of land in the Sunderbans.

The original leases were reclamation leases. The lotdars were to clear jungles and make lands fit for cultivation and those who failed had their grants resumed.

Not only did the lotdars reclaim jungle, put up embankments originally, but they are maintaining the same.

They are also maintaining irrigation channels and costly sluices, and in areas where rivers have silted up they have gone the length of excavating channels for irrigation purposes.

The Sunderbans embankments are particularly liable to breaches and the river water being salt the breaches must be repaired within 24 hours, or the crops will be destroyed.

This requires skilled labour and experience, and it is almost certain that if Government has to be looked to for these repairs, they will neither be done promptly nor efficiently.

Reason (*iii*) : The third reason is that in the opinion of the Commission direct contact of the actual cultivators with the Government is desirable in the interest of Agricultural Improvement.

The Sunderbans is an one-crop area. The leases are temporary, and the margin of profit left to the lotdars, after deduction of collection charges and embankment costs, is very small.

Most of the lotdars are therefore trying to introduce other crops suitable for these areas and much money is being spent on experiments.

The lotdars also have khas lands and in their own interest they have introduced cultivation of selected kinds of paddy.

There are Government khas mahals both in the permanently settled area and in the Sunderbans; from the condition of agriculture in those areas it does not appear that the cultivators enjoy any other privilege than that of paying higher rates of rent.

We do not know of any scheme of Agricultural Improvement undertaken by the Government in the Khas mahals or other areas.

Certainly the Sunderbans lessees have not stood in the way of such improvements. They pay huge amount as Cesses without getting any return, direct or indirect.

Reason (iv) : For the protection of the tenancy in the permanently settled areas more stringent measures of legislation have been necessary than in temporary settled areas—say the Commission.

The Commission was saying this with reference to the Province where there is no Permanent Settlement.

The Commission overlooked the fact that in the temporary settled areas of Bengal, as also in the khas mahals, the Bengal Tenancy Act applies in full force.

The case of the temporarily settled areas does not seem to have ever been considered separately by the Legislature at the time of passing the different Tenancy Acts.

The Report of the Commission makes it abundantly clear that the condition of the Bengal rayats is better than that of some provinces where there is no Permanent Settlement.

The motive for tenancy legislation in Bengal should therefore be looked for elsewhere than in the conduct of the landlords of the permanently settled areas. Anyway the reason does not apply to the temporarily settled areas of Bengal.

Reason (v): The margin between economic rent and revenue has permitted sub-infeudation.

Whatever may have been the case when the commuted revenue -/2/- per bigha was in force, at the time of re-settlement of these lots the rayati rent was fixed at a rate which the Settlement Officer held to be fair and equitable. The Revenue has been fixed at a certain percentage of the rayati assets. It is thus of no importance to the Government whether the profit is divided between several grades of tenure-holders or is enjoyed by one. The margin that has been left is such as in the opinion of the authorities remunerates the lotdar for his trouble and expense.

This reason also is not one applicable to Sunderban Estates.

Reason (vi) : Whatever may be the figures for litigation in permanently settled areas, the percentage of rent suits in Sunderban area is very small indeed.

Until recently, when the Ministers and their supporters began to incite agrarian trouble by their speeches and actions, the tenants in these areas had faith in their zemindars, as they knew that the zemindars and tenants had a common interest in improving their lands and maintaining embankments, etc.

They knew that it was out of the rents collected from the tenants that Revenue had to be paid, and, except for a class of men who may be called nomads without any attachment to any particular lot, all paid rent without demur.

There were and are areas where tenants paid rents barred by limitation, because whether he was a Hindu or a Mahomedan no scripture of any religion pardons a man who does not pay his debt.

After the *Krishak* agitation of 1938 there were a crop of criminal cases, but these very soon subsided. They would have subsided sooner if the officials by their action and anti-zemindar attitude had not given encouragement to the tenants.

Reason (vii) : The Commission has stated from their privileged position that zemindars' records have been indifferently maintained and manipulated. We do not know what evidence they had to make such a sweeping charge of inefficiency and criminality against all the zemindars.

Here the Sundarbans lotdars are in the same boat with the permanent zemindars. The whole country has had this system of accounting and book-keeping for ages. The Tenancy Acts from time to time made suggestion regarding keeping of accounts, but up to this date no one said that the accounts were unsatisfactory.

Nor have any statistics from civil or criminal cases been given showing the number of cases where the Court found that the zemindar had manipulated his papers.

So far as Sunderban zemindars are concerned we can say that such instances are very rare.

Reason (viii) : The Commission say that because of the existence of zemindars remission of revenue cannot be given in times of distress or famine. This presupposes that the authorities had sanctioned or were willing to sanction remission but did not actually remit, because they were not sure whether the rayats would get the benefit.

There was a famine in 24-Perganas in 1342 B. S. (1935-36) owing to total failure of crops. We have not heard that the khas mahal tenants got remission in that year.

The fact is that humane officials cannot and do not avail themselves of these provisions, because the authorities above them sitting in easy-chairs in the Secretariat are not usually brought face to face with the distress of the tenantry and recommendations of the Collectors are countermanded.

Reason (ix) : Increasing loss of occupancy

rights. The Commission has exonerated the Permanent Settlement from blame as regards the condition of the occupancy rayats.

The other findings of the Commission, that agricultural produce is now selling at about half the price of 1929, is enough to show why occupancy rayati holdings are being sold.

The Commission confined its attention to the rayats. If it had taken figures for sale of tenures it would have found that the percentage is equally large, if not larger.

All this is the result of economic distress, and will have to be endured until price levels are raised, better marketing facilities given, imports are restricted, subsidiary occupation is found for the cultivators.

Reason (*x*) : Accumultaion of arrear rents. The Commission itself found it would be a greater hardship to the cultivator if instead of a suit at the end of 4 years, yearly or quarterly suits were brought.

Tenants accumulate arrears and induce the landlords to stay action in the hope of better crops and prices. Distress becomes acute and their position impossible when these hopes are belied year after year.

But sometimes as in 1940 hopes are realized. There is thus no good reason why the rights of Sunderban proprietors should be acquired.

There is another valid objection to the acquisition of these lessees' rights. The engagement with these Sunderbans lot-holders have in many cases been concluded recently at an enormous increase of revenue ranging from 600 to 1200 times the previous revenue. The lessees took re-settlement from the Government of the day in some cases from the present autonomous Government relying on their promise that they would be maintained in possession for the terms of their leases, and it would be highly unjust and inequitable to deprive them of their properties during the term of their leases.

The Commission propose to pay compensation at 10-15 times the nett profit. In calculating nett profits collection charges are taken at 18 p.c.

The re-settlement of Sunderban lots is very recent, and is proceeding even now. In these proceedings collection charges are never calculated at more than 5-10 per cent and these are cases in which if collection charges are taken at 18 p.c. of gross collections no margin at all is left.

During the slump, properties sold at 12-15 times because of the necessity of sellers and dearth of buyers, but in normal times the prices of tenures average 16-20 times and of zemindaries 20-30 times the nett profit.

Khas Lands

The Commission has recommended that the khas lands and homesteads of the zemindars and other rent receivers be acquired by the State.

As to why the homesteads of these people should be acquired no reasons have been given, and so far as one can see, no reasons can be given, unless it is intended that the State should take to itself the power of selecting the tenants and driving out people who are considered undesirable.

No hint is given as to what will be done after acquiring the homesteads. It is said that the expropriated people are to be left in possession if they cultivate through servants or hired labourers. Obviously this applies to the cultivable lands. What about gardens, tanks, court-yards, compounds, temples, etc.? Is it intended that those who have gone elsewhere in search of employment, leaving their homesteads, gardens, etc., unoccupied, are to lose them?

As regards cultivable khas lands the owners of these lands, specially in the Sunderbans, have incurred heavy costs in making them fit for cultivation. If the present owner is not the person who reclaimed the lands he has either purchased it or taken settlement from the persons who possessed it in khas. In either case he has made an outlay and is getting a return. There is no case of oppression of rayats here and seeing that the *burga* system is being retained in the case of occupancy rayats there is nothing inherently wrong or against public policy if these owners of khas land have the same cultivated in *burga*.

The Commission has not considered the great hardship which will be caused by expropriation to the owners of these khas lands and their dependants. The Report does not suggest what employment these expropriated people will take up. The Report has not considered the fact that there is acute unemployment already amongst the class who own these khas lands and expropriation will mean starvation for them.

Acquisition of Fishery rights has been recommended by the Commission. Fisheries in navigable rivers are not included in Sunderbans Estates. If the Commission were desirous of doing real good to the fishermen, they would have directed that fishery in the navigable rivers should belong to the public and should not be let out to anybody, either societies of fishermen

or to individuals. The persons who stand in need of and deserve State help in this country are the fishermen who actually catch fish.

There are numerous and irksome restrictions and imports to which these fishermen are subject. Their boats are searched at all forest offices and public and semi-public officials take tolls in fish from these poor people.

Not to be outdone the Government in its Forest Department has introduced a system of permits without which boats are not permitted entrance into the Sunderban rivers. Along with the fee, if any, for the permits, must be paid a charge of -/2/- annas per head for possible loss to the Government on account of burning twigs and dry wood in cooking food.

These imposts are not considered *abwabs*, as the Government has imposed them.

So far as can be gathered from the Report the woes of these fishermen have not found a responsive chord in the heart of the Commissioners.

They have suggested letting out to societies of fishermen by expropriating present owners, as in East Bengal Districts the Mahomedans are combining and trying to capture the fisheries. Possibly they are the proposed societies.

In the Sunderban lots however there are fisheries in khals *bunded* at great expense by lotdars and fitted with irrigation contrivances which make catching of fish easy.

Why these fisheries should be acquired and who will maintain the khals, sluices and other contrivances is not clear from the Report. But one thing may be asserted without fear of challenge, that if the khals are let out as fisheries to a person who has no concern with cultivation in the lot, there is bound to be disaster and loss of crops. At present the lotdar who is responsible for keeping the lands in the lot fit for cultivation see to it that the fishermen do not do anything which may injure the crops, or the rayats. The Commission possibly do not know that the utility of the khals as fishery is a minor one. They are mainly water-ways, irrigation channels and reservoirs supplying men and cattle with water.

If they are separately let out, the fisherman will have the sole control of the khals and will use them to his best advantage. For example, he will take in salt water from the rivers between Falgun and Jaistha when the fishes spawn. But salt water in the khals will destroy the fertility of the soil abutting it and will overflow the fields in the rainy season and destroy crops. The men and cattle will be deprived of their water supply.

For the above reasons, fisheries, specially in the Sunderbans, should not be acquired.

Agricultural Tax

The Commission say that State acquisition must be preceded by a settlement and that this would cause delay. They estimate the delay to be about 30 years. They have recommended imposition of Agricultural Tax.

As regards Sunderban lots there is no justification for any such imposition. The Sunderban lots pay a heavy amount as Cesses, but there are practically no roads and no water supply in this area which have to be financed out of the Cess Funds.

So far as we know, there are no Agricultural Farms or Colleges in this area and the Government does not seem to have been anxious for anything else but increase of the revenue demand from this area.

The Commission express a pious wish that the Agricultural Tax should be spent for Agricultural welfare. They possibly want to suggest a reason and a justification for the new imposition, because there can be no compulsion on the Government to spend it on the objects suggested unless it be made into a separate fund separately administered.

We suspect, however, that for the assessment and realization of this tax a host of officers will be required and the establishment and cost of collection will eat up a good proportion of the realizations.

If the Agricultural Income Tax is really not a measure whereby it is intended to tax the Hindus in order to benefit the other community, the tax, if imposed, should be spent in relieving unemployment or financing a scheme of unemployment insurance.

There have been too many discriminatory and class legislations during the past few years and we would earnestly appeal to the Governor General to see that one more such legislation designed to cripple the landowning classes, who in Bengal are mostly Hindus, be not added to the Statute Book.



ESTIMATED PROPORTION OF THE MUHAMMADANS IN BENGAL AT THE NEXT CENSUS

By JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA

The time for the next Census in the spring of 1941 is drawing near; and the population problems are agitating the minds of our students and public men. The Muhammadans in Bengal have been increasing their relative percentage at every Census. Leaving aside the non-synchronous first enumeration of 1872, they were 49·69 per cent of the total population in 1881; 50·68 per cent in 1891; 51·19 in 1901; 52·34 in 1911; 53·55 in 1921; and now in 1931 they are 54·44 per cent. What would be their relative percentage at the time of the next Census in 1941? While the total population has increased by 38·0 per cent since 1881; they have increased by 51·2 per cent. If they maintain this rate of progress their relative percentage would very likely be 56·6 in 1941.

But on the following considerations we have come to a different conclusion. The intercensal variation per cent of the Hindus and the Muhammadans are shown in the Table below.

Variations per cent; increase +, decrease —

	1881-91	1891-01	1901-11
Hindus	+ 5·0	+ 6·2	+ 3·9
Muhammadans	+ 9·7	+ 8·8	+10·4
	1911-21		1921-31
Hindus	— 0·7		+ 6·7
Muhammadans	+ 5·2		+ 9·1

If we plot these figures against time, we get the curves as in Fig. 1.

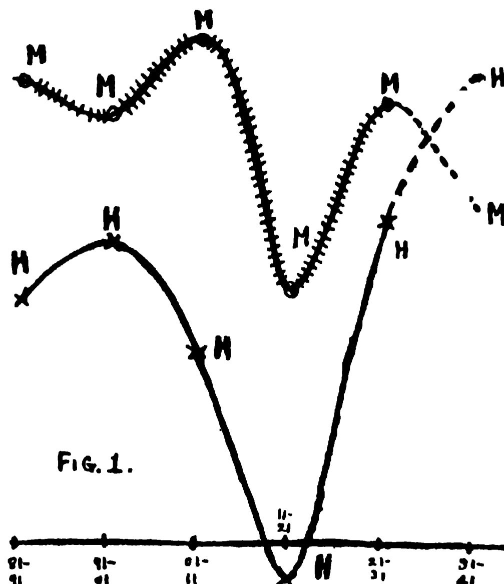
From Fig. 1 it will appear that the variations of the rate in the curve of growth for the Muhammadans show an alternating periodicity of 20 years—we have got two minima and one maxima; and for the decade 1931-1941 it is likely to come down below 9·1 to say (9·1+5·2)/2=7·0 per cent.

The corresponding curve for the Hindus shows a periodicity of 40 years; the trough being passed in 1921, it is expected that the crest will be reached in 1941. How far the percentage-rate of growth will rise it would be dogmatic to assert; we think it would be some 11·0 per cent. The weakness of the argument lies in the fact that we have only five observed points; and that in 1921 the growth was abnormally affected by the heavy influenza mortality of the years 1918 and 1919.

Since the reconstitution of the present province of Bengal in 1911, deaths are recorded by religions. In the following table the excess or defect in favour of the Muhammadans in the death-rates among the Hindus and the Muhammadans are given.

Excess +, or Defect —, in favour of the Muhammadans

1911	+ 1·3	1920	— 0·1	1929	— 0·1
1912	+ 2·5	1921	+ 1·0	1930	+ 0·5
1913	+ 1·8	1922	— 0·2	1931	— 0·5
1914	+ 0·4	1923	— 1·1	1932	+ 0·3
1915	— 1·2	1924	— 0·5	1933	— 1·2
1916	+ 0·9	1925	— 0·2	1934	— 0·9
1917	+ 0·6	1926	+ 1·4	1935	— 1·0
1918	— 0·1	1927	+ 0·8	1936	— 2·4
1919	+ 2·1	1928	+ 0·0	1937	— 2·7



Taking the triennial figures together, the cumulative excesses or defects are as in the table below:

1911-1913	+ 5·6	1926-1928	+ 2·2
1914-1916	+ 0·1	1929-1931	— 0·1
1917-1919	+ 2·6	1932-1934	— 1·8
1920-1922	+ 0·7	1935-1937	— 6·1
1923-1925	— 1·8		

Not only the excess in favour of the Muhammadans is steadily decreasing, but the

excess has been converted into an increasing defect. The cumulative excesses during the decades 1911-20 and 1921-1930 were +8·5 and +3·3 respectively. The cumulative defect during the decade 1931-1940 at the rate calculated for the *observed* period is —12·0. Allowing for some recovery we would, however, estimate it to be some —7·0.

The respective population growth of the Hindus and the Muhammadans during the last two Census decades are shown below:

Community	Percentage growth during 1911-21	1921-31
Muhammadan	+ 5·2	+ 9·1
Hindu	– 0·7	+ 6·7
Relative excess in favour of the Muhammadans	+ 5·9	+ 2·4

It is interesting to note that these relative excesses in favour of the Muhammadans are proportional to the cumulative excess advantage the Muhammadans have over the Hindus in the matter of favourable death-rates. The cumulative excess of death-rates in favour of the Muhammadans during the decades 1911-20 and 1921-30 were +8·5 and +3·3 respectively (obtained by adding the excess or defect death-rates for the individual years). If +8·5 of cumulative excess death-rate during 1911-20 accounts for the relative excess growth of +5·9 per cent; then +3·3 of cumulative excess death-rate during 1921-30 would account for a relative excess growth of +2·3 per cent; which is very nearly the case.

But in the decade 1931-1940, the advantage the Muhammadans had over the Hindus in the matter of death-rate has changed into a defect. And a heavy defect, like the one observed during the greater part of the decade and estimated for the rest, is likely to result in a relatively smaller growth of the Muhammadans. The estimated **defect** in the growth of the Muhammadans during this decade would be some 5 per cent.

Since the year 1933, both the Birth-rates and the Death-rates are published by religions in the annual Bengal Public Health Reports. Previous to 1933, only the death-rates by religions were published. Tabulating the vital rates for the two major communities from the published data, we can get the respective rates of increase.

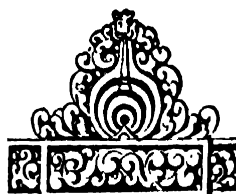
Hindus

Year	Birth-rate	Death-rate	Rate of increase
1933	29·7	23·1	6·6
1934	28·3	22·8	5·5
1935	30·9	21·8	9·1
1936	32·0	22·9	9·1
1937	31·8	22·9	8·9

Muhammadans

Year	Birth-rate	Death-rate	Rate of increase
1933	28·5	24·3	4·2
1934	29·4	23·7	5·7
1935	33·4	22·8	10·6
1936	34·0	25·3	8·7
1937	35·0	25·6	9·8

The average rate of increase for the Hindus during the period 1933-1937 is 7·9 per mille; the corresponding figure for the Muhammadans being 7·8. Thus the recorded rate of increase is somewhat greater in the case of the Hindus. We have got the actual figures for the rate of increase for 5 years out of ten; and we find that the two major communities—the Hindus and the Muhammadans, are growing at about the same rate. So the relative proportion of the Muhammadans in 1941 will not be greater than what it was in 1931; instead of their proportion being 56·6 per cent as anticipated by some, it will not exceed 54·4 per cent. But we think it will be somewhat less than even 54·4 per cent. For not only the recorded rate of increase of the Muhammadans is found to be 1·2 per cent less than that of the Hindus; but the swing of population growth of the Muhammadans tends to be *less,* while that of the Hindus tends to be *greater.* Taking every factor into consideration, we are of opinion, that their percentage in 1941 would be nearer 54·0.



THE GOVERNOR AND THE COURT OF LAW IN INDIA

By A. K. MUKERJEE, M.A.

THE judgment of Leach, Chief Justice of the Madras High Court, in *Thyagarajan Chettier* v. *The Secretary to Government of Madras, Revenue Department, Fort St. George, Madras, and two others, Respondents*,[1] raises an important point of Indian Constitutional Law, namely, whether a High Court in India has, under the Government of India Act, 1935, jurisdiction[2] to issue a writ of *certiorari*[3] for quashing an order passed by a Provincial Government, and, if not, what means are available for testing the validity of such an order. In the present case, Mr. Chettier, the trustee of a temple overlooking a big tank which belonged to the Municipality of Karaikudi, Madras, had moved the High Court of Madras to issue a writ of *certiorari* to quash an order of the Provincial Government. This order had, briefly speaking, confirmed on appeal by the said Municipality an order which it had previously issued to reduce the size of the tank on grounds of economy, and against which Mr. Chettier had successfully moved the Provincial Government.[4]

The order of the Provincial Government was passed in the exercise of the powers conferred upon it by the Madras District Municipalities Act, 1920, and it was issued in the name of the Governor of the Province in compliance with the requirements of Section 59 (1) of the Government of India Act, 1935.[5] Consequently, the order of the Provincial Government was in law an order of the Governor. The question for decision before his Lordship was whether the High Court had, under the Government of India Act, 1935, any jurisdiction to challenge such an order of the Provincial Government by issuing a writ of *certiorari*. It was decided by his Lordship that neither under the Government of India Act, 1915, nor under the Government of India Act, 1935, had the High Court any power to issue such a writ against an order of the Provincial Government so issued.[6]

The reasons for the decision were as follows :—The order of the Government, being an executive order, was issued in the name of the Governor in compliance with the requirements of Section 59 (1) of the Government of India Act, 1935. It was therefore an order of the Governor. If the High Court were to assail

1. (1940) I.L.R. Mad., March, p. 204.

2. The position in this respect under the Government of India Act was thoroughly considered in the case of *Venkataratnam* v. *The Secretary of State for India in Council* (1930, I.L.R. 53, Mad., p. 979). In this case it was held that the High Court of Madras had no jurisdiction to issue a writ of *certiorari* against the Governor of Madras or the Governor acting with the Ministers, in view of the restrictions imposed on its jurisdiction by Sections 106(1) and 110 of the Government of India Act.

3. *Certiorari* is a writ "intended to bring into the High Court the decision of the inferior tribunal in order that it may be certified whether the decision is within the jurisdiction of the inferior court....."—Per Scrutton, L. J. in *Rex* v. *The London County Council. Entertainments Protection Association Ex-Parte.* (1931, 2 K.B., pp. 215 and 233). For the power of the High Court in India to issue a writ of *certiorari* generally, reference may be made to the case of *Besant* v. *Advocate-General of Madras* (1920, I.L.R. 43 Mad. P.C., p. 146) where Lord Phillimore, while delivering judgment on behalf of the Privy Council, observed that "it would seem that at any rate the three High Courts of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay possessed the power of issuing the writ."

4. The facts of the case were, in brief, as follows :— The petitioner, Mr. Chettier, was the trustee of a temple at Karaikudi, Madras. In front of the temple, and vested in the Municipality of Karaikudi, was a tank measuring 266 by 272 ft. The tank was in an insanitary condition, and the cost of resuscitating and of so maintaining it, was very high. The Municipality, therefore, decided to reduce the size of the tank to 125 ft. sq. The petitioner moved the Provincial Government to interfere under Section 36 of the Madras District Municipalities Act, 1920, to direct that the tank be maintained at its original size. The Government, without giving the Municipal Council an opportunity of being heard, ordered that the size of the tank should be reduced to only 218 ft. by 208 ft. Thereupon the Municipality applied to the Provincial Government to revise its order. On hearing the Municipality the Government rescinded its previous order and allowed the Municipality to reduce the size of the tank to 125 ft. sq. The petitioner then moved the High Court of Madras to issue a writ of *certiorari* to quash this order.

5. This Section provides that "all executive action of the Government of the Province shall be expressed to be taken in the name of the Governor."

6. "The position under the Government of India Act, 1935," says his Lordship, "is not here different from the position under the Government of India Act, 1915, and it is abundantly clear that this court has no power to issue a *certiorari* in this case." See *Thyagarajan Chettier* v. *The Secretary to the Government of Madras, Revenue Department, Fort St. George, Madras, and two others.* [1940, I.L.R. Mad., March, p. 204.]

this order by issuing a writ of *certiorari* it would have to call upon the Governor to submit to it all records relating thereto, so that its legality might be examined. This the High Court was not empowered to do in view of the restrictions imposed on its jurisdiction by Sections 223 (1) and 306 of the Government of India Act, 1935, which prevented it from issuing any process or exercising any kind of jurisdiction over the Governor-General, the Governor of a Province or the Secretary of State, for anything done in their private capacity or otherwise.

The decision, so far as the letter of the law is concerned, is perhaps correct. But the corollaries which logically follow from it are highly prejudicial to the rights and liberties of the individual in this country. On the basis of the judgment it can be very rightly pleaded that an illegal order of a Provincial Government is immune from interference by the court of law simply because it has been issued in the name of the Governor of the Province, and, therefore, is his order.

Several dangerous and absurd results may follow from such a proposition. First, the Provincial Government may, in the interest of administrative exigencies, pass an order which is in excess of its legal powers; and yet, if the above proposition be accepted a person aggrieved by such an order will be left without any judicial remedy against the action of the Government. Secondly, even in an honest attempt to interpret the law in any particular instance, the Provincial Government may err.[7] In such a case any person unfavourably affected by such an honest mistake of the Government cannot test the correctness of the interpretation before a court of law. Thirdly, the High Courts are debarred from challenging the validity of any rule made by the Provincial Government in the exercise of the powers of delegated legislation. Rules made by the Provincial Government are to be *intra vires* simply because they have been issued in the name of the Provincial Governor, irrespective of any other consideration. Fourthly, if his Lordship's contention be accepted, then such clauses in various Indian Laws as "no order of the Provincial Government shall be called in question in any court," become superfluous.[8] Fifthly, if we accept the point of view of the learned Chief Justice, then such Sections of Indian Statutes as empower the High Courts to challenge the orders of the Provincial Government in certain circumstances become meaningless.[9]

The Respondents in the case under consideration were the *Secretary to Government of Madras, Revenue Department, Fort St. George, Madras, and two others;* and yet the learned Chief Justice declined to issue the writ. This shows that, in the opinion of his Lordship, there could be no judicial review of an order of the Provincial Government by issuing the writ even against the Secretary over whose signature the order was published in the usual manner as "By order of the Governor."

Thus, the construction put by his Lordship on Sections 223 (1) and 306 of the Government of India Act, 1935, renders an order of a Provincial Government issued in the name of the Governor immune from any interference by the court of law, and therefore, virtually absolute. However, illegal the order of the Government may be, the person affected by it will have no other remedy than making a representation to it for reconsideration.

It is doubtful, however, whether this was the intention of Parliament when it imposed the restrictions on the High Courts by the two Sections referred to above. By Section 223(1) of the Government of India Act, 1935, the High Courts have inherited virtually the same jurisdiction as they had under the Government of India Act. Section 106 (1) of the Government of India Act endowed the High Courts with such powers as they had possessed before under the Letters Patent issued in compliance with the requirements of Section 9 of the Indian High Courts Act, 1861. The Letters Patent kept practically intact the limitations originally imposed on the Supreme Court of Calcutta by both the East India Company Act, 1772 (13 Geo. 3, c. 63) and the Royal Charter, dated 26th March, 1774. These limitations were re-affirmed by the East India Company Act, 1780 (21 Geo. 3, c. 70), Section 1 of which provided *inter alia* that

"The Governor-General and Council of Bengal shall not be subject, jointly or severally, to the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court of Fort William, Bengal, for, or by reason of any act or order, or any other matter

7. That the Provincial Government is not always infallible in the interpretation of the law may be gathered from the case of *Jessore District Board* v. *Surendra Nath Halder* (1937, I.L.R. Cal., p. 652). In that case the Government of Bengal had sanctioned, after a considerable reduction, an expenditure proposed to be made by the District Board of Jessore. The Respondent, however, challenged the legality of the proposed expenditure in the High Court at Calcutta, which declared it illegal in spite of the order of the Provincial Government to the contrary.

8. *E.g.*, Sections 88 and 284 of the Bengal Municipal Act, 1932, and also Section 17F of the Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1932.

9. *E.g.*, Section 23 of the Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act, 1931, and Section 99B of the Criminal Procedure Code.

or thing whatsoever counselled, ordered or done by them in their publick capacity only, acting as Governor-General and Council."

This provision was re-inserted in the Act of 1780 with a view to further clarifying the position of the Governor-General and Council *vis-à-vis* the Supreme Court, and thus protecting them from the jurisdiction of the Court which had, after a series of disputes with the executive culminating in the well-known case of the Raja of Cossijurah, issued a summons to the Governor-General and Council directing them to appear before it to account for obstructing the execution of one of its decrees.[10] In our view the purpose of these limitations on the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, which has been in essence continued to the High Courts, was to ensure a personal immunity to the Governor-General and Council. The same observation holds good in the case of the restrictions envisaged by Section 306 of the Government of India Act, 1935, which is a successor to Section 110 of the Government of India Act.

Further, we may point out that Section 59(2) of the Government of India Act, 1935, also indirectly lends support to the view that there may be circumstances in which an action taken by the Governor may be challenged except in the cases contemplated by the Section itself. That Section lays down that

"Orders and other instruments made and executed in the name of the Governor shall be authenticated in such manner as may be specified in rules to be made by the Governor, and the validity of an order or instrument which is so authenticated shall not be called in question on the ground that it is not an order or instrument made by the Governor."

This Sub-section seems to leave a scope for challenging an order of the Provincial Government issued in the name of the Governor *otherwise than* "on the ground that it is not an order or instrument made or executed by the Governor." If the intention of Parliament were to make any and every order of the Provincial Government absolute, then this Section would have been drafted in a different manner.

Thus, we have in the present case a disagreement between the interpretation of a Statute according to its letter and to its spirit. His Lordship appears to have preferred the former course and we have seen its dangerous and absurd implications. As long as the judgment is not superseded either by a superior judicial authority, or by an Act of a competent Legislature, we can only say that these restrictions are "mere relics of the past, dating back to the discord of the Supreme Court and the Governor-General and Council," and that "the continuance of these exceptions is both unnecessary and useless."[11]

It is hardly to be doubted that in interpreting a Statute in a matter like this we should take into account its spirit rather than its letter, particularly when the former gives consistent results and the latter leads to absurdities.[12] His Lordship, however, does not seem to have considered this aspect of the question; nor did he think it necessary to adopt the usual course, in a case like this, of giving a certificate for the decision of the question by the Federal Court under section 205(1) of the Government of India Act, 1935. At any rate, the matter requires clarification in the interest of the rights and liberties of the people of this country.

We may in this connection refer to the system obtaining in England. Says Dicey,

"The Minister or Servant of the Crown who.... takes part in giving expression to the royal will is legally responsible for the act in which he is concerned, and he cannot get rid of his liability by pleading that he acted in obedience to royal orders. Now supposing that the act done is illegal, the Minister concerned in it becomes at once liable to criminal or civil proceedings in a court of law."[13]

Again :

"It is now well-established law that the Crown can act only through Ministers and according to certain prescribed forms which absolutely require the co-operation of some Minister, such as a Secretary of State or the Lord Chancellor, who thereby becomes not only morally but legally responsible for the legality of the act in which he takes part."[14]

We feel that some such provision should exist in our constitution also.

10. See Cowell : *The History and Constitution of the Courts and Legislative Authorities in India*. Pp. 65-66; also Ilbert; *The Government of India* (1916), p. 276.

11. Per Subba Rao, J. in *Venkataratnam* v. *The Secretary of State for India* (1930, I.L.R. 53 Mad., p. 979).

12. We may refer in this connection to what Maxwell says in his well-known work, *Interpretation of Statutes*, p. 406 : "Where the language of a statute, in its ordinary meaning and grammatical construction, leads to a manifest contradiction of the apparent purpose of the enactment, or to some inconvenience or absurdity or hardship or injustice presumably not intended, a construction may be put to it which modifies the meaning of the words, and even the structure of the sentence."

13. See Dicey : *Law of the Constitution*, 9th Edn., pp. 326-327.

14. See *Ibid*, p. 327.



From the left : Dewan Bahadur K. M. Jhaveri, Prof. D. K. Karve (Founder of the University), Sir Sitaram Patkar (its Chancellor), Sir M. Visvesvarayya (who delivered the Convocation address)



Girl-graduates who received their diplomas this year

The Godavari bank. The cartman and his family sing of the Godavari landscapes which form the background of their everyday life



The Chhota Nagpur tribesmen take pride in their dance dress which is as old as their songs and dances

INDIAN FOLK-SONGS AWAKE

By DEVENDRA SATYARTHI

THE world-wide folk-song movement will ever remember the words of the Scotch patriot, Andrew Fletcher, memorably uttered in 1703: "Give me the making of ballads and I care not who makes the laws of the nation," the words that spoke of the triumph of the songs of a people—songs enshrined in their hearts and worthy of outliving kings and their laws. The study of folk-lore, carried on at large by persistent and enthusiastic scholars in every country, has brought out the unity of humanity—the international fellowship of the folk mind, in full relief. Regardless of race and creed and nationality, every linguistic zone in the length and breadth of the world has fundamentally one mind and one heart; folk-songs of different lands emphasise almost the same similes and metaphors of life and death, same tears and laughter, dreams, feelings, desires and belief in the understanding and pity of the gods. The folk mind, we perceive, has the same mother-tongue everywhere; it knows no barriers, no frontiers.

The folk-song movement in India, started probably with C. E. Gover's *Folk-Songs of Southern India*, published in 1872.

> "There is no better way of discovering the real feelings and ideas of a people than that afforded by the songs that pass from lip to lip in their streets and markets."

observed Gover.

In regard to the songs of the Badaga people, he stated:

> "The belated traveller along hill-side tracks will often hear the distant chant, the loud and sudden chorus, and again the floating strain of the single singer, borne gently and like the reflex of some distant wave on the wings of cool night breeze. Such echoes tell the Badaga merriment, and remind the man, who is not ignorant of the brother men who dwell round him, that at that moment a whole villageful of folk are gathered round some mossy stone, listening to and then joining in the song of a rustic Homer or Badaga bard, who neither 'mute nor inglorious' leads the resounding melody. Men, women and children are there. Even as they sing, some man or maiden springs to the front and dances to the song, light and agile as a deer or, better still, a mountaineer, such as they are. Thus with song and dance the evening glides away." (Pp. 64-5).

Though *Folk-Songs of Southern India* seems to have, wrongly indeed, along its contents some songs of classical origin, too, it is almost a pioneer work. A dance-song, translated from Tamil, brings out a country-girl's joy of rhythm:

> "Oh my girls, like the peahen in mien and attire,
> I was born for the dance.
> Heave O! Heave O!
> What a joy to be born as a girl for the dance!
> And what more can I want?
> Heave O! Heave O!" (p. 186).

Another song, *Mother*, again comes from Tamilnad; "it combines the divine with the human, the goddess with the nurse," we are told:

> "We have bowed three times at your feet;
> We have bowed our head. *Yo Ho! Yo Ho!*
> We were born of thee, and our hope
> Is in none but thee. *Yo Ho! Yo Ho!*
> Give us food and a sword: else we mope,
> And from foes we flee. *Yo Ho! Yo Ho!*
> Oh! How loud we shout, for we yearn
> Thy face to see! *Yo Ho! Yo Ho!*
> We have sought thee long, and we burn
> For thy love so free. *Yo Ho! Yo Ho!*
> Like a pearl, mamma, is thy face,
> May it speak again! *Yo Ho! Yo Ho!*
> Thou hast had five sons, and hast known
> Of the pangs, they feel. *Yo Ho! Yo Ho!*
> In your pain and love I was born,
> And you gave me name. *Yo Ho! Yo Ho!*
> All the day, at night and at morn,
> You have fed my flame. *Yo Ho! Yo Ho!*



A daughter of the Himalayas
She knows songs that celebrate a true marriage between the tunes and the words. She touches the strings of her time-honoured instrument, and lo! her song awakes

As a field of work you were then,
And in it I fed. *Yo Ho! Yo Ho!*
As a pot of *ghee* to poor men,
You were thus my bread. *Yo Ho! Yo Ho!*
How my breast, mamma, doth up-heave!
Let it plead for me! *Yo Ho! Yo Ho!*
Is it fate, mamma, that I grieve,
Or my need of thee? *Yo Ho! Yo Ho!*"

(Pp. 188-90).

The year 1878 marked Dr. George A. Grierson's *The Song of Manik Chandra* (J. A. S. B., Vol. I, part 3), Sri Jogendranath Rae's *Baiswari Folk-Songs* (J. A. S. B., 1884, special number) was another noteworthy contribution. It was followed by Grierson's *Song of Gopi Chand* (J. A. S. B., 1885, part 1). The same year met with Sir R. C. Temple's monumental *Legends of the Punjab*. Temple observed:

"The folk-poem is very far from dead, but the wandering bard is beginning to die."

In 1888, Prof. J. Darmestater published his *Chants des Afghans* in French, a pioneer work on Pathan folk-songs. Grierson's two more articles, *Some Bihari Folk-Songs* (J. R. A. S., Vol. XVI) and *Some Bhojpuri Folk-Songs* (J. R. A. S., Vol. XVIII) added to the progressive interest. Apart from the *Royal Asiatic Society's Journal* and the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Indian Antiquary*, aptly attracted contributors on Indian folk-songs.

The year 1905 marked C. F. Usborn's *Punjabi Lyrics and Proverbs*. He says:

"It may serve as a tentative and preliminary basis, for a further authoritative collection of Punjabi lyrics, which I trust, will be made some day by a more competent authority; and I also hope that it may give those who do not know the Punjab peasant a little glimpse into his life, thought and character."

In the same year, Folk-Lore Society, London, published *Popular Poetry of the Baloches* by M. Longworth Dames.[1]

1. *Vide* my article, "Revival of India's Folk-Songs," *The Modern Review*, June, 1935, for reference to collections of Gujarati folk-songs by Sri Jabher Chand Meghani, lately referred to by Mahatma Gandhi in a foreword to *Gujarat and its Literature*, contributions of Dr. Abanindranath Tagore, Mr. G. S. Dutt, Sri Jogindranath Sarkar, Md. Mansuruddin and Sri Jasimuddin, in Bengal, of Sri Ramnaresh Tripathi, in U. P., of Pt. Ramsarandas and Pt. Sant Ram, in the Punjab, and of Sri Sarat Chandra Roy, in Chhota Nagpur. I may also refer to Narottamdas Swami's *Rajasthan-ra-Dooha, Dhola Maru ra Dooha* (Nagari Pracharini Sabha, Benares) and *Rajasthan ke Lok-Geet*, both edited by Thakur Ram Singh, Sri Suryakaran Pareek and Sri Narottamdas Swami, Shamrao Hivale and Verrier Elwin's *The songs of the Forest*—the Folk Poetry of the Gonds, and Sri Vaman Krishna Chorghare and Sri Kaka Kalelkar's Marathi book, *Sahityanche Mool Dhan.*

II

It was prior to 1924 that the University of Calcutta recognized the literary value of Bengal's Mymensingh Ballads, and published Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen's series, both in Bengali and English separately; honorarium was duly paid to Sri Chandra Kumar De, the original collector of the ballads. In *Eastern Bengal Ballads*, entitled *Mymansing Gitika* in Bengali, Dr. Sen observed:

"I would not have been more pleased if these lines were all gold. The songs perfectly artless, written mostly by Hindu and Mohammedan peasants, often show the real heart of poetry, and some of them at least, I believe, will rank next only to the most beautiful of the Vaishnava songs in our literature."

Again he observed:

"Through all these narratives, Bengal, with her vast rivers, her dead pools and her red *Sandhya-malati* and *Java* flowers, her white *Kunda* and yellow *Atashi*, with falcons hovering over her sky—with her evergreen shrubs and flow of rains—with her rustic women hailing their peasant lords with festive songs when the latter returned home at the close of the November day, with golden ears of new ripe crops hanging down from their heads,—the picturesque Bengal, seen a thousand times but never grown old, appears again and again with a new charm every time."

Mymensingh Ballads triumphed. Romain Rolland, in a letter,[2] dated March 4, 1924, addressed to Dr. Sen, wrote memorably:

"The subject it deals with touches all mankind; the differences with European stories are much more social than racial. The good aesthetic taste that is felt in most of these ballads is also one of the characteristics of popular imagination in many of our western countries: *Womeder Wehmuth* as a beautiful song of Gœthe's, put into music by Beethoven, expresses it *'the pleasure of tears.'* It is true that with us French people, the people of Gaul, it reacts against this with our bold and boistrous joyful legends. Is there none of this kind of thing in India? *Chandravati* is a very charming story and *Mahua, Kanka* and *Lila* are charming. ....From where have these great primitive epics and ballads come? It seems very likely that they have always come from some poetic genius whose invention has struck the popular imagination. But the question is how much people deform his idea in putting it into the shape in which we find it? Which is the part of the collaboration of the multitude in this work of re-casting, which is continuous and spontaneous? Rarely has anyone the opportunity to seize an epic, as one might say, on the lips of the people who have given birth to it, before writing has fixed it in some shape as you and Mr. Chandra Kumar have succeeded in doing in this case."

Romain Rolland's sister, Madeleine Rolland, well known to the book-world as a translator of Hardy, H. G. Wells, Ananda Coomaraswamy and Rabindranath Tagore, has recently immortali-

2. Translated from French and quoted in Dr. Sen's *Glimpses of Bengal.*



Photo : B. C. Dutt (Fine Art Gallery, Ranchi)
When the camera breaks the folk-dance
The Santal dancers, obviously camera conscious here in the picture, would soon return to the joy of the rhythm

zed Dr. Sen and Sri Chandra Kumar's work in French. *Vieilles Ballades Du Bengalee*, as she has called her book, contains nine ballads of Bengal, *viz.*, (1) Mahua, (2) Kanka and Lila, (3) Chandravati, (4) Malua, (5) Kenaram, (6) Kamala, (7) Divan Bhaban, (8) The Marriage of Rupavati and (9) Andha Badhua, and as I further learn from the Paris correspondent of *The Hindu* of Madras :[3]

Madeleine Rolland's translation "in which the purity of the original is maintained with perfect ease, has already aroused keen interest among the French people and the French reading public, and it is expected that more volumes of such French versions will appear at no distant future in response to the increasing demand from those interested in the study of Bengal's art and literature.......Radio lectures are being organized in France to give the widest possible publicity to these ballads. One such lecture was broadcast by Clarie Charles Je'meaux, whose literary talks are appreciated, from Nice on the 5th May last. In the course of the lecture the learned speaker said, 'It is neither the translation of Madeleine Rolland nor the beautiful and simple illustrations of Andre Karpeles which appeals to our susceptibilities. It is the sweet melodies with their pathos, resembling the song of birds, which accompanies the sound of the waves that enable the soul to commune with nature while boatmen sing and the moon shines. The theme of the ballads is love, the passion of love or conjugal love, tragic and unhappy but faithful until death........The obstacles which oppose the happiness of the lovers come not only from their homes, from social differences but also from prohibitions of religion....All the poetry of an exuberant nature bathes these stories which are at the same time a succession of images of an infinite beauty, grace and purity.' The lecturer commenting in particular on the beauties and excellences of the ballad entitled *Andha Badhua*—a masterpiece, said, 'I am not disinclined to think that the joy of the Blind Flute Man is equal in beauty and profoundity to Tristam and Isuelt......The sound of the flute acts on the princess in the same way as the philtre on the lovers in the Celtic legend. It is the thesis of M. Denis de Rougement which claims that it is not the musician whom the Hindu princess loves but the love which he expresses by his song and the music which by its power of ecstasy delivers human love from its limitation and tears away the soul from the prison house of the body. Could not one be permitted to think of the death and transfiguration of Isuelt if Wagner had knowledge of this ballad ?' The few lines quoted from a long talk will bear testimony to the spontaneous enthusiam which these ballads have evoked in France and the appeal which they have made to the sensitive literary sense of the French people. A distinguished listener to this talk writes to say that among those who heard this broadcast there were many notable poets, writers and professors."

Madeleine Rolland's book, illustrated by Madame Andre Karpeles, who has lived in Santiniketan and is celebrated in the French art-world for her beautiful wood-cuts, has added much to the series, entitled *Feuilles de L'Inde* (Leaves of India), edited by C. A. Hogman; a "superb production which should be in the library of all bibliophiles," as Dr. Kalidas

3. *Vide* "Bengali Ballads in French," *The Hindu*, Madras, the 16th July, 1939.

Nag has stated.[4] Obviously, Madeleine Rolland's book has awakened a new interest in Indian folk-songs in general.

III

The villager, in India, in his inspired moments, succeeds to celebrate a true marriage between words and music as he takes to the time-honoured songs and ballads; connected together, his songs may make a full epic of village life, with a story simple and enduring like the earth and the characters which grow like the wheat and paddy in his fields. Work and leisure recall the old memories; his imagination takes a flight bringing every time a new fire to his immemorial similes and metaphors, bringing every time a warm grace to the outline of his every-day life.

Every form of occupation has a group of songs all its own; like mixed perfumes of living flowers, the inspiration of song touches the hearts of men and women alike in the Indian countryside. The peasant woman and the village money-lender's wife have their own songs separate and apart from the common stock. The fisherman has his own rhythms, the weaver his own. The ploughman's airs speak of his occupation.

The boatman, in Bengal, has his *Bhatial*. *Bhata* means the 'down stream', and the *Bhatial* songs, it may be perceived, were born originally while the boatman went along with the current of the water and was free from the oarage. Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen observed in the *Eastern Bengal Ballads* :

"The songs are generally sung in that indigenous mode of music which is called the *Bhatial*. It is the favourite mode of the rustics, especially the boatman. Its plaintive appeal has a peculiar power of creating indescribable pathos. In the vast expanse of the East Bengal rivers, in the foaming Padma, in the blue-tinted Brahmaputra and in the marshes and mires run over by the flood, the boatmen, as they ply their boats keeping time with the sound of the oars that strike the waves, yield to the irresistible fascination of their favourite *Bhatial Rag*, which fills so to speak, the whole region of the sky, and in its sweet and prolonged sound seems to be in harmony with the vast expanse, above and below, forming a fitting and congenial environment and background of the songs. The words are simple but the tune is lengthened to an almost endless, though somewhat monotonous, span of sound, moving the rustic heart with intense pathos and sweetness."

The dance-music of the primitive tribes of India, the forest people, who think little and dream much, has a rich treasure to offer.

The *Karmu* dance, common to a number of tribes, "symbolizes the bringing of the green branches of the forest in the spring....the men leap forward to a rapid roll of drums—a gust of wind which blows back the swaying forms of women....The song is the cry of a thousand living trees....it is by their proficiency in it that the villages are praised or derided,"[5]
as Verrier Elwin marked it in the Gond villages.

In Gujarat, the revival of the Garba—the women's ring-dance, has gone a long way. Garba is now a national dance, though it still remembers its childhood as a folk dance. Old *Garba* songs have been gathered and popularized in the towns.

"Dayarama, the last of the ancients, perfected *Garbi*, the poetic form which the women of Gujarat have assisted in making so perfect a vehicle for lyrical expression. The most formidable figure in poetry, however, is Kavi Nanalal Dalpatram, who has enriched the language, perfected the *Garbi*."[6]
says Sri K. M. Munshi; the *Garbi* being the term for the rhythm of the Garba after which the songs are composed.

The Bratachari Movement, founded by Mr. G. S. Dutt some eight years ago, has brought the folk-dances of Bengal to the forefront of national life, apart from its noble work of "instilling courage, discipline, team spirit, a sense of power and spirit of dedication to the well-being of the country, transcending narrow divisions of race, caste and creed," as Sir Radhakrishnan observed.

"Mr. Dutt's father not only joined in the dances along with his tenants of the humblest castes but actually rolled on the ground in a mood of devotion so as to cover himself with the dust of the tenants' feet. His mother also participated in community songs and dances with the women of all classes of the village on the occasion of religious festivals. To these simple associations of his early childhood Mr. Dutt owes much of the inspiration of his life."
states Sri Ramananda Chatterjee.[7]

New music of Rabindranath Tagore is rightly inspired to some extent by Bengal's folk-music. When he sings : *Badal Baul bajae bajae bajae re Ektara !* (O the cloud is a Bāul, he plays, O he plays, lo ! he plays on his one-stringed instrument!), he remembers the mystic nature of the music of the Bāul, the wandering mendicant. ". . . Happy combination of the *Dhrupad* and folk-music is the strongest feature of the musical *aeuvre* of Tagore," observed the well-known lover of India's folk-music, Mr. A.

4. *Vide* Dr. Nag's review, *The Modern Review*, July, 1939. We learn from Dr. Nag that Madeleine Rolland knows Bengali herself and reads every month *Prabasi*, the well-known Bengali journal, with interest.

5. Vide *Songs of the Forest*, 1935, London, George Allen and Unwin, pp. 33-4.

6. "Literature in Gujarata," *The Indian P. E. N.*, March, 1934.

7. *Vide* Sri Ramananda Chatterjee's article, "The Bratachari Movement," *Asia*, January, 1940.



The call of the community dance
These tribesmen of Chhota Nagpur have hundreds of dance-songs

A. Bake,[8] who has been able to make a good phonographic collection of folk-tunes.

It is indeed the influence of the tune, more than the words, that pervades the reminiscence of the peasant; even a dance-song is transformed into a mere music-piece, and in that case the original rhythmic air is reduced to a handmaid. Words of a folk-song stand in need of a translator so that the poetry they have cradled may receive the hospitality beyond their home; the music—the ecstasy of the singing voice, succeeds to establish a direct relation as it travels leaping over frontiers of time and space. Separated from the tune, the words of a song are no more than a butterfly whose wings have been plucked, for it is no longer capable of flying—as Tagore said somewhere; and much of the charm of the original text is often lost at the hands of the translator.

While gathering folk-songs from different languages of India, I have been keen to pick up the original tunes of as many songs as possible. Now I think of procuring for myself some phonographic recording device. It is important. However great an enthusiast one may be, and however great may be one's memorizing capacity, one is lost, more or less, like a needle in a haystack, in almost numberless folk-tunes as we have in India's multifarious linguistic zones. Musical notations, too, have their limitations; a folk-tune collector must resort to phonograms.

Palma Stein's *Fly My Swallow*[9] tells us of Bartok and Kodaly, the world-famed composers, who spent many years, perhaps all their vigorous youth, in wandering from village to village, in Hungary, collecting the real tunes and melodies of the peasants. The collecting method was interesting; its results, too. They brought forward a great treasure of folk-music; tunes which would have been forgotten and lost if the senior of the village had died. It was not too late. Everywhere they still found an old peasant and his wife, or even his mother, who would sing, and they would make a phonogram, in many cases so that the peculiar performer should not be aware of the presence of the machine, otherwise his, or her, performance would have taken fright at the diabolic thing. They travelled immensely, undergoing great hardships, employing their persuasive power to the utmost, obtaining for the world hundreds of phonographic records, with ample ethnographical knowledge, in precise grouping according to the dialect-region, the district and the village, where found; the age of the melody so far as known, in some cases the names of the performers too, and the possible influence of an

8. *Vide* "Rabindranath Tagore's Music," *The Golden Book of Tagore*, 1931. Calcutta, edited by Sri Ramananda Chatterjee, p. 275.

9. Published by George Vajna & Co., Budapest.

adjoining Rumanian or Slovakian region, are mentioned, or an alteration or variation caused by the neighbouring district—all this information is recorded in their collections they further wrote with the help of their phonograms. Their books will live: *Folk-Tunes*, 150 tunes, *Hungarian Folk-Tunes, Hungarian Folk-Music* (Oxford University Press), and *Strophe Structure of Hungarian Folk-Song*. Kodaly, with his day-dreaming eyes and Christ-like head is said to be a glorious man. Bartok and Kodaly are not merely collectors of peasant music; they are themselves powerful composers—folk-songs find a rebirth in their Hungarian music. In India, too, we should, with the help of phonograms, attend to the music side of our folk-songs on the lines of a scientific investigation.

IV

The Thirteenth Annual Music Conference, organised by the Madras Music Academy, recognized the value of India's folk-songs. Sir R. K. Shanmukham Chetty, the Dewan of Cochin State, who opened the Conference, went on to say in the course of his long address:

"Music academies and associations at present mainly concern themselves with the fostering and development of classical music. This may be natural, but does it not stand to reason that these learned bodies should show an equal interest in the revival of our folk arts, especially folk music? In the simple tunes and light melodies of our folk music we have a rare treasure which has an universal appeal. Learned bodies like the Academy seem to show only a patronizing attitude towards them and some of the great *Vidwans* seem to consider it almost beneath their dignity to show any acquaintance with this type of music. In the musical recitals organized by learned bodies like yours, such folk-songs are given the last place. I am not ashamed to confess that some of these simple songs make an irresistible appeal to me....A friend of mine who is a sort of a *Pundit* in music attributed this to the imperfect training of my ears. The vast majority of people who attend a music performance are persons with such imperfectly trained ears like mine. I think it is not an unreasonable demand to make that the greatness of a master-singer is to be measured by the appeal that he can make to such an audience. The secret of the appeal of such simple songs lies partly in the sentiments that they convey....I wonder how many of our great south Indian *Vidwans* know the meaning of the songs in Telugu or Hindustani that we so often and so frequently hear. To a layman like me it is a mystery how a singer can produce the emotional effect from a piece which is not intelligible either to him or to the audience. I think that, in spite of the technical correctness of the tune, the distorted splitting of words and incorrect pronunciation must leave a jarring effect on a person who is familiar with the language. I can well imagine the contemptuous smile on the faces of some of those learned in the technique of music when I make these observations.....In any case, if our music is to have a future, it must make a wider appeal. No great artistic renaissance is possible without the roots of a nation's culture being properly tended and nourished. It is obvious that the roots of all fine arts lie in the folk arts of a nation."

Sir R. K. Shanmukham Chetty, who believed that culture must not be like a feast to be gorged in a goodly quantity on a wedding day, said that to be of any value to a nation culture must pervade the everyday life of the people. The art of singing, he affirmed, did not consist of mere technique and cleverness; while mathematics in music was all right in its place, the art and beauty of music lay in its expression; reference was often made, by the layman, to the tortured faces of the classical musicians, and it was often brushed aside contemptuously by the singers themselves and all those critics who sided with them generally; the expression of an intense feeling certainly involved tremendous physical strain, but the greatness of a singer really consisted in exhibiting feats of strain with ease and grace. "Music, like life", he said, concluding his speech, "must be experienceed and enjoyed with one's whole being. It can not be a matter of mere intellectual or emotional thrill."[10]

V

Yes, Indian folk-songs awake. They awake as the living flesh and blood of India. Songs that remember India's Himalaya, her Ganges and hundreds of other rivers, her hills, her valleys and plains and forests; songs that take on the hues of India's plants and flowers and fruits; songs impregnated with the odours of India's earth; songs, that like India's honey, blessed with the savour of India's time-honoured soil—all awake. We must not let them die out. They must live if Indian culture is to survive, if the villager's joy in old tradition of self-expression is to retain its life.

We have amidst us friends like Verrier Elwin bringing rebirth to the Gonds and their ancient songs and dances.

"At present the Indian villager is very much in the public eye....The forest tribesman—and he numbers eighteen million—is perhaps more distant than any other from the educated population of India....Romance and adventure are his meat and drink. Beneath the apparently bovine monotony of his life there is a rich vein of pleasure and excitement, and this excitement, ex-

10. *The Hindu*, Madras, dated December 21, 1939, wrote in its leading article: "....Both Sir Sanmukham Chetti and Mr. Musiri Subramanya Aiyar, in his presidential address, referred to our heritage of folk-songs. Devoted students like Mr. Devendra Satyarthi and Mr. Arnold Bake have shown how this rich treasure, now so neglected, may be conserved and made to bring a new joy to the jeople." Sir Chetti's address, too, is quoted from *The Hindu* of the same date.

pressed in music and song, in his culture. I believe that after reading the pastoral tragi-comedy of his poetry carefully no one could again think of the forest people as mere cyphers in the population of India."

With these words, in the preface to his study of the Gond folk-songs, Verrier Elwin has contributed his share in the history of India's folk-song revival. He has an *Ashram* now among the Gonds (*vide* an article by him, " An Ashram in Aboriginal India," *Asia*, September, 1939); he is a god-brother of the forest people.

Scholars like M. B. Emeneau, Sanskritist and Indologist at Yale University, who spent the years 1935-38, doing linguistic research-work on South India's unwritten languages, remind us of India's awakened folk-songs. Mr. Emeneau, who listened to the Toda folk-songs and found them quite alive, wrote :

" The Todas are a tribe of poets. On all noteworthy occasions some one sits down and sings about it. Men, women and even children compose songs. The song-language is highly and even rigidly conventionalized and a strict parallelism is the rule. Everything in the tribal life that could conceivably be sung about has its conventional designation, and with this goes for purposes of parallelism either a synonymous phrase or a phrase designating something else that is conventionally always mentioned with it in the songs. All the dairy-gods have a pair of names in song-language and so have all things connected with them, buffaloes, priests, pens, watering-places and so on. If a small child is designated as 'child on the lap' parallelism requires that 'the calf in the calf-pen' be mentioned also. If a European is mentioned, the elephant also must be mentioned; for both tread heavily in some contexts and both are dangerous beasts in others. With all this rigidity of language, the Toda finds it possible to sing about any subject. In his own culture he sings laments for the dead, lullabies, lyrics about the dawn and the evening, songs honouring old men who have come to a ceremony, songs about matrimonial disputes or about the power of gods, songs about excellent buffaloes and songs dramatizing the progress to the dairy-site of the planks that have been cut when the dairy is to be rebuilt. Small children sing about their homesickness when the buffaloes have to be moved to new pastures and the families accompany them. Old men sing about their illness and failing powers. Lovers sing about the charms of the beloved. When the people meet things outside their own culture, they are able to adapt the conventions to fit these new things. They sing about the train and about phonographs. When two men went to Nagore on the coast to pay a vow at a temple, they sat on the shore and sang about the waves, likening them to the monsoon rain and the falls of the Pykara River. Europeans who visit the villages or who pass laws making innovations in Toda life are sung about. I have recorded a dozen songs about myself and my habit of asking questions and writing down the answers. When two model dairies were prepared for me, the makers brought them and then sat down and sang a song in which the dairies are told to go to the country of the Europeans and tell every one about the Todas. The few Christians converted from the tribe still sing. The high point of lyric beauty was attained when one of these, sitting in his fields at night to protect his crops from wild pig and deer, composed a *Benedicite* as dawn broke. The Todas are indeed an attractive people. The student of languages whose lot it was to work among them intermittently for three years and to make friends among them can count himself a lucky man."[11]

VI

Sohar is the Son-Birth Song of the United Provinces. Born of harmony, it has the beauty that reflects the soul of the soil. Here is one :

Amidst the Ganges
Amidst the Jamna River,
Lo ! a woman is doing penance :
" O Ganges ! had you stretched
A wave towards me,
I would have drowned myself
In your midstream ! "
" Are you sorry
At your father-in-law's hands ?
At your mother-in-law's hands ?
Or because your parents' village
Is in a distant land ?
Or because your husband
Lives afar off ?
For what sorrow of yours
You'll drown yourself ? "



The temple
The folk-songs awake with every festival. The joy of life revives the people's faith in gods

" O Ganges ! I have no sorrow
At mother-in-law's hands :
Nor at father-in-law's hands :

11. *Vide* Mr. M. B. Emeneau's article, " The Singing Tribe of Todas," *Asia*, August, 1939. The Todas live in the Nilgiris....numbering about six hundred and probably never exceeding this figure by more than another two hundred, we are told..Nearly thirty years ago, W. H. R. Rivers wrote a book of over seven hundred pages describing their customs in great detail.

Nor my parents' village
Is in a distant land :
Nor my dear husband
Lives afar off :
O Ganges ! I am a childless woman,
And for this sorrow
I'll drown myself ! "
" O woman ! go back to your house,
I won't stretch my wave towards you !
After a period of nine months,
O woman ! you'll get a son ! "
" O Ganges ! a *Sari*, rich in golden yellow,
I'll certainly offer you,
When I get a son :
O Ganges ! do give me a son like Bhagirath,
And the world should sing his glory ! "

Every time a new son is born, this song awakes in the hearts of the country-women and young brides, in U. P., along with scores of others that form a brotherhood of the *Sohar*. After the same name, songs are sung in Bihar. These Son-Birth Songs are called *Holar* in the Punjab; *Holar* is also the term for the new-born babe. The travails have made artistic description in some of these songs.[12] There is a new joy every time; warmth and colour survive with a rich tradition behind them; flowing with words the sentient tunes haunt the new baby and the fortunate mother.

The peasant girls sing of the crimson of the dawn on each other's faces; they sing of their *henna*-dyed hands and feet; and songs in which even ornaments speak. The spring songs have always celebrated the yellow of the *Sarson* flowers. There are songs about the silken hair and the comb and the breeze that passes softly over the braids of a *sister of seven brothers*. And love-songs, that make a living poetry, are almost endless.

Every language, and every dialect in India has its heritage of folk-songs. And everywhere, in every hut, songs are sung with an ever-new urge. Some of the songs are born of a sincere ecstasy of tears; laughter has contributed its own share. Poverty too has added to the themes of the people's lore. The economic distress is like a thunder rolling unendingly over their hearts.

"The most bitter songs," Freda M. Bedi, observed, "are but a few lines long as though even the capacity for singing had been dried up—*The landlord of our village has grown very poor; he has sold his sister and bought a dhoti.* The satire is almost inhuman. But beyond these blunted feelings grows a blind despair, as the peasant tries by repeating a question over and over to himself, to find an answer to the problem that he knows has no solution—*Alas ! Alas ! this year how am I to feed my children ?......I can pay my taxes by selling my plough and bullocks, but how am I to feed my children this year ?*"[13]

But the grinding poverty fails to kill the songs of joy—songs instinct with love and beauty and youth.

A Birha song, sung originally by the *Ahir* (cowherd) in Bihar, that gives an idea of how a genuine folk-song is born, is to me like an awakened voice of the genius of the villager :

It is not a crop, brother,
raised from the fields :
nor indeed the fruit
that a forest tree yields :
this Birha song of ours !
In heart, O Rama,
it lives in every heart :
and whensoe'er
emotions play their part
we sing this song of ours.

Birha means separation from the lover or the beloved. But the *Birha* song is not necessarily the song of separation. Any theme may make a *Birha;* any lyrical thread, some living flame, wave of open-air life, charming and suggestive, every time so easy and life-lit. The first-born calf with its mother, the cow, standing and looking towards it with silent language of love in her eyes, the dancing feet of a sweet sixteen, the rapid arrival and departure of the Dewali festival, Seeta fetching water, then sitting in the way, gazing at Rama from a distance as she washes her face and cleans her feet rubbing, someone's appreciation of his cow, named Ayodhia, a curse against the village potter who made the pot with a narrow mouth, for the cowherd finds it inconvenient, the gold and the silver talking together, the dying daylight kissing the grass, the bride awaiting her beloved with eager eyes, the sweet, milky breath of the cow coming homeward, the sparrow feeding its child—all pictures make the *Birha* songs.

The *Ahir* is the uncrowned king of the *Birha* songs. But how can he establish a monopoly ?

" Don't you know any Birha? " I inquired of a peasant.

"I know many," he replied smilingly, " though I can not sing them like an Ahir."

The Ahir is often a good flute-player. But his love for the *Birha* is great and none can compete with him.

" No matter if I go to heaven or hell after this life, I will not leave my *Birha* here," says the Ahir, in the words of his old lore, "my Birha will travel with me!"

In the surge of the Birha you feel the heart-beats of the Ahir.

12. *Vide* my article, "Thus Sing the Country-women in the Punjab "—II, *The Modern Review*, February, 1936, for the song : *How blessed is my first travail !*

13. *Contemporary India*, March, 1936, pp. 175-6, A review on " The Folk Poetry of the Gonds."

VII.

At the fiftieth session of the Indian National Congress, when it met in a village for the first time, a communique from the Publicity Committee, issued on December 25, 1936, said :

"The need for entertainments and amusements is not overlooked. Folk-songs, folk-dances and other attractive programs will be provided and arrangements have been made with a party of Bhil dancers from Taloda."

It was probably the first time the Congress honoured folk-songs and dances.

Nationalist movements all over the world have recognized the value of folk-songs and folk-dances as the heart of the people's culture. The Abbey Theatre movement and the work of Yeats and Æ. with their band of workers had gone a long way to revive the life-blood of Irish nationalism. *The Wearing of the Green*, an Irish folk-song, born somewhere in 1798, has been sung by the Irish people to the airs of a national anthem :

"O Paddy dear, and did you hear the news that's going round ?
The shamrock is forbid by law to grow on Irish ground;
Saint Patrick's day no more we'll keep, his colour can't be seen,
For there's a cruel law agin the wearing of the green.
I met with Napper Tandy, and he tuk me by the hand,
And said he, 'How's poor auld Ireland and how does she stand ?
'She's the most distressful country that ever yet was seen,
They're hanging men and women there for wearing of the green.'
Then since the colour we must wear is England's cruel red,
'Twil serve but to remind us of the blood that has been shed.
You may take the shamrock from your hat and cast it on the sod,
But never fear it will take root there, tho' under foot 'tis trod.
When law can stop the grass from growing as they grow,
And when the leaves in summer-time their verdure dare not show,
Then I will change the colour that I wear in my caubeen.
But till that day, please God, I'll stick to the wearing of the green."[14]

Russian Soviet Socialist Republics, too gave a place of honour to the songs of the Russian people. Mikhail Shalokhov's *And Quiet Flows the Don* gives two life-lit Cossack songs :

"Not with plough is our dear, glorious earth furrowed,
Our earth is furrowed with the hoofs of horses;
And our dear, glorious earth is sown with the heads of Cossacks :
Our gentle Don is adorned with youthful widows :
Our gentle father Don is blossomed with youthful widows :
Our gentle father Don is blossomed with orphans :
The waves of the gentle Don are rich with fathers' and mothers' tears."

"'O thou, our father, gentle Don !
O why dost thou, gentle Don, flow so troubledly ?'
'Ah, how should I, the gentle Don, not flow troubledly ?
From my depths, the depths of the Don, the cold springs beat;
Amid me, the gentle Don, the white fish leap.'"

We have our own folk-songs. And we have our movement for their revival. India's folk-songs are India's autobiography. Their colour and fire and sparkle belongs to the life-blood of



Photo : J. N. Hallen (Hallen Bros., Lahore)
The Moslem peasant
The rich harvest brings the inspiration of music to him

the Indian people. "They reveal the inner soul of Rural India, and it is extremely desirable that they should be known in other parts of the world as well," says Rabindranath Tagore. "They are the literature of the people," says Mahatma Gandhi. "They represent the true heart of India more than anything else," says C. F. Andrews.

14. *Vide* R. K. Prabhu's *National Anthems*, Bombay.

"I am a great lover of folk-songs," declares Sarojini Naidu. "I have no doubt if a proper selection is made of them, they will be regarded as a necessary part of the study of poetry at our universities," states Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya. "Folk-songs, if published, will certainly be of great value," states Dr. Abanindranath Tagore.

The Folk-Song Movement, in India, can clearly see a day ahead when the new writers will put into it the force that they alone can put, when the universities of India will not remain indifferent and will follow the example of the Calcutta University, when the Academies of Literature and Music will recognize its importance at large, and when the Indian National Congress will speak for it with the voice of India reborn, for an India-wide support of those who are engaged in it devoting small personal resources.

Myself a villager, I understand the songs of my people; the threads that run through them are of the past and of the present, some of which throw their shadows prophetically into the future; the fabric they weave can help us, I feel, to reconstruct the new literature of India; their unparalleled fund of inspiration is sure to give birth to some Pushkin in our country. My travels take me to many corners of India. My life is not always easy, yet I have my inspiration, my gypsy-spirit.

The Indian villager feels today the impact of the outside world as never before. I hurry up to gather his songs; I also tell him the purpose of the folk-song collection though he does not actually follow me.

SRI AMARNATH—A PILGRIMAGE

By SHYAM LAL SADHU, M.A.

FAR AWAY from civilization and a three days' march from habitation stands the sacred cave of Sri Amarnath at an altitude of about 13,000 feet, enveloped in never-ending chains of towering snow-capped mountains. The people born and bred up in hills are not afraid of a pilgrimage to Sri Amarnath; but to those used to automobiles and first class reserved compartments, the 13,000 feet climb means a stupendous adventure. Yet, year after year, Sri Amarnath continues to attract devotees of all classes from all parts of India and even abroad.

The pilgrimage is mentioned in Book I, 267 of the *Rajtarangini*, the famous chronicle of the kings of Kashmir, in the account of King Nara who reigned in 1048-1008 B. C., and this proves that the cave was annually visited by pilgrims from very ancient times. The Muslim King Zain-ul-Abdin who ruled in Kashmir during 1423-74 A.D., also visited it. It was since his visit that a special family of the Mattan Muslims, the Mallicks, used to escort the pilgrims and be responsible for their safety. But now the State authorities make all possible arrangements for the safety and convenience of the pilgrims. Jagatguru Sri Shankaracharya Maharaj of Shardapeth Sri 1108 Swami Shivaratanandji is the religious head of the pilgrimage. The *charri*, the standard leading the pilgrimage consisting of the insignia of Lord Shiva, remains in his charge and all the pilgrims must follow the standard from Pahalgam onwards. The *charri* leaves Srinagar on Sawan Shuklapaksh Panchmi (the 5th day of the bright fortnight of Sawan) after an imposing ceremony is performed in presence of a distinguished gathering, and passing through Pampur (famous for saffron), Avantipore (an ancient capital of Kashmir), Bijbehara, Anantnag, Mattan (the seat of the Martand temple and holy springs), and Eishmukam it reaches Pahalgam on the tenth day of the same fortnight, covering a distance of 60 miles.

The pilgrims generally reach Pahalgam by bus direct from Srinagar on the 10th day of the fortnight. Pahalgam (literally, the village of shepherds) situated at an altitude of 7,000 feet marks the confluence of the Lidar and the Sheshnala, two streams of ice-cold water that generally carry down wooden sleepers for forest contractors. Lying at the basin of mountains covered with dense impenetrable forests and having been connected with the Banihal Cart Road and Srinagar by an excellent motor road, Pahalgam has developed into a fine hill-station, the summer resort of thousands of Indians, a refuge from the loo, the dust-storms and the weltering heat of the plains. A changeable town

of shifting tents, neighing and trotting ponies and roaring streams, Pahalgam provides adequately all the necessities of life and with the increasing attention of the Kashmir Government it is becoming safer, more convenient and attractive.

For the last day or two, the pilgrims have been busy making their arrangements for the



Pilgrims' Progress
Palanquins, ponies, porters and pedestrians

pilgrimage, a journey of five days into the mountain land devoid of habitation and shelter and, for the most part, of fuel. Porters, riding and pack ponies, dandies, provisions, tents, fuel and other necessities are all available at Pahalgam and the pilgrims make arrangements according to their status and need.

Loud shouts of "Bum Mahadev," "Swami Amarnath ki Jai." "Shiva Hare" "Shiva Hare" emanating spontaneously from the pilgrims early in the morning on the 12th day of the bright fortnight rend the skies and pierce the mountain barriers as the onward march begins. By the northern opening from the basin of Pahalgam, we proceed to Chandanwari, the first stage eight miles away. The path to Chandanwari, though motorable for two miles, is only 3 to 6 feet wide. It is of a gentle slope, C. W. being only 2,500 ft. higher than Pahalgam. As we pass the little hamlet, we leave behind the pleasant basin of Pahalgam and enter a narrow glen. We ascend higher and reach the village Freslun, four miles away. Patches of maize fields occur here and there on the lower slopes of the mountains. A mile onward and we take leave of habitations. Our way takes us through dense pine forests, the haunt of the wild beasts during the winter snow. On the left and on the right, we have forests piled upon forests like a chain of thoughts superimposed. In front and behind, right and left, we are in the bosom of mountains covered with Juniper. Pine and an undergrowth of shrubs and berries. And on the right, down below, rushes the defiant Lidar, roaring and trembling like a wounded lion, chafing and foaming because of the obstructing rocks. As we proceed onwards, its greenish tint changes to whitish curds, perhaps to illustrate the saying, 'nearer the source, purer the form'. The wild and mighty aspect of Nature fascinates and over-awes.

What about the pilgrims ? You see a long human chain moving, up the precipice, down the declivity, past the rocks, men and women, palanquins and ponies, coolies backbent with luggage, *sanyasis,* *bairagies* and *dasinies,*—rich and poor, pilgrims on horseback and those limping, adventurous scouts and volunteers and globe-trotters, pilgrims who feel nervous and jumpy and have to cover their eyes in a palanquin as they cannot stand the dizzy heights. There is a *nanga* with an overdose of *charas* picking quarrels with the passers by, here a pilgrim dancing with glee for having got an opportunity of the pilgrimage; an old man is leaning against a boulder and inviting another to a puff from a little *narela;* a corpulent man, probably a Bania, is moving at snail's pace and panting for breath, and a young man dashes forward, giving others a taste of reckless spirit. Now and then you come across a beggar sitting by the roadside on the left and crying, '*tan badan di kher, khushi nal away to khusi nal jawe.*' Now and then the movement becomes slow or nearly stops, the path is reduced to a needle's eye



Seva Samiti's succour

and palanquins, ponies, pack-ponies, porters, carriers and all have to wait and pass one by one.

You reach Chandanwari after about three hours, take rest, have tea, take a bath and have your lunch. In the meantime you will find the little camping ground of Chandanwari turned into a regular town of canvas. Provisions, sweet-

meats, milk, fruits, *puries*, *parothas*, etc., are available there in tent-shops. The police look to the fact that nobody is put to any avoidable trouble, that the 'town' has convenient roads and that no porters decamp or that all property is safe. Things of greater import are referred to the camp officer, a first class magistrate



"Thine is the Kingdom of Heaven"

accompanying the camp, who also fixes the prices of various provisions at each stage en route. The doctors administer to the medical needs of the pilgrims, a sanitary inspector keeps an eye in all provisions in the camp and the Dharmartha Department and various other private bodies come to the rescue of people who are destitute, shelterless or needy. A little further down to the right you find the river emerging underneath a huge glacier where youngsters enjoy skating with all its fun and gaeity.

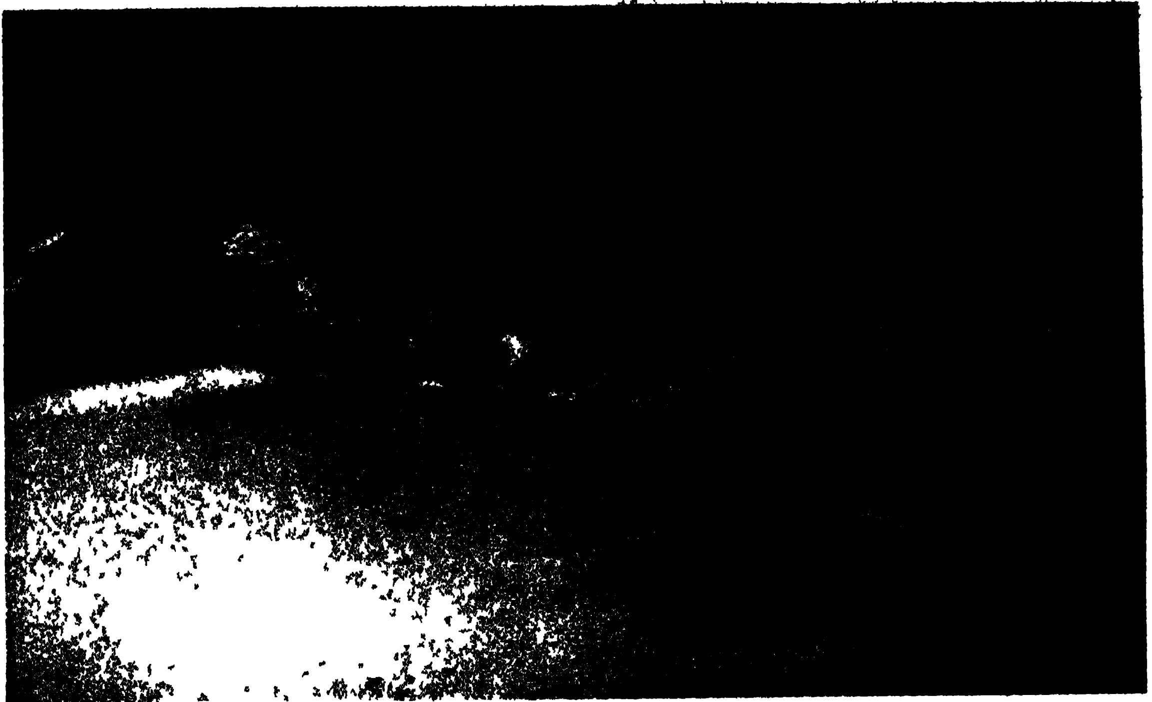
If you go round the camp at Chandanwari in the evening, you will find the pilgrims chatting outside their tents on the prospects of the next day's journey. Audible or otherwise, the wish—or rather prayer—escapes one's heart for fine weather the next morning. Many people will be found issuing instructions to their porters to forestall the cock in announcing the morning when the pilgrims are to negotiate the Puish, the most precipitous and the most hazardous climb throughout the journey. The top of Mt. Puish stands towering above C. W., the slope being 1,500 ft. in one mile, and more than 70° at places. Naturally, even a partial drizzle will work havoc.

Early next morning, even before four, the whole camp is astir. People are packing tents, camp beds and furniture, provisions and utensils, all vanishing into little bags to be carried by porters and ponies. A Poona telegram, "stray showers expected within the next 24 hours," received by the camp officer on the previous day has leaked into the camp striking panic. Hearts are beating strong, ponies neighing, and the river on the right and left grumbling against a sky covered with hoards of dark black clouds. Involuntarily the mind recalls the year 1928 when tremendous downpours of rain caused the pilgrims to retrace their steps to Pahalgam from C. W., and out of the 200 and odd pilgrims of reckless zeal who proceeded with "now or never" slogan to lay their lives at the feet of Sri Amarnath, the Lord rejected only about a fourth part who alone reached Pahalgam alive. However safety lies in negotiating the Puish as early as possible even though it is pitch dark, and many a pilgrim will be found cursing his porter for not being present early, especially since his companions have already left.

In his campaign against the Puish, the pedestrian finds consolation in comparing the risk run by the rider or the pilgrim in the palanquin carried by six porters when one false step will throw one toppling into the gorge below. The pedestrian can take a shorter route, though he may have at times to go on all fours. At the top he can reward himself by looking at the pilgrims ascending by narrow spiral tracks where communism and the best spirit of co-operation prevails: the official waits till the porter passes and the rider sees that he in no way oppresses the pedestrian and injure the common cause. The coolies use their own slogans to hearten and cheer themselves up: *Ya Pir Dastgir* (my gracious saint, grasp our hands), *Kambar Chak Karit, Khuda Yad Karit* (stiffening your backs and remembering God, on ye, my brethren). On reaching the top you have to pay something to the beggar through whose prayers you reached the top safe.

On reaching the top your breast heaves and your heart-beat comes to the normal in a five-minute rest. You have yet to cover six miles for the day's stage, but not much of precipitous climbing. You look around: no more thick forests to shroud the earth, only a birch tree here and there, lingering like a straggler after a mighty caravan has passed. Abundant under-growth surrounds you and beds of variegated flowers glimmering with the smiling sunrise—for the clouds have been dispelled—welcome your ruddy face; and down below, deep in the narrow gorge, you recognise Chandanwari with its glaciers, and the eternal rh—rh—rh— of the mountain rill. The height is delirious; it sets your hair on end to see all these, palanquins, pack-ponies, porters, riders and stretchers reaching the top.

You walk five miles up and down and pass the source of many a tributary of the mountain



The Lingam—a close view



Pahalgam—tents and huts

Sheshnag .ke



'ataract playing hid

stream, and lofty snow peaks refulgent with sunlight. At last Shesh Nag ((11,000 feet), a beautiful mountain lake with greenish water, comes into view. You run 300 feet down to its banks, take a little rest and have a dip in the ice-cold water. It is a joy of life. If you can tolerate



Necessity makes strange bed-fellows

the cold, a couple of swimming strokes repay the whole exertion. Pilgrims emerge fresh and strong and find pleasure in covering the next mile to Wavjan

Wavjan (11,500 feet) or Wavjan (the devil of wind) is remembered for its cold, bleak and ruthless winds The mountains, bare and rugged around, oppress one's eye and you cower in your canvas The next day the pilgrims start for Panchtarni. Up the Wavbal to its top, the Mahagunus (13,500 feet) is another steep ascent, though meadows of variegated flowers, crown gentians, alpine irises and wild wall-flowers—are heartening Just as the sun rises many pilgrims will be found smelling little tablets of camphor as a precaution, for the richly laden dew, as it is evaporated by the morning sun benumbs the sense. From the top of the Mahagunus, if you reach early enough, you can see Aurora in her consummate glory and grace; the beautiful tints and half-tints, rose and violet and marigold mellowing into mere shades, the blue of the sky and the turquoise by the river, little clouds here and there and a soft breeze are enough to raise even the humdrum imagination to a poetic fancy.

From the top of the Mahagunus there is an easy descent of five miles to Panchtarni, the last stage whence the Cave is only 3 miles Pilgrims have to cross five rills running down the plain of Panchtarni, which looks like the playground of the surrounding mountains. Two routes start from this place to the Cave The older one goes over a steep mountain Bhairov This is very dangerous, especially the descent from the top of the Bhairov to the Cave across a narrow gorge. Sometimes when rain or snow pestered the pilgrims and it was not possible for them to reach their destination, many a pilgrim rather than go back vanquished, preferred to commit suicide by flinging his body into the gorge below. This they called committing *bhairov*. It is said that many a devotee's life was saved by some unknown and unforseen person who grasped his hand and led him down the cliff into the gorge and up the cave standing opposite. This route has been closed for the pilgrimage now under orders of the Government. The other route leads us to the Cave across a snow-covered gorge.

The Cave opens like a pocket in the side of of the mountain and stands 300 feet above the base of the gorge. It is more or less octagonal in shape and 'large enough to hold a cathedral' being 50 by 50 yards in front. In the middle of the back wall, 'in a niche of deepest shadow' an ice *lingam* of the shape of a prism is formed. This has the *ākar* (impress) of Shiva and his consort Parvati at its top The *lingam* does not seem to touch the ground; its boundaries stand 1½″ above the floor on all sides and the same distance separates its edges from the back wall. Ice-cold water drips intermittently from the chalk roof at several places including the *lingam*. The *lingam* wares and wanes with the moon.

After making ablutions at the Amar Ganga, the pilgrims enter the Cave all devotion. Kneel-



Ablutions

ing in adoration they bow low before the Lord. The awesome majesty of the whole atmosphere teeming with incense and the song of praise from a hundred throats resounding in the Cave and the shining purity of the great ice-lingam overpowers all. The devotees make offerings of cocoanuts, garments, sacred threads of gold and silver and cash to the Lord. They besmear their faces with *amarbhut* (chalk silt) and carry

it home to their friends along with the *prasad*.

But the pilgrimage is supposed to be incomplete and fruitless unless one can have the sight of a pair of pigeons that harbour—it is said throughout the year—in a few niches in the cave. "Is it not only because of the glory of the Lord," the devotee says, "that a pair of pigeons should stay in the cave, far remote from all habitation with nothing but chalk hills and ice around them ?" It is Lord Shiva and Parvati who gladden the hearts of their devotees when they appear incarnated as a pair of pigeons. The pilgrim feels elated and as if surrounded by an aura. Hunger and thirst he feels none, even though he is to travel back to Panchtarni before he can taste anything.

The Legend

The legend goes that once, having been threatened with destruction by Death, the divinities entreated Lord Shiva at His abode for protection. The Lord appeared to them in a bright and pleasing countenance and on hearing their prayer bestowed out of his great mercy and kindness the water of immortality upon them, thus freeing them from the persecution of Yama.

The divinities again approached the Lord when in devotional absractions at His abode, but could not see Him. Feeling greatly distressed, they lifted up their hands in prayer entreating Him for a glimpse of His aspect, whence the pilgrimage and prayer at the Cave of Sri Amarnath.

Those of us popularly known as the sophisticated or the faithless may say whatever they like about the spiritual aspect of the pilgrimage, but the Cave continues to attract devotees from far and wide. And the Lord has never been known to be parsimonious in bestowing gifts, nor tardy of instilling pilgrims with a burning zeal of devotion. Legend credits His Highness the present Maharaja of Kashmir with having constructed a new road to the Cave as the grant of the boon of the birth of the Yuva Raj. An I. C. S. Muslim minister of Kashmir and his wife begged in all devotion at the Cave for the birth of a son and performed the pilgrimage twice again to express his deep obligation and untiring faith after the prayer had been heard and granted. A young Bengalee Christian professor, an Oxonian, contracted pneumonia on his return from the Cave. Before his death he dictated his last message: "Tell my friends that I die content after having performed the pilgrimage."

Whether we agree with the above view or not, it is undeniable that the superb, indescribably impressing aspect of Nature in her grandest and best, the beauty of flowers verging on celestialness, the snow-capped mountains, the removal of all artificial barriers between man and man and the ablutions in ice-cold water, certainly purify the mind and have an edifying effect upon the soul. As an English visitor confessed, "The scenery is so grand and imposing that one feels there in the presence of the Maker of the Universe." The heart is filled with glee, the spirit seems to be rising out of its corporeal frame, and the pilgrim has relief from the thoughts of the hum-drum, matter-of-fact everyday life.



HOW LONG CAN ITALY STAND THE STRAIN ?

By N. G. JOG, M.A., LL.B.

AFTER nine months of non-neutral non-belligerency Mussolini has struck the Zero Hour. How far is Italy prepared to stand the ordeal in which the Fascist Dictator has engulfed her ?

It has always been the boast of the Duce that one out of every six Italians is a potential soldier. On this computation Italy ought to have a trained reserve of 80 million men. This is truly a formidable figure but it is hardly substantiated by facts. Those eighty million "soldiers" may have been trained to give the smart Fascist salute and each of them presumably owns a black shirt. But that is probably all that their military training envisaged: even if the Duce wished it, he is not in a position to arm and equip such a huge army.

Italy's standing army numbers 700,000 and all military observers are agreed that Italy cannot raise a reserve force of more than 100 divisions, *i.e.*, a maximum of two million men. They are supplied (according to the figures quoted by Herr Lehmann in the *Deutsche Wehr*—the German Army Organ) with 14,000 light and 5,000 heavy machine-guns, 1,900 light and 800 heavy pieces of artillery and 1,100 tanks.

During the last few years considerable efforts have been made to increase the mobility as well as the fire-power of the Italian army. The aim has been to make it capable of conducting independent offensive operations. But progress towards this goal has been considerably hampered by lack of money and material. Even so today the Italian army possesses 3 motorised and 3 mobile Divisions, 1 Armoured Brigade and a number of motorised Infantry Regiments—the Bersgliere.

The army, nevertheless, remains extremely deficient in its powers of offensive and break-through. There is a paucity of anti-aircraft and anti-tank guns and the range as well as the fire-power of the heavy artillery is relatively weak. But it is in its tanks that the defects of Italian armaments are most glaring. Most of them are all-purpose tanks between 2 and 4 tons and are thus nothing more than armoured trucks. The 8-ton tank is the biggest that the army had till lately and while it may have done considerable damage in Abyssinia and Spain, it appears as a veritable toy before the 70-to-80 ton Leviathans which France had thrown in the field.

Ever since Italy became an Empire and Mussolini began to claim the Mediterranean as an "Italian Lake," considerable attention has been paid to the expansion of the Italian navy. Today in tonnage the Italian navy is equal to that of France, though its distribution is radically different. Realising too well the sheer strength of the Royal Navy, Italy has taken a leaf from the book of her Axis partner and built a huge flotilla of submarines, its number being given between 100 and 150. Similarly like Germany she has built a large number of fast motor boats capable of carrying one or at the most two torpedoes.

Two out of Italy's four battle-ships were built last year and are claimed to be the most modern and powerful of their type. Similarly the latest of the 56 destroyers command a speed of 44 knots. These with the 22 cruisers and 72 torpedo boats show that the Duce has succeeded in building a very presentable and even imposing navy but it can do little to counter-balance Germany's impotence on the seas.

In the first place the entire Italian fleet is bound to remain confined to the Mediterranean. There the Duce is credited with the intention of launching a totalitarian warfare by land, sea and air and thus freeing "his lake" once for all from the democratic interlopers. But a glance at the map will show that Britain completely commands the Eastern Mediterranean with her bases at Alexandria, Haifa and Cyprus.

And right at the centre stands Malta, which was the first to receive the attention of Italian bombers after the declaration of hostilities. Finally Gibraltar and Port Said, both in British hands, harmetically seal the two ends of Italy's "feeding bottle," while Britain herself is not dependent upon the Mediterranean for communication with her overseas possessions. No wonder the Lake is proving a haunting nightmare for the Fascists !

How many persons are aware that it was an Italian, General Douhet, who first propounded the theory of the supremacy of the air-arm over all other weapons of offence and defence ? Owing to the notorious economic backwardness of Italy, she has not been able to consummate the

plans based on this theory, which have been carried to their logical and successful conclusion by Nazi Germany. But in 1937 she was actually leading Europe with an air-force of 2,000 first-line planes and 10,000 fully trained military pilots. It was Italy that first introduced the super-charged aero-engines for high altitude flights.

There is naturally a good deal of secrecy being maintained about the exact strength of the Italian air-arm, the estimates varying all the way from 2,000 to 5,000. Even if we accept the latter figure, however, it must be noted that a considerable part of this force is antiquated and obsolescent owing to the rapid improvement in the technique of the industry and Italy's inability to keep pace with it.

The defensive equipment of her heavy bombers is said to be very weak and the maximum speed of her fighter planes is considerably less than that of the latest American types in the hands of the Allies. The process of modernising the aerial armada is very slow, the industry being unable to produce more than 200 machines a month even though the factories are working on a 24-hours basis. The high-grade steel and the light alloys needed for aeronautical construction are all to be imported from abroad and this will serve as a strangling handicap now.

In one respect, however, the Italian air-force can hold its own with its Nazi opposite and that is the sheer inhumanity of the Fascist pilots. This "quality" was amply witnessed in Abyssinia, where the only available defence against the monsters of the air was—a sling! Airman Vittorio Mussolini—son of the Duce—has vividly described the sadistic delight he took in machine-gunning the fleeing Ethiopian women and children during the conquest of "the empire"!

I have so far described in some detail the strength of the Italian army, navy and air force. Whatever might be the striking power of all those arms and whatever improvements and additions might have been made during the last nine months of vulturous neutrality, any evaluation of Italy's armed strength will be incomplete without a knowledge of her extremely low war potential.

That is the Nemesis which in the long run will dog the Duce's Italy to her doom. Her resources of essential raw materials are very much less than even those of Germany—which is saying a lot. Every visitor to Italy, once he gets over the first impressions of Fascist resurgence, is struck with the impoverishment and unemployment which stalks the land. The masses live at a mere subsistence level and it is notorious that though Italy was not involved in the war so long, a rigorous rationing even of foodstuffs has been enforced long since. A gradual tightening of the belts is the main bond which really binds the Germans and the Italians in a common brotherhood!

How terribly weak Italy's economic condition is can be seen from the following figures (taken from an official German source), which give the percentage of Italian production of important commodities consumed by her and all of which will now be more than necessary for the successful prosecution of war. Italy produces: Mineral Oil 0·7, Rubber 0, Coal 3·2, Chromium 0, Iron and Steel 37·1, Wolfram 0, Phosphates 0, Manganese Ore 14·2, Tin 0, Nickel 0·1, Lead 69·7, Copper 3·2.

The unfavourable balance of trade amounted to 3·4 milliards of Lire in 1938 and this indeed is a chronic feature of Italian economy. The Empire has been so long only a liability and it will not be long before it is altogether liquidated now. Two-thirds of her total imports are via Gibraltar and the Suez Canal and the loss of this is bound to deal her a crippling blow.

The Heavy Industries which Italy has so laboriously founded and which are now vitally necessary for the production of armaments will have necessarily to close as soon as the accumulated stocks are exhausted, which will be ere long: Mars is after all a gargantuan glutton.

Even agriculturally Italy is not self-supporting in spite of all the efforts at autarchy and in spite of the draining of the swamps and marshes, which will remain one of the most creditable features of the present regime. Even though the Italian masses live on the barest necessities of existence, the country cannot produce more than 85 per cent of the foodstuffs required by them.

This fatal weakness of Italy has been freely admitted by authoritative German as well as Italian writers. In a book written in 1935, Colonel Xylander of the German War Academy observed:

> "Italy suffers more severely from a shortage of raw materials than any other big power in Europe."

Again, writing in the Duce's own journal, the *Popolo d'Italia*, General Pariani of the Italian War Ministry admitted:

> "Italy is not rich in raw material resources, and she cannot, therefore, seek a protracted war involving great material expenditure."

Is it then precisely because Mussolini and his advisers are convinced that the present incursion into the European armageddon will

not prove protracted and also that it will not involve great material expenditure that they have "struck the dagger into the back of their neighbour," as President Roosevelt aptly remarked? For nine months now the Fascist legions were awaiting like jackals the outcome of the titanic combat that was going on in other lands and they pounced just when one of the combatants was in his last gasp.

Italian war manuals and Fascist jingo journals make much of the new "dynamic" strategy of Italy. The Fascist war machine, they aver, is built and trained for rapid and powerful action and for swift and dramatic decisions. They desire to emulate the Nazi *Blitzkrieg* and have no compunction in bombing defenceless civilians from the air.

All this they may succeed in doing—in a manner and for a time. The treacherous stab in the Allies' back—every schoolboy knows that it is they who are primarily responsible for ridding Italy from the Austrian yoke and making a free nation of her—when their hands are full is no doubt devilishly well-timed and for a period it is bound to create confusion and even havoc. But Mussolini is very much mistaken if he thinks that he can make a quick get-away with his booty.

The Italian has never been much of a soldier. He lacks the guts of his Latin brother beyond the western border, and Adowa, Caporetto and Guadalajara has been so many graves of Italy's military reputation. None have been more contemptuous of Italy's prowess in the field than the Germans and Bismarck with his blunt Teutonic tongue once labelled her as a nation of poltroons. It remains to be seen whether under the lash of his new Nazi master, the easy-going Italian develops any fighting qualities.

Strange as it may appear, this yellow streak has communicated itself even to the Italian airman, who should at least have acquitted himself as well as anybody else. In Spain, however, he proved much inferior to air-men of all other nationalities, who had gathered in that cockpit.

Here is a professional comment of the organ of the Soviet Commissariat for Defence on the "exploits" of the Italian Air Force in Abyssinia, where the only opposition it met with was from a stray blunderbuss:

"Despite the possession of good maps and the fact that they were able to fly at comparatively low altitudes, bombing accuracy was very unsatisfactory. Italian bombers often took the air without any definite objectives and bombed at random, although they themselves were responsible for the reconnaissance work." (Quoted by Max Werner).

Modern totalitarian wars are fought as much by the civilians at home as the combatants on the field. And if anything, the morale of the Italian people remains lower still than the morale of the Italian army. They have been literally dragooned in the present war by the mad ambitions of one man.

As for the British people, they have been traditionally the closest friends of the Italians. They gave an asylum to the heroes of the Risorgimento and aided them in their struggle for independence. Mazzini, Garibaldi and Cavour must have verily turned in their graves after this betrayal of an ancient ally.

On the other hand the German has always been viewed with mistrust by the average Italian owing to obvious historical reasons. The Axis alliance has never been popular except with the younger generation drunk with the heady wine of neo-imperialism. The grafting of the Berlin-Moscow entente on the Berlin-Rome Axis last August created a deep revulsion in a country which is the centre of the Catholic Church. The regimented press in Italy has stilled the voice of the people but it is bound to assert itself in the course of time.

The Pope may once again become the "Prisoner of the Vatican" but his passionate desire for peace and his views on the present war are too well-known to be without effect. The Fascists have done their best to undermine the influence of the Pontiff, but ninety per cent of the Italians still devoutly venerate the word of Pius XII who is entirely opposed to the present extension of hostilities.

And finally there is the King of Italy, Victor Emmanuel III, who bears a name honoured in Italian history. He is, of course, reduced to the position of a cipher but Crown Prince Umberto is a man of independence and ambition. He is reported to have had more than once a brush with the Dictator and is said to be the centre of a small but powerful anti-Mussolini caucus. Umberto holds at present the nominal command of the Southern Army, but it is not at all improbable that the Royal House of Savoy may utilise the present war to extricate itself from the clutches of its Fascist Janizars.



CULTURE OF SOME ECONOMIC CARPS IN TANKS OF BENGAL

By CHINTA HARAN MAZUMDAR, B.A.

THE fishes that can be reared in tanks, beels and rivers, which grow very big and can be had throughout the year are the dependable carps of Bengal. Leaving aside the question of the smaller varieties, Bengal can boast of such valuable fishes of the types as the Rohu, the Catla, the Mrigala, etc., which are noted for their tastes and qualities in that useful group of fishes.

The Rohu and the Mrigala of the Jumna are very tasteful, the Catlas of the deep Meghna are good. But the Rohus of the Haor areas of Mymensingh have lost their colour altogether. They look black and go by the name of Black Rohu. The Calbasu and Nandail of the lower Bengal districts give out an unwholesome smell in their flesh. The Mahseer of certain hill rivers contract poison by foul feeding and spread contagion to people eating them. In confined waters it has been found that these fishes do well in tanks of alluvial land while in laterite or sandy tracts not only their growth is retarded but the fish becomes less oily and the taste is tough. All these are due to environmental influence.

ADVANTAGE OF TANK CULTURE

Fish culture in tanks has a great effect on rural economy, as this makes the waste areas to yield a revenue. During the rainy season when the rivers rise in floods and fishes are not available in proportion to the demand, the carps reared in confined areas can be caught with drag or cast nets and put to the market to reap the maximum price prevailing at such periods.

Tank culture improves the fishes, as in general, confined waters produce much of their food and affords them bodily quietness which they cannot have in running waters. Hence the pond grown carps are better in taste than those of the running waters. When reared in confinement it has been found that the Calbasu and Nandail lose their unwholesome smell. Fry of Mahseer, collected from the Haors or such areas are sometimes put in tanks in the districts of Mymensingh, Tipperah and Chittagong and it has been found that they come out very wholesome. Confinement has its bad effect too, fishes in undisturbed tanks become sluggish in habit and rather poor while disturbances make them alert and help their growth. It is said that a tank having palmyra trees on the Southern bank of it produces better fishes. The reason being that the northwardly winds make a rattling sound in the leaves which startle the fishes and put them in motion.

It is therefore advised that the fishes should be put to motion by occasional dragging of nets or even of a rope from one side of the tank to the other. These keep the bottom of the tank rather clear and in a good condition. Net dragging also removes the scum accumulated on the body of the fishes which retards their growth.

WASTAGE IN FRY AND EGGS

Mr. S. C. Mitter, Director of Industries, Bengal, has rightly remarked in his Recovery Plan that

> "The carp culturist (in Bengal) thinks his part of the work finished where the fish culturist's duties really begin in other civilised countries."

Culture of fish in tanks is in practice from time immemorial in this country but no real improvement seems to have taken place since then. Even the practice of stocking tanks with young fry or eggs has not been yet abandoned by the tank culturists in some part of the Presidency though it amounts to nothing but wastage. The majority of stocking tanks in Bengal are seldom drained or exposed to sun since their excavation for better production of fishes. They contain fishes of various types out of which some may eat up the fry or eggs so stocked altogether. The stagnant and stale water of unreclaimed tanks are also totally unsuitable for the minute fry or eggs to live in. The tank culturists do never calculate the number of mature fish they obtain out of the total number of minute fry they stock in, otherwise they would pause a while before continuing the same policy all through.

The wily fry or egg sellers misguide the owners of tanks on many occasions by showing a false calculation of profit out of the increased number of fry to be stocked. Thus a big wastage is in process of the young fry and eggs which could be better utilised for the improvement of the tanks and the river fisheries of Bengal. The best course should be to hatch the collected eggs with the help of scientific apparatus such as hatching jars instead of putting them to the stocking tank then and there. Thus the wastage brought about by the native hatchers with their crude ways of hatching may be averted as well. The next step should be to rear the young fry in nursery tanks. They may as well be put in

beel areas which dry up in summer but are filled with fresh water of the rains. Therefrom they may be supplied to the tank culturists after 6 or 7 months. To stock 325 fingerlings in a tank which can accommodate 300 mature fishes is better than to stock 2,000 young fry to be lost in an ordinary stocking tank of Bengal. It is desirable that there should be agencies to supply fingerlings to tank culturists instead of minute fry. The next way to utilise the fry best is to rear the fry in similar beels or waterways near by some rivers which can produce carps in them and then to let the fingerlings go into the rivers for replenishing them.*

Rearing Tank

Nursery tanks play a very important role in the culture of fish in confined waters. As in agriculture we find the seedlings are carefully raised in nursery beds for future plantings, so also it is essential to rear the young fry to a stage when they will be able to stand in the stocking tanks. These tanks need not necessarily be small but any standard tank can be utilised for the rearing of fry with certain precautionary measures. They should be emptied, cleared and dried by the previous summer. Rain water should be stored in and when any more fresh water from outside is necessary it should be introduced, but be made to pass through nets of very small meshes so that no fish or even fry of the type of fish as Koi, Singhi, Shol, etc., may get an entrance therein as they will eat up the young carp fry in their course of growing.

The fry when they are 3 to 4 days old are so very fine that even in a small volume of water a huge number of them may congregate. So in putting them in rearing tanks it should be observed that the number keep within the limit so that they can be accommodated in the water content of the tank. The Bengal Fishery Department allots approximately 100 c. ft. of water for 200 fry or an adult fish.

Overcrowding in nursery tanks brings in epidemic which destroys the whole crop so the furthest limit should always be taken care of. Practical fry rearers remove the fry to a pit 1½ to 2 ft. in depth just after hatching and will keep them there for 3 days. From the 4th day onwards they are transferred to the rearing tanks being 1½ to 2 cubits in depth and of any suitable area. The depth being increased by adding 3 inches of fresh water daily from the catchment area but passing it through the nets of very small meshes. Deep water or heated water is both detrimental to the young fry, so great care is taken in letting in fry in rearing tank at the beginning.

Regarding food supply it may be said that they required more food during their growing period. It is seen that they come to bite off food from the body of the people going in the rearing tank when they are 4 to 5 months old. The food for both the growing fry and the fishes may be pulverised rice, pulses, rice polishings, flour, etc. But unfortunately there is no practice of giving any artificial food either to the fry in the rearing tanks or to the fishes in the stocking tanks in this part of the world.

Stocking Tank

The carps can live in shallow water but a good stocking tank should contain at least 4 to 5 cubits of water during the summer so that midday heat cannot affect the stock adversely. The tanks which get flooded during the rainy season but practically dry up leaving a depth of 2 to 3 cubits of water in the summer are not so suitable for pisciculture as those which maintain more or less a steady depth throughout the whole year.

An ideal tank should not have trees and bamboo bushes on the banks as leaves from them may make the water foul. Want of sun shine makes the fish sickly, discoloured and emaciated. The tanks must be free from aquatic plants and weeds like trapa, lotus, lily, water hyacinth, hydrilla or the like. A shallow tank may have some surface growing creepers like Kalmi (Ipomoea reptans), Helencha (Enhydra fluctuans) or Indurkani pana (Salvinia cucullata) to a limited extent to keep the water cool and to afford shades to the fishes during the summer. The tanks should be drained out and exposed to the sun say once in 9 or 10 years for their proper maintenance. In the tank where prized and bigger-type carps are reared should be free from all other fishes because these will unnecessarily increase the population of the tank and thereby bring about scarcity of food and congestion.

The carps in general require a clear pond with some selected plants as Panchuli Chandmala (Limnanthemum cristatum), Patta seola (Villisneria spiralis), Gangkala (Alisma plantago, etc., which help the production of carp food and general aeration in water. The fishes at times take the soft stalks of these plants also as food.

The Rohu wants a long range to run straight, the Catlas prefer a deeper water, the Mrigala and the Calbasu like tanks with muddy bottom while the Goni is after a weedy tank. Although

* As described in the article styled "Decrease of Carps in Bengal—suggestion for replenishing rivers with fishes," published in the *Hindusthan Standard* of the 12th April, 1939.

the Mahseer and the Nandail are not generally stocked in tanks, they also prefer tanks in better condition no doubt. It is therefore preferable to stock fish type by type singly in such suitable tanks for better results.

Introduction of a few varieties of common molluscs as Jhinuk (fresh water clam) which thrive in many tanks would naturally supply the fish with a good quantity of animal food. The carps feed luxuriously on their young ones. In practice we find the fish of the pond where there is a good supply of food namely by way of washing of rice, pulses or the dishes and plates, etc., grow more quickly than those of an unused tank. The food should, therefore, occasionally be supplied specially when they require it more by the months of August-September (Sravan to Aswin) before their wintering and by April-May (Chaitra to Joistha) when they are in spawn.

The tank culturists should also be careful so that thieves and otters may not destroy or rob their contents. To prevent stealthy nettings strong wooden or bamboo posts may be planted in the bed of the tank. These posts also help the fishes to rub their body which they occasionally do.

There are bands of professional men who roam over the lower Bengal districts with their thick nets to drag the tanks and thus help the rural culturists. Their ultimate motive is to steal fishes as many as possible which they shuffle on either side in the net at the close of the dragging. This they can easily perform before the simple rural folk, who should however be careful about the activities of these dishonest people.

To control the otters, the empty egg shells of hens or ducks should be filled in with lime and put on their way near the brink of water. These shells, they eat up, thinking them to be real eggs, and would be killed by their poisonous action.

There are many things which the tank culturists can put to practice without much difficulty. And it is regrettable that though there is no dearth of tanks in Bengal, where carps can sucessfully be reared, they have become so many waste areas for want of proper care and development.

A reference to the article, "Gohna Lake in Garhwal," published in *The Modern Review* for May, 1939 will disclose how a lake two miles in length, half a mile in maximum breadth with an area of 400 acres has been formed at an altitude of 6,400 ft. by a natural landslip in the Garhwal district of the United Provinces. It is said that the lake forms a natural hatchery and is going to be the "Trout Fishermen's Paradise" as it is teeming with trout which were introduced there in 1917-18. We take much of our planning and working initiative from nature. What nature has done at such an altitude, men can perhaps do on the plains.

In the hilly districts of the Presidency big water areas may be formed, simply by placing embankments at certain slopes or damming such small hill streams, where carp culture can be undertaken at a bigger and commercial scale. But no one seems to be interested in this industry. It is worthwhile to launch such schemes for the improvement of this particular business as is being done in other more progressive countries of Europe.

Preferential Aids

There are very few places where fish rearing tanks are properly maintained. The villagers from the remotest parts of Bengal are not expected to come over to Calcutta and see per chance how nicely the Corporation maintains their tanks and lakes. There need therefore be model demonstration tanks at least in the district headquarters where there are possibilities of developing tanks and confined waters. Demonstration and propaganda have ample scope to work in this line. It is perhaps due to ignorance on the part of the tank culturists that they meet with a very high percentage of failure.

To give impetus in this direction there must be organisations to make free supply of fry or fingerlings to the parties as the Agriculture and the Industries departments do with their seeds or other necessary aids for the improvement of the existing crops or methods respectively. Thereby it may be hoped that the tanks which are now lying in uncared and neglected condition may be developed to yield an income to the rural folk.

Economic pressure has made the caste restrictions dormant. Men of the higher castes do no longer hesitate to take to professions of the lower strata. So pisciculture, which was neglected by the people of the former class, may offer new fields to the educated unemployed of all sections who may develop a group of tanks in localities where such tanks can be had. Fish culture in tanks is profitable and already has got a start. It is found that tank-grown carps are finding a place not only in Calcutta but also in mufassil markets though in a limited way.

Under Provincial Autonomy every Province should try to be self-supporting at least in matter of food-stuff and should have trade connections with others well guarded. So, if there be ways and means to produce fish in tanks, jheels, rivers and even in the fields for her own requirements there is no justification why Bengal should be drained off by her sister provinces of Bihar, Orissa, Assam and by others with their supply of fish either fresh, dried or canned.

ROUND THE WORLD WITHOUT A PASSPORT

By CHAMAN LAL

In March, 1938, I left India in my fifth trip abroad in order to reach the United States to publish my new book *Roosevelt's America.* On reaching England I was deprived of my passport. I was told that I had murdered the passport with my book, *The Vanishing Empire*, published in America and banned in India. I was, however, promised that I would get it back after a while and that I could ask my wife and child to join me, and accordingly they reached London in June.

But the India Office officials failed to keep their promise and always said that the British Foreign Office was definitely against my visit to foreign countries. I struggled in London for full five months to get my passport back in order to proceed to the United States, from where I received fresh invitations for lectures every month. Mr. George Lansbury, the most respected and popular M.P., and several other members of the British Parliament pleaded with the Great Moghul, Lord Zetland, to return my passport, but I failed to get it back even during the September crisis. I wrote to Lord Zetland: "While you, the English people, are sending away your children to places of safety and digging trenches, haven't I the right to take my wife and child to a safe destination ? Why not return my passport to enable me to travel to America?" But the 'Great Moghul' never agreed. But the Irish people, true to their traditions, proved very kind and hospitable hosts.

In Ireland

I managed to reach Dublin by evading the smart watchmen of the Scotland Yard, who not only watched me, but censored every telephone call, every letter and every press telegram and news-letter that I sent to the Indian newspapers.

On reaching Dublin I had a long interview with Mr. De Valera, to whom I was introduced six years ago by the late Mr. V. J. Patel. He gave me a very cordial welcome and I felt like a free man once again. My wife and child joined me after a week, during which time some Senators and Deputies devised plans to send me to Central America without a passport. They were all experts in this art. One of them had three passports, another had absconded from a British prison and entered America twice without a passport, while others were all tried and skilled members of the Irish Republican Party. We spent two months in the most hospitable and beautiful atmosphere of Ireland and every Irish man and Irish woman who met us gave us cheer and showed keen interest in the cause of India's independence. My banned book, *The Vanishing Empire*, was given a warm welcome by Mr. De Valera's paper and, in fact, by the entire Irish Press. We studied the Irish struggle for freedom from close quarters and received tremendous inspiration from the great and heroic deeds of Irish martyrs, whose history is recorded in the Irish Notional Museum.

Banned Book As Passport

Though the Irish friends insisted on our staying on in Ireland for a few years, I decided to take a chance to reach America, before the outbreak of a world war. In the end of October everything was arranged by friends. My wife and child, who had their passports, returned to India and the same day I left for Cork (the home of the great martyr Macswiney), from where it was arranged that I should take *President Washington* to France and then change my boat from Le Havre to Central America (Mexico). On the gangway, while every other passenger was asked to show his passport, the smiling and friendly Irish official asked me, "Mr. Lal, may I have an autographed copy of your book, *The Vanishing Empire* ? My book thus served as my passport. On the boat I was lucky to meet Mr. Meherally (returning from America). When my boat reached Le Havre, I was not allowed to land and change my boat for Mexico, from whose Government I had a special permission welcoming me to the country, waiving all regulations against the Indian visitors.

The police official at first promised that he would try to give me police escort to put me on my boat for Mexico, but he returned later and said, "Orders from Paris are, 'Do not let him land under any circumstances'." He added "You know we cannot displease England, our only ally". Somehow I managed to go to the city and meet the Mexican Consul, who gave me a letter for the Police that my papers were valid

for Mexico and I should be allowed to change my boat, but the pro-British French agent of the shipping company never took that letter to the police and thus I was a problem for the captain of the ship. Now the ship had to go to Hamburg and after five days stay return to New York. So I was taken as a free passenger to Humburg, where I was threatened to be imprisoned according to the rules, for having no passport. But the banned book once again came to my rescue and I was given a special permission to stay for one month to wait for the next boat to Mexico.

Fasting in Germany

I was financially unprepared for a month's unexpected stay and all that I had was hardly enough for one meal a day and I lost ten pounds in weight (for good). It was very cold in Hamburg (November) and I had no European hat or heavy shoes and I caught cold. I tried to sell some copies of my book, but under the rules no bookseller could buy it without a permit from Berlin. A few days before my departure for Mexico I met a newspaperman who made my book famous (every German paper published a review in most glaring headlines), Hitler's own paper gave a streamer on the front page. I knew nothing about it till the day of my departure, when a high official came to buy my books. I had only three copies, which brought me 27 Marks and I purchased my first European hat and shoes to protect me from cold. During the previous four trips I had always travelled in Indian clothes.

In Mexico

After one month's voyage I reached Mexico, where I was given a most friendly reception by both officials and non-officials. I took Indian presents for President Cardenas, who admired the fine silver-gold work, the ivories and embroideries.

In Mexico I sold my books and delivered lectures and was prosperous once again. The President gave me a special passport to proceed to the United States, but the American Consul, who being a socialist was very friendly to me, failed to give me a visa after having definitely promised. Miss Perkins, Minister of Labour, and the U. S. State Department had promised in writing to give me fullest help and everything was O. K., but the British Government interfered again and within a couple of hours a cable came from Washington which upset all my plans to publish my book *Roosevelt's America*.

After a very successful study trip in Mexico I managed to leave for India *via* Hollywood (Los Angeles) and Japan on the Mexican Passport.

Locked up at Hollywood

It is an irony of fate that one (myself) who had been an ardent lover of democracy and supported it during twenty years of journalistic and political career, was persecuted and penalised by the three great democracies, England, France and America. When our boat reached Hollywood I expected to be greeted by the usual charming American 'Hello' and a smile, but instead I was locked up in my cabin without any justification. I could not believe that this could happen in America. The immigration inspector who was accompanied by a snobbish-looking Englishman (a British Consulate Official) was very rude to me and I could realise that his sole aim was to see my Mexican papers. I did not want to part with them and therefore refused to show him. I preserved the papers with the captain of the boat.

The following conversation took place between the Immigration Inspector and myself (I recorded it in my diary within half an hour):

I.I. Can you identify yourself ?

C.L. Here is my visiting card.

I.I. This is not enough, show me your papers to identify yourself. We have information that you are travelling on a Mexican passport.

C.L. It is none of your business to ask for it, since I have decided not to land in America, which plays to the tune of the British Government and whose Government can issue and cancel visa within three hours (as it did to me).

I.I. You have to prove your identity.

C.L. You better go and ask the captain.

The Inspector then went to the captain of the Japanese boat and told him, "I want to detain this fellow on the boat," and saying so he turned towards me and said, "I want to lock you up."

C.L. What for ?

I.I. You shall be locked up, since these are my orders and I don't want to argue.

C.L. Under whose orders you take that step ? I must know who permitted you to do it, since I will report the case to the President.

The Inspector retorted, "Who cares for the President". "So this is your democracy," I told him and went into my cabin, which was locked immediately by the Inspector, port holes meant for fresh breeze were also closed and guard was placed outside the cabin. I was not allowed to go to the bath room for a couple of hours and I recalled to myself the happy days

in the solitary cell in the Multan Jail and enjoyed myself thoroughly. I was not allowed to speak to the captain nor permitted to ring up the Ananda Ashrama of Swami Paramananda, where I wanted to convey the news to friends. The passengers were very sympathetic and so were the ship officials but they were all helpless. An American lady rang up friends in the Ashramas which was 30 miles from the Port and told them the whole story of 'Democracy in action.' When the boat sailed the guard came to me and apologized and wanted a word from me. I gave him a card with the words, "To—the dumb tool of Corruption." Later I learned that the inspector took the action at the instigation of the local British Consul and his action was unauthorised.

"Corrupt Official"

Thus I bade good-bye to the beautiful city of Hollywood from the boat, wondering why America had treated an old friend so shabbily. An American passenger told me, "Everything is possible here, since our officials are corrupt." I did not say a word since I had very pleasant and grateful memories of the wonderful hospitality accorded to me by American officials, Mayors, police chiefs, prison officials, merchants, professors, students and peasants during my several tours in the United States. I still prefer to remember all that is good and beautiful and regard the Hollywood experience as a stray act of corruption.

I am confident that some day in the near future the same officer will greet me. Can you beat my optimism?

A Month Without Land

Thus I had to pass full one month on the sea without landing anywhere and sometimes I felt sick of such a long sea voyage which began telling on my nerve. A short landing breaks the monotony of the sea voyage, but I was not permitted and was instead locked up in a most ruthless manner. I used to devote most of my time in writing my new book *Hindu America* (since published). The fifty Japanese children used to keep me busy with Indian games which I taught them. There were hardly four non-Japanese passengers and they, too, were often sea-sick and I could snatch a few hours from the captain to play bridge, whenever we could make four. The Japanese children provided a good study. Their patriotism was manifest on every occasion. Whenever a Japanese boat passed by our boat, they would wave their national flags and shout national slogans. They used to study maps, and were proud of Japan's commercial and naval power. They used to salute the Sun Flag every morning and bow to the Emperor (facing towards the Imperial Palace in Tokyo). They used to read stories and draw pictures of Japan's national heroes like General Togo. They used to have regular school on the boat. They staged dramas and plays of national heroes and spent their time very usefully. The children became my dear companions and I enjoyed their society.

Raja Mahendra Pratap

After a month our boat reached Yokohama (Japan) and on the pier I found Raja Mahendra Pratap waving his kerchief. In Japan, too, the difficulty arose about my landing, since I had no British passport, but when I rang up the head of the 'America Bureau', who happened to be an old friend of mine, he agreed to permit me to land temporarily until the first boat for India left.

The press in Japan gave me a warm welcome and my book, *Vanishing Empire*, banned by the British, had a brisk sale there.

The Indian community of Japan held several receptions and were anxious to hear of my travels and tribulations. I shall never forget the kindness shown to me by my compatriots during my five visits to Japan. Mr. Ali, our permanent host (a relation of the late Justice Tyabji), is a unique type of a Muslim, very religious, yet very patriotic and highly cultured.

Refused a Ticket

In Japan N. Y. K. line refused to sell me a ticket, because the British officials in Japan told them I would not be allowed to land in India. I paid return fares to Japan plus 18 days' expenses (over £10) in Bombay and Karachi, and thus the company agreed to sell me a ticket. It was the first case that a passenger was brought without a passport and the company was naturally nervous.

Guarded Everywhere

I was refused permission to land in Hongkong, Singapore, Penang and Colombo and was guarded day and night by Police at all ports, under instructions from British Foreign Office. I was described as the subject of 'Circular telegram M 706'.

In Bombay I landed without any trouble and thus ended my fifth trip (of course without a passport) after 15 months.

SOME ASPECTS OF THE INDIAN WAR ECONOMY

By Dr. M. S. NATA RAJAN, M.A., Ph.D.
Director, Diwanchand Political Information Bureau, New Delhi

War Helps Trade & Industry

It is one of the elementary principles in economics that war accelerates trade and oils the wheels of industry. This principle is generally true even more of undeveloped countries. In consonance with the principle enunciated, India undoubtedly developed industrially and otherwise during the last war. It is claimed by some that, similarly, India is benefiting to a very great extent, our industries are booming, trade is brisk and agriculturists are quite happy, all on acount of the present War. Unfortunately for India, these are not true.

India in a Good Position to Take Advantage of the War

The present war has broken out at a time when India had barely, if at all, emerged from the slough of the Great Depression. The industries had not yet recovered nor trade come to its pre-depression prosperity in any measure. The prices of agricultural commodities were also in many cases below the pre-depression level. It was expected that the war would be a heaven-sent opportunity towards the amelioration of India's economic conditions. It may be pointed out that industrially, too, India was in a far better position in the year 1939 than in the year 1914, to take advantage of the conditions that are offered by any modern war. To take a few instances, in 1914, the Indian cotton textile mills supplied only about a fourth of the total demand in India. The sugar industry was practically non-existent and the Indian iron and steel industry was only just beginning. Whereas, the Indian sugar industry in 1939, was supplying practically the entire Indian demand and both the textile and the iron and steel industry (so far as the protected production is concerned) were meeting more than four-fifths of the total consumption in the country. All the high hopes that were being entertained for the economic reconstruction of this country have, however, failed to materialise.

Fall in Prices of Agricultural and Other Raw Materials

As India is mainly an agricultural country, one has always to note how any major event—political or economic, affects the agriculturists. Soon after the war was declared, prices naturally, as in all climes and in all centuries, rose in this country also. The Government of India got panicky—or they might have had their own reasons—and almost immediately the war was declared devised measures to curb prices. The agriculturists in this country appear to be one of those unfortunate groups in the world who get plenty of sympathy from everyone including their Government, but in fact actually get very little done for them. The Indian cultivators who have been receiving less than half their normal income from their produce for a number of years following the Depression were about to make a little money, make good the losses and rehabilitate their position. The Government of the country which did nothing to ameliorate the terrible sufferings of the agriculturists during all the years of the Depression, very soon after the war, came with their price-control scheme in order to give a "fair deal" towards the various classes. Whatever the conception of "fair deal" may be, it has certainly not been fair to agriculturists. The prices of agricultural and other commodities which rose to some extent at the outbreak of war began to sag down from December last year. From Table I the fall in price of agricultural and other commodities could be easily ascertained.

TABLE I

Index Numbers of Wholesale Prices in Calcutta by Groups of Articles
(Prices in July, 1914=100)

Period	Cereals	Pulses	Sugar	Tea	Oil-Seeds	Jute Raw
1939 Dec.	105	119	174	163	126	130
1940 Jan.	97	116	169	154	119	124
Feb.	99	103	158	134	113	130
March	97	99	169	130	110	100
April	98	102	165	130	113	99
May	95	98	163	126	111	85

Period	Jute Manufactures	Cotton Raw	Cotton Manufactures	Other Textiles (Wool & Silk)	Hides & Skins	All Commodities
1939 Dec.	172	122	135	164	84	137
1940 Jan.	146	113	131	155	84	130
Feb.	130	110	124	147	84	126
March	114	103	121	146	82	121
April	111	108	126	145	82	121
May	97	79	124	146	76	117

The Index number of wholesale prices for cereals which stood at 105 in December, 1939, steadily declined to 95 in May, 1940. The pulses have declined from 119 in December '39 to 98 in May '40. Tea has fallen from 163 in December '39 to 126 in May '40. Raw jute which stood at 130 in December '39 came down as low as 85 in May '40. Cotton raw which stood at 122 in December '39 reached as low as 79 in May '40.

We may now take the actual prices of certain important agricultural and other raw materials of the country:

TABLE II

	Prices on the 15th Dec., 1939.			Prices on the 14th May, 1940		
	Rs.	As.	P.	Rs.	As.	P.
Raw Cotton (per candy)	318	0	0	170	0	0
Raw Cow Hides (per 20 lbs.)	10	8	0	9	12	0
Castor seeds (per cwt.)	10	10	0	8	6	0
Ground nuts (per cwt.)	8	3	0	6	10	0
Linseed (per cwt.)	11	5	0	7	12	0
Wheat (per cwt.)	6	2	0	4	15	0
Raw wool (per maund)	44	0	0	40	0	0

Cotton M. G. F. G. Broach at Bombay.
Cow Hides, Agra North-Western at Calcutta.
Castor Seeds, small Hyderabad quality at Bombay.
Ground nuts and Linseed, Bombay, Bold, at Bombay.
Wheat Delhi No. 1, white pessy at Bombay.
Wool Kandahar (cleaned) at Karachi.

The figures speak for themselves. The price of raw cotton on the 14th June was only Rs. 170 as compared with 318 on the 15th December, 1939. Linseed which was selling at Rs. 11/5/- on the 15th December, 1939 came down to 7/12/6 on the 14th June, 1940, and since then has been falling still more steeply. Wheat, which was selling at Rs. 6/2/- on the 15th December, 1939 was selling at Rs. 4/15/- on the 14th June. Similarly, other commodities show a downward decline. The disastrous fall in the case of raw cotton and linseed, particularly, is bound to work great hardship to millions of agriculturists who are dependent on these two money crops. The Government of the United Kingdom, which could go to the help of Egypt in regard to her raw cotton produce, unfortunately could not come to India's help in regard to her raw cotton. The export of linseed has all along been prohibited and now that no other markets are available the ban has been lifted. The Government, according to the Commerce Member, were going to purchase the entire crop of linseed for the Allies. The Government also in one of their communiques were willing to pay the price which they give for Argentine linseed together with the usual premium which the Indian product obtained over the Argentine linseed, and yet the prices of linseed relate a woeful tale.

INDUSTRIES HAVE HAD NO FILLIP

While it is true no doubt that some industries have benefited on account of the war, there has been no general industrial revival as such or fillip given to the industries as a whole. The production of cotton piecegoods in India during the six months, *i.e.*, September to February show that in 1939-40 it amounted to 2063·4 million yds., as against 2128·2 million yards in 1938-39. In other words, a decrease by 65·8 million yards has occurred during the first six months of war. One would have thought that the production of coal would have increased very considerably during the war period. Figures show that during the first seven months of the war, *i.e.* September, 1939 to March, 1940, the production has not increased by even half a million tons over the corresponding period for 1938-39. It could be seen from Table I that the index number for cotton manufactures which stood at 135 in December, 1939 fell to 121 in March, 1940 and stood at 124 in May, 1940. From the same table, again, it would be found how the index number of wholesale prices for jute manufactures which stood at 172 in December, 1939 fell down to as low as 97 in May, 1940.

Let us now turn to trade and examine how India fared during the 8 months, *i.e.*, September to April, of the war. The following are the figures of the total Indian imports :

TABLE III

	Imports (in crores of rupees	
	1938-39	1939-40
September	11	11
October	13	10
November	13	13
December	13	14
January	14	16
February	13	16
March	16	15
April	13	17
	106	112

THE FOREIGN TRADE OF THE COUNTRY NOT BENEFITED

The imports during the first five months, *i.e.*, September, 1939 to January, 1940 amounted to 64 crores both in 1939-40 and 1938-39. During the first eight months of the war the imports have risen by 6 crores in value over the corresponding period in the previous year. As the prices of important commodities have risen very highly, this means that the actual quantity of goods imported in 1939-40 were far less than that in 1938-39. So far as exports are concerned they have no doubt increased in value. The

exports of Indian merchandise stood at Rs. 149 crores during the first eight months of the war as against Rs. 111 crores for the corresponding eight months of the previous year. It must be noted that the increase in value is by no means a correct indication of the increase in the exports of the country. On account of the rise in prices the value of commodities exported have risen, but the quantity in many cases has actually shrunk below that exported in the previous year. The following figures would illustrate the point. As the figures for quantities of goods exported and imported are available only up to January, 1940, the figures in Table IV relate only to the first five months of the war :

TABLE IV

	Exports for the five months from Sept., 1938 to Jan., 1939	Exports for the five months from Sept., 1939 to Jan., 1940
	(In Thousands of Tons)	
Raw Hides and Skins	15	13
Linseed	115	58
Total Oil Seeds	499	220
Raw Cotton	195	154
Raw Jute	348	264
Pig Iron	244	201
Raw Wool	lbs. 30,723	22,327

The above figures speak for themselves.

THE EXPORTS HAVE BEEN ADVERSELY AFFECTED

The following Table V gives the value of the exports of the above commodities, barring pig iron and oil seeds, for which comparable figures are not available, for the three months February, March and April:

TABLE V

(EXPORTS DURING THE THREE MONTHS, FEBRUARY, MARCH AND APRIL)

	(In lacs of rupees) 1939	1940
Raw Hides & Skins	117	134
Linseed	82	73
Raw Cotton	836	887
Raw Jute	418	745
Raw Wool	69	57

As already stated the increase in value of the exports in 1940 does not correctly represent our export trade. A glance at the index number of wholesale prices at Calcutta furnished in the issues of the *Indian Trade Journal* shows that most if not all of the increase in the value of exports in 1940 could be explained away by the increase in the price of commodities. To take a few instances, the exports of raw cotton in February, 1940 amounted to 358 lacs as against 242 lacs in February, 1939. The index number of wholesale prices for raw cotton shows that while it stood at 62 in February, 1939 it was at 110 in February, 1940. This clearly shows that the actual quantity exported in February, 1940 was much less than that in February, 1939. The exports of raw jute in February, 1940 amounted to Rs. 342 lacs as against Rs. 148 lacs in February, 1939. The index number of wholesale prices at Calcutta for raw jute shows that it stood at 68 in February, 1939 and at 130 in 1940. This means that while there must have been some little increase in the exports of raw jute in February, 1940 as compared with February, 1939, it is certainly not so much as the value of exports show. To take another example, the exports of raw hides and skins amounted to Rs. 40 lacs in February, 1940 as against Rs. 35 lacs in February, 1939. The index number of wholesale prices of raw hides and skins stood at 62 in February, 1939 and at 84 in February, 1940. While the prices have risen by 35 per cent the exports in value have risen by only 14 per cent. In other words the exports in quantities are considerably less in February, 1940 as compared with that in February, 1939.

THE REASON FOR FALL IN PRICES AND DECREASE IN TRADE

The fall in the prices of the staple commodities at a time when they should have risen according to all reasonable expectations has given rise to the impression that the Government have systematically set about in forcing down the prices of commodities in the country in order to make available India's raw material as cheaply as possible to the Allies. It is no doubt true that in times of war the Government have to look to various considerations and take all measures in order to conduct the war as efficiently as possible. At the same time it is also expected of all the modern governments that they would actively encourage the industrial and commercial activities of the country which are quite essential for conducting the war with maximum advantage. Restrictions on exports may be necessary in regard to some commodities and in regard to the direction of trade. The Government also, it is natural during war times, be requisitioning all the transport facilities available. Making all allowances, it is still rather difficult not to come to the conclusion that the Government have not so far shown any great solicitude for promoting Indian industries or trade. Their price-control scheme and various other checks and restrictions, it is held, have been responsible very largely for the fall in prices in the country. It is stated that the Government have also not been mindful of Indian trading interests in regard to their allot-

ment of tonnage to the transport of Indian goods. The two fiscal measures, *viz.*, increase in railway freights on goods and the Excess Profits Tax are also held to have contributed to a depression in prices and lack of initiative on the part of Indian industrialists. According to some, notably the Indian Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta, the announcement of the Government of India early this year concerning conversion of Sterling loans into Rupee loans is one of the contributory causes for the depression in prices. Sterling being a depreciated currency the conversion would therefore artificially depreciate the price of Rupee securities. That will in turn, it is claimed, result in the tightening of money market and in the creation of artificial deflation which will in its turn lower the commodity prices with the consequent vicious circle of lower purchasing power and still lower commodity prices. It is also pointed out by the same body, that it is of doubtful wisdom to purchase depreciating currency like Sterling at present. In support of this contention it is pointed out by that body, that the Sterling securities held in the Issue Department of the Reserve Bank of India which were about 59½ crores on 1st September, 1939, *i.e.*, immediately before the war, have increased to Rs. 113½ crores on the 1st March, 1940. These Sterling securities have risen on the 14th June, 1940 to 129½ crores of rupees as against 59½ crores of rupees a year back. It is held by these critics that the Reserve Bank instead of purchasing Sterling should purchase gold.

What Other Countries are Doing for Their Trade

Unlike India, even those belligerent countries which are foremost in the war have taken considerable pains in maintaining and expanding their export trade. According to the *Economist* of February 24, 1940:

> "In Germany, ever since the war started the export industries have ranked very nearly equally with munitions in the allocation of raw materials and very far above home trades."

In England the importance of maintaining the exports has been brought out very forcibly. The White Paper on the Exports Council stated:

> "The maintenance of Export Trade is so vital a factor in the war effort of the Allied Powers that no measure calculated to contribute to the end in view should be excluded from consideration......The first aim of export industries and merchants as well as of the Export Council should be to secure such adjustments of the machinery created to deal with the war-time economic responsibilities of the State as will effectively overcome impediments to export trade......It is essential that under war conditions exporters should receive direction, guidance and support from the Central Government to a degree never contemplated under peace conditions......The Council place no limit to the expedients they would be prepared to consider."

Export groups under the Export Council have been formed in every industry to take charge of export development. "The groups are to keep in close contact with the Executive Members of the Export Council who would be in a position to give them 'directions' if 'guidance' and 'support' are not enough." The *Economist* even goes further (March 9, 1940) and says:

> "The application of public money as a lubricant where the wheels of export are sticking is one of the measures that should not be excluded from consideration." "Finally, there is the possibility of assisting British export by appropriate management of the exchange control and by War-time trade agreements with foreign countries."

Such are the lengths to which the Government of the United Kingdom are prepared to go in maintaining and encouraging their export trade.

Indian Export Advisory Council

An Export Advisory Council has been set up in India also. The speech of the Commerce Member, however, inaugurating the first Council meeting is not very encouraging. The functions of the Council appear to be very restricted. The main function of the Council, it appears, is the examination of the grievances and complaints of the exporters in so far as they affect their export trade. The Export Advisory Council, if it is to function efficiently and to the advantage of the country, must have powers for the co-ordination of India's export trade and be in a position to find out ways and means for expanding India's foreign market in regard to raw materials which have now been lost on account of the stoppage of exports to enemy countries and countries occupied by the enemies.

India's Industrialisation Should be Speeded Up During the War

Our industrial structure is far from being complete. If the Government would only come to the aid of the industrialists with sympathetic encouragement many of these lacunae can be filled up during the war. We are yet to develop our heavy chemical industries. The shortage of certain important chemicals has already made certain industries anxious for the future. We produce very little machinery in the country. There is a serious lack of electrical goods. Even articles of daily use and necessity like watches and clocks, razor blades, safety pins, buttons, etc. are either not made or insufficiently made in the country. Our shipping industry is still

in its very infancy. These and much more could be done if only the Governmental sympathy, aid and guidance in some respects are available. It is an happy augury that the Commerce Member should have at last come to the conclusion that the conditions of the Fiscal Commission for granting protection to the industries have to be very much liberalised. It is to be hoped that the Government of India have at least now come to realise that the lack of particular raw materials should not stand in the way of giving protection to an industry. If this contention of the Fiscal Commission were of universal application, neither the United Kingdom nor Germany nor any other country of the world, excepting probably America to some extent, could have industrialised themselves fully. Even the United States of America has to rely for raw silk on Japan for her silk textile industry.

The setting up of the Industrial Research Board is a proper and commendable move of the Government of India since there is a vast scope and urgent necessity for such a body.

It is held by a number of economists and industrialists of the country that there should be a permanent Tariff Board set up and the Government should lose no time in drawing up a list of specific industries which could be and ought to be developed and for which protection or subsidy or both would be offered during the war and for a specific number of years after the war also. Once the war is over all the adventitious aids and favourable opportunities would be lost. Time is, therefore, the essence of the entire thing. It is to be earnestly hoped that the Government of India will take time by the forelock and adopt expeditious methods for the industrialisation of the country.

27th June, 1940.

NATURE AND AIR RAID PROTECTION

By T. V. SUBRAHMANYAM, B.A.

NATURE, the common mother of all beings, has foreseen, millions of years ago, many of the designs of the modern A. R. P. Attacks from rapacious birds are more intimidating to insects and other lower animals than aerial bombardments to humanity. The schemes adopted by Nature in saving the small creatures from the attack of birds resemble to a remarkable extent the steps taken by man to preserve himself from air raids.

Some of the methods employed by the A. R. P. authorities are :

(1) *Colour Scheme.*—Dimming up of street lights and painting the tops of trams and buses with black to distract the notice of the enemy.

(2) *Shelters.*—Construction of underground and other kinds of shelters to protect from splinters and direct hits from bombs.

(3) *Warning.*—Blowing the siren to give a warning to the people of the approaching danger to enable them to seek the nearest safety place.

It will be observed from the following account that Nature has also employed more or less similar measures to protect her children from birds.

COLOUR SCHEME

So far as the colour scheme is concerned, Nature's work is superior to that of man both in design and effect. Many insects and spiders, habituated to arboreal life, are green in colour and they are most often unnoticed by birds of prey. The upper side of the wings of most of the butterflies is painted with beautiful bright colours but on the underside the colour is generally pale. This difference in colour has got great protective value. When at the position of rest butterflies always fold their wings erect over their body, the dorsal sides of the wings uniting each other, so that only the undersides becime exhibited. A bird coming across a flying butterfly, attracted by its bright colour, swoops down to devour it but the latter, by instinct, alights on a leaf and folds its wings, exposing only the dull underside. The bright coloured prey vanishes from the eyes of the bird and it flies away disappointed. In a similar way many beetles and grasshoppers are painted dull brown in harmony with dry leaves and rubbish among which they usually live so that their presence becomes difficult to be detected.

The darker colour on the dorsal side and pale white colour on the underside of the aquatic animals are also calculated to protect them from the attacks of birds from above and other aquatic antagonists from below. While observed from above the dark upper side is undistinguishable from the deep layer of water underneath. Likewise, when viewed up from below, the pale

underside is in tune with the thin transparent sheet of water.

Besides the light and shade colour scheme, Nature has also invented numerous other contrivances to keep the various creatures away from the notice of their enemies.

One such adaptation is mimicry. The common stick insect derives its name from its close resemblance to a dry twig and the leaf insect to a leaf. The resemblances in both these cases are so perfect that even field naturalists sometimes overlook them. Under the disguise of the stick and leaf these insects are very safely protected from falling an easy prey to birds and other enemies.

Another wonderful adaptation is found among certain butterflies which possess a pair of apparently superfluous projection on their hind wings called the tails. These tails are provided with bright dots resembling the eyes. The bird mistaking these tails to be the head region peck at them but the clever butterfly escapes unaffected, of course, minus the tails.

The power of certain beetles and bugs to secrete a kind of repugnant fluid, when attacked, is also a kind of life-saving device. Birds actually take them into their mouths but the nasty smell automatically forces the devourers to spit the prey out.

The millipedes in general and many caterpillars also escape from the attack of birds by their ability to emit unpleasant smell. The presence of poisonous hairs on the body of some caterpillars and the spiny appendages of the grasshoppers and beetles are also of high protective value.

Shelters

The nests, the various animals construct for themselves, are not only protective from sun and rain but also from the attacks of birds.

Many insects like beetles lie buried under rubbish or bore holes on timber and reside within, their presence being scarcely noticed by birds of prey. Butterflies and arboreal bugs take shelter on the underside of leaves, safely hidden from the eyes of birds.

White ants build beautiful hills for their abodes, inside which they are happy and safe. The crickets have their own underground "anti-bird-raid" shelters.

The spider's web, though of delicate architecture, is a wonderfully safe place for its maker to reside in. At the approach of a bird the spider shakes its web to and fro at such an astonishing speed that both the spider and its web become invisible to the enemy. There is a family of spiders which are of colonial habit and their common nest is made up of a very sticky substance. Any bird attempting to catch the spiders from these nests will only spoil its beak. Some spiders reside always under stones and rubbish or in underground shelters, unvisited by birds.

The nests of the solitary wasps are constructed either underground or attached to old walls or branches and trunks of trees. The house is cellular with several chambers and inside them they are highly protected.

Some caterpillars possess an outer cylindrical cover made up of dry twigs glued together. During movement the head of the animal is protruded through the open end of the tube; the tube itself being carried along with the body wherever it goes. At the sight of an enemy the head is instantaneously tucked in and the caterpillar is safe.

The garden snail saves itself from being attacked by birds by the virtue of its shell cover.

All told, every insect finds its greatest safety from its enemies in its own house than elewhere.

Warning

Although nobody has correctly judged the hearing and seeing power of insects, by instinct they are capable of responding to warnings about an approaching danger. The sight of a bird at a distance or hearing of an ominous sound from the vicinity, at once makes the spider to hide, the butterfly to vanish and other insects to rush to their abodes. The shadow of a kite flying above goads a snake to its place of shelter. Everyone must have noticed the mother hen, at the sight of a kite or vulture flying above, protecting her brood under her wings.

Examples similar to these are many in Nature. If Nature has endowed man with intellectual power and the lower animals only with instinct, she, as an impartial and kind mother, keeps the lower animals always under her direct protection, whereas she leaves man alone to find out his own means to protect himself from his own attacks.

LABOUR LEGISLATION IN ANCIENT INDIA

By KAPILESWAR DAS M.A., B. ED.

Labour has become a dominant, pressing and international problem of the day. It forms an indispensable part of the modern body politic, plays a decisive hand in the functioning of all up-to-date states, assumes an important role in all schemes of national policy and programme and is a factor in the arena of party politics to contend with. Indeed, along with the emergence of post-war Marxian ideology, socialistic state-craft and communistic thought, the labour movement organised and directed on a basis of frontal attack against the prevailing orders and vested interests of capitalistic imperialism has turned out a fascinating study pregnant with seeds of future development and reorganisation of humanity as a whole; a vista of rich and infinite possibilities either for better or worse has opened before our eyes. We are generally of opinion that this labour movement dates back at most to two or three centuries, since in short the Industrial Revolution along with its agrarian counterpart ushered in the age of machinery, large-scale production and rationalisation in the western continents at the outset, dividing their peoples broadly into a handful of rich employers and magnates on the one hand and masses of illiterate, helpless, exploited, poor employees on the other. But this opinion, though correct to a great extent from a particular viewpoint, does not appear to be wholly so from a comprehensive perspective. Human nature being essentially the same everywhere and at all times, though its practical manifestations may vary according to variants in times, circumstances and environmental conditions, it is but natural that labour problems existed and have been existing from times immemorial, though hinged upon different data, altitudes, objectives and terminologies from age to age in all countries. At least this has been so in India, our land of ancient culture, the cradle of a synthetic, multi-tinted civilisation.

A critical study of ancient Indian scriptures on the lines of legislative sociology reveals this fact. Sukracharya's political economy, Asoka's rock edicts and inscriptions, the Buddhistic records, works of Brihaspati and Narada present a clear picture of the then existing labour conditions and the different forms and ways of law-making by which they were sought to be regulated and harmonised. The compilers as well as the authors of the Hindu *Dharma Shastras* fully realised that unless the labourers of a country live in happiness, the conditions of its state and society cannot be improved; hence was the imperative need on the part of the rulers of states to look with sympathy to the amelioration of their conditions of living. Any dispute between the master and his workers must be immediately and amicably settled by the administrations concerned. The king will himself take reliable evidence in such cases. Where witnesses are not forthcoming, the king will summon and cross-examine the employer, says Kautilya. All craftsmen, domestic servants and agricultural labourers constituted the general labour class. Labourers were divided into different sections on an occupational background, such as cultivation, watching and harvesting of crops, tending cattle, grass-cutting, yarn-spinning, cloth-weaving, hawking of articles, home-service, etc.

As regards the standard of wages, Sukracharya says, the state will decide the rates of remuneration of the labourers according to their efficiency, aptitude, amount and quality of work turned out, specially keeping an eye on their well-being. To work on wages lower than what are deserved is extremely harmful to society. Such a painful contingency naturally turns the employee into an enemy of the employer, of the other members of his class and the state at large. Nothing is more instrumental in fanning flames of ill-feeling and animosity between the employer and the employee than stingy wages and the former's harsh behaviour, hard punishment, shameful exposure and wounding of self-respect of the latter. On the other hand it is self-evident that an employee, who gets good wages, is kindly treated and encouraged, gets prestige and position in his own line suitable to his dexterity, becomes a well-wisher of the employer, never leaves him and adds immensely to the production of social wealth and makes his healthy contribution to the corporate weal. Sukracharya classifies wages into three grades, *viz.*, *moderate* (neither more, nor less), where labourers receive so much remuneration as only sufficient to meet the expenses of their food and clothing leaving no surplus; *good*, where they

are able to secure these things in sufficiency (without obstruction), and *low*, where one of the two (food and clothing) is not available. The Buddhist *Jatakas* affirm that remuneration should be fixed according to time and the volume of work undertaken. To give a few practical instances of wage-fixation in ancient India, Sukracharya opines that a goldsmith should get one-thirtieth of the cost of the jewel he has made of gold, if it is of exquisite workmanship; one-sixtieth, if it is of mediocre make; and one hundred-and-a-twentieth (1/120), if it is slovenly. For works of silver he should get half of what he gets for gold and for those of copper and other metals one-fourth. Kautilya says, where wages have not been fixed previously, the agricultural labourer will get one-tenth of the harvested crops he has raised, the cowherd one-tenth of the sale proceeds of the ghee derived from the cows he tends, the businessman in the same proportion to the selling price of articles he disposes off. Though wages were not unoften paid in cash, it was not invariably the case. Often they were paid in the shape of land, cattle, commodities, etc. In this connection Narada says, the cowherd who tends a hundred cattle continuously for a year will get a cow towards his remuneration and if he tends two hundred for the same period, he will get a milch cow, and he will be given all the milk of the herd once a week. The most important point to be noted in this matter is that the employer must always fix the rate of wages after a close scrutiny of the family budget of the employee.

In regard to the times and conditions of actual payment of wages there were also many regulations. In the opinion of Sukracharya, the master should on no condition stop or defer payment of wages. Narada insists on their payment at the beginning, middle or end of the course of work sought to be done as per conditions of the contract or agreement entered into beforehand. Where these conditions are violated, the state will punish the employer with a fine amounting to five times the wages not paid. Brihaspati also legislates in the same strain and penalises the employer, who fails to pay his employees within the prescribed time after a particular piece of work is carried out, with compulsion of payment of the wages in question as well as a particular period of legal imprisonment and emphatically asserts that the state has every right to do these things.

Regarding other amenities over and above the enjoyment of the fixed wages on the part of workers in cases of long-term continuous employment, ancient Indian social polity was not silent. It laid down that every employee should have a period of fifteen days' casual leave at his credit. He was also entitled to get one-eighth of his wages in addition to his normal ones as a present and if his work is quite satisfactory and of a technical and constructive nature, he could claim even one-eighth of the total profits derived from the whole business enterprise in which he was engaged. In cases of sickness, the employee must not be dismissed; for limited periods of illness, *e.g.*, fifteen days, he had the right to get his full remuneration; if it exceeded such limits, he was entitled to three-fourths of it. If he was disabled permanantly for life, he had to be discharged after being paid three months' wages extra, if he had worked continuously for five years; and six months' wages if he had worked continuously for more than that period in addition to his normal remuneration. Those who worked continuously for forty years or more received half of the total wages they received throughout as reward at the time of retirement. The employers had to maintain a fund for his employees. He had to deposit one-fourth of their dues in the fund and at the time of its payment once in two or three years, he had to add an equal amount to the deposit. The employee was to get leisure sufficient to supervise the affairs of his own home and family; for this purpose he should be set free at least for one *Yama* (about three hours) in course of day and three *Yamas* in course of night. For the hired workman of a day, the period is reduced to half-a *Yama*.

Houses should be built for the residence of employees, says Kautilya, and in this building scheme the securement of their comforts and conveniences should be the main objective; the roofing of these residential quarters should be strong and well-protected, their interior well-lighted, freely ventilated, dry and roomy.

Many labour institutions were also functioning at that time and they were strengthened by the state and thier legitimate grievances sympathetically considered and removed by the autrorities concerned.

It is interesting and instructive to study in this manner how all the items of modern labour welfare organisation, *viz.*, a standard of wages not only enabling the labourer to meet his bare necessities but to maintain also his efficiency, fixation of limited hours of work, all possible ways of making the workers' life not a drudgery but an interesting phenomenon enlightened with a spirit of higher fulfilment, sickness insurance, provision for family members, sufficient leisure for self-culture and all round improvement, trade

unionism, security of employment, minimum of victimisation, a right to participate in all forms of social wealth, etc., were also covered in those far-off days in our land labelled as conservative and unmoving with the spirit of the times. Of course particular conditions were different as already stated: for example, factory labour as it is understood now did not find an important place in it, for it did not exist then in that way. But it is not difficult to apply a set of well-founded principles true to comprehensive life to any phase or department evolving naturally from it in course of time with necessary modification and adjustments. It is unnecessary to repeat that the grinding poverty and inhuman conditions which an important body, by far the largest section and the backbone of our people, find themselves in today, should be removed and this should engage the serious attention of our nation-builders and legislators. Our present labour organisations so far as they are carrying on this supremely useful task are doing eminently valuable work. But nothing human is perfect, more so in mass movements; a hasty, overjealous reformistic propaganda sometimes seizes them in its grip; it is better that some fundamental deeper considerations should broaden and equipoise their mental horizon and practical policy. Firstly, in the demand for a standard of wages, we should not be simply led by elaborate figures from international bulletins without applying them to particular conditions of life and the realities of the situations to be tackled and seeing how far they hold. They say statistics can prove anything. Whatever it may be, we cannot ignore variations of the context of life. Again a too much stress on the money value of social dealings incited by modern life of stress and strain more often than not induces us to overlook the great value of the method of bartering and exchange on which our ancients mostly made their living. Is there not already a warning cry on the part of our international financiers at present that our present monetary system has become too complex to endure long and that we are shortly going to the simplicity of commodity interchange of the golden past. Again, the view that the employer and the employee are mutually exclusive in their interests, that there is no other relation between them than that of exaction of work and payment of money on the strict economic basis of demand and supply, is not a natural product of our historic sociology, but an undesirable import from a soulless mechanistic theory of class struggle as we understand it. It should go. A completely human touch, a vision of a broader social whole should knit the two in bonds of mutual trust and faith. And in this way labour amelioration and recreation will cover the entire gamut of life, for labour is not merely physical but also of the mind, intellect and spirit. Human beings may be classified into three divisions, *viz.*, producers, consumers and distributors of social wealth. Only exploitation and idleness have to go. Herein lies the recognition of the insufficiency of merely the economic and the highest value and significance of religion, art and other verities of life as a whole. A false and elusive standard of life shall not be placed before us and difficulties enhanced. Lastly, in any scheme of reform nothing can be built newly; the past clings to us; we have to raise the superstructure on the strong foundation of our past heritage; history repeats itself. In short in the topic under discussion we will get safer and healthier guidance from our ancient polity than from the activities of the Red Russian Comintern or the American Bourgeois Industry.



RUMANIA



The Rumanian port Constantsa on the Black Sea

Petrol wells at the foot of the Transylvanian Alps north of Bucharest



Night at Oslo



The fjord at Oslo

SOCIAL LEGISLATION IN INDIAN STATES

By RAMESHNATH R. GAUTAM, B.A.

IN THE present welter of political controversies and communal squabbles matters strictly concerning the social improvement of the country are apt to be clouded over a little. It is regrettable that these spectacular gyrations tend thus to relegate to the background the steady march of sober and constructive activities, for they must and indeed do play a far greater part in the moral as also the material progress of a people than all the political pyrotechnics which seem at present to fill India with their raucous noises. But those who have the country's real interests at heart, those whose business is to nourish the tender sapling of social advancement—administrators and social workers —they cannot afford to let their attention be so diverted for any length of time. For on the rock of a sturdy and healthy social structure can the foundations of the nation's greatness be well and truly laid; not on the shifting sands of political quibbling. With this fact in view an attempt is made in the following paragraphs to present a bird's-eye view of the earnest endeavours made by some of the prominent Indian States to bring about the social regeneration of their peoples. These beneficent movements, though occuring within the confines of these great administrative entities, must necessarily react on the adjoining portions of British India and play a considerable part in the general advancement of the country as a whole; it would, therefore, be a good idea to turn our eyes now and then to the admirable progress which many portions of "Indian India" reveal to those who, escaping the hypnotism of British Indian political tamashas, care to take an interest in activities of that nature.

It has become increasingly evident during the last few years that efforts however sincere and arduous of private individuals or institutions to secure social advancement of the people, if compelled to play a lone hand, cannot hope to make much headway; to be really effective they must have the backing of State authority in the form of suitable legislative enactments. Reluctance on the part of the British Government to tackle the thorny problems with which the social field in India is so thickly beset, whatever its reason, has been partly responsible for the lack of progress in that sphere in British India. As Rai Bahadur Rangilal, Judicial Minister and Chief Justice, Holkar State, Indore, aptly said at the Rural Reconstruction Conference held at Indore on 29th January, 1939:

"I am one of those who consider that our social evils must be removed before any progress can take place in the country. Many of our ills are directly due to the pernicious social customs which bind us. It is unnecessary to discuss the origin of such customs. What we have to realise is that they hamper our progress. Our economic and political progress would be rendered very much easier if we are not dragged down by these customs. It is much to be deplored that the social reform movement has, during recent years, been somewhat overshadowed by political movements. However, I feel that if we have to rely purely on honorary workers for the removal of our social evils we shall have to wait indefinitely. All important social reforms in various parts of the world have been effectively carried out by Governments and not by private agencies. In India, the customs of Sati and infanticide would perhaps not have been abolished so quickly without the help of legislation. You are also aware what the Government of Turkey has been able to achieve in the matter of social reform in a short time.

"The British Government in India has been faced with peculiar difficulties in this matter. Many of our customs are inextricably bound up with so-called religion and the British Government had perforce to adopt a policy of non-interference in religious matters. It is for this reason that much social legislation has not so far been attempted in British India. The Indian States are, however, in a more favourable position in this respect; they are not hampered by the considerations which weigh with the British Indian Government. They can safely adopt a bold line of action and set an example for British India to follow."

One of the foremost social reformers in India who was also favourably placed as the ruler of one of the premier Indian States—the late Maharaja Sayajirao Gaekwar of Baroda—had realised the truth of these statements almost fifty years before they were thus made; with characteristic energy, enthusiasm and thoroughness he enacted in quick succession a series of social legislations which took the country's breath away in those days when an attempt of that nature was regarded as nothing short of dare-devilry. To Baroda, therefore, must go the credit of a pioneer. And Baroda still keeps its end up. Other States, however, are not less alive to their duties, and a noteworthy crop of social Acts and Regulations is the result. Social workers can take heart from a review of some of them that at least in the States' portion of

India they may well hope for a sound backing to their legitimate and beneficent activities.

For our purposes of a representative study we have chosen five States, *viz.*, Baroda, Kashmir, Indore, Mysore and Hyderabad. They are so widely scattered over our vast country that they may be safely regarded as representing the average conditions prevailing in those parts of India in which they are situated. As it is neither possible nor desirable to enter into any details in this short article, we must rest content with merely mentioning the titles of the various Acts and Regulations as materials which, it is hoped, will not fail to lead to a more comprehensive study of their provisions.

Baroda

Baroda started enactment of social legislation as early as the year 1901,—as stated above, unquestionably a pioneer in the filed. The following Acts are at present in force in the State :

1. Hindu Law, in which have been incorporated, among other provisions, the following Acts which existed independently upto the year 1937 when they were codified in the form of a single and comprehensive Act :—
   (*i*) Hindu Widow Marriage Act (1901),
   (*ii*) Hindu Marriage Act (1905),
   (*iii*) Hindu Inherited Debts Act (1907),
   (*iv*) Hindu Heirs Act (1907),
   (*v*) Hindu Inheritance Act (1910),
   (*vi*) Hindu Joint Family Act (1910),
   (*vii*) Hindu Parents and Son Act (1910),
   (*viii*) Hindu Property Management Act, (1910),
   (*ix*) Hindu Divorce Act (1931),
2. Religions Freedom Act (1901),
3. Child Marriage Prevention Act (1904),
4. Public Institutions Act (1905),
5. Benevolent Societies Act (1907),
6. Compulsory Education Act (1910),
7. Hindu Priests Act (1915),
8. Special Marriage Act (1932),
9. Initiation into Religious Order Act (1933),
10. Caste Tyranny Removal Act (1933),
11. Social Disabilities Removal Act (1939).

Over and above these are the great enactments which regulate the finest co-operative movement in India for which universal credit is given to Baroda, as also the wonderful network of a graded Panchayat system which covers the whole expanse of the State and trains the people in the practical art of self-government in a manner which has few parallels, if any, in the country.

Kashmir

Going right upto the top of the Peninsula, we find that His Highness' Government of Jammu and Kashmir has on its Statute Book the following enactments which could be placed in the category of social legislation:

1. Suppression of Immoral Traffic Regulation (1901) designed to prevent prostitution and allied evils and to eradicate the curse known as the White Slave Traffic,
2. Regulation to prevent Infant Marriages,
3. Hindu Widows' Remarriage and Property Regulation,
4. Juvenile Smoking Regulation.

Kashmir has possessed a legislative council these 30 years, and its enactments therefore bear the stamp of full, complete and comprehensive legislation with the authority of the State as well as the people behind them. Not all States are so situated, and therefore ruling princes alive to their sacred duties to the people have not hesitated to put forth legislation in the form of Regulations according to their own lights. Kashmir provides an instance in point.

Indore

Passing on to another progressive State, Holkar State, Indore, we notice that the following Acts are in force within its jurisdiction :

1. Hindu Widow Remarriage Act,
2. Prohibition of Marriages between Old Men and Minor Girls Act,
3. Divorce Act,
4. Child Marriage Prevention Act,*
5. Marriage Expenses Controlling Act, intended to check extravagant expenditure on marriages,
6. Indore Nukta Act, designed to check extravagance on funeral feasts,
7. Civil Marriage Act.
   In the words of the State's Judicial Minister : "This Act secures liberty of action to those who wish to extend their social horizon beyond the limited circle of their castes and communities."
8. Panchayats Act.

Mysore

It would be instructive to scour the well furnished legislative armoury of the great progressive Mysore State and pick out those enactments which can be described as social legislation. We find the following are in force at present :

1. Regulation X of 1933—Regulation to amend the Hindu Law as to the rights of women and in certain other respects,
2. Act XII of 1938—Act to remove all legal obstacles to marriage of Hindu widows,
3. Act No. XIV of 1926—Mysore Village Panchayat Act, 1926,
4. Act V of 1938—Hindu Inheritance (Removal of Disabilities) Act, 1938,
5. Mysore Religious and Charitable Institutions Regulation, VII of 1927,
6. Regulation No. X of 1894—to prevent infant marriages—"infant" meaning a girl below 8 years of age; and includes prohibition of marriage of men over 50 years with a girl below 14 years.

Hyderabad

To make this study as representative as possible we shall turn to the premier Muslim

State of India, Hyderabad. A number of legislative proposals far reaching in their intended effects are reported at present to be on the anvil, and they may be expected to be placed on the Statute Book at a not distant future. They are stated to cover a wide range of reforms, and when in force, are expected to place this great State in the front rank of Indian States in the field of social legislation. At present the following enactments are stated to be in operation in H. E. H. the Nizam's dominions :

1. Unclaimed Children's Protection Act,
2. Co-operative Credit Societies Act,
3. Reformatory Schools Act.

Following the modern trends of social uplift, most of the prominent Indian States are now on the *qui-vive,* eager and willing to do all they can to help their peoples to a better social status and a higher and nobler life. The words of His Highness the late Sayajirao Gaekwar III of Baroda, uttered as early as the year 1904 in course of his inaugural address at the 18th National Social Conference at Bombay, ring as true today as they did at the time of their utterance, and we find, as already quoted, a Minister of Indore echoing those very noble sentiments after a lapse of 35 years ! His Highness said :

"What are the methods by which we can deal with these problems? There appear to be two great methods of reform—legislation and persuasion. Of these the simpler and swifter is legislation; but on the other hand it can only deal with particular evils, and its effects are less permanent and thorough. Moreover, in some respects it appears more suited to our national temperament, which, like that of some continental peoples in Europe, prefers Government action to popular initiative. On the other hand, though we do nothing ourselves, we are not above criticising Government action. We should be grateful to the British Government for what it has managed to perform in the way of the removal of barbarous customs, despite the delicacy of its position and the caution which has necessarily characterised its policy. We wish that it might have seen its way to do more in this direction.

"The Governments of Indian States, though their scope and activity are much restricted in some directions, may yet discharge a great and useful function. They may provide centres of activity and may lead the progressive tendencies of our society. So far as opportunities permit they should strive at the very least not to lag behind the British Government in liberalising the social organisation. The Government of an Indian State which liberalises and perfects its administration is powerfully helping towards the reform of society."

Thus in the midst of toil and turmoil, Indian States are marching ahead in the noble task that is set before them—the regeneration of Indian society leading the country to a better, a fuller and a freer life, able to play its part in moulding the destiny, not only its own but that of the world also.



TWO PSALMS OF THE SIKHS

Jăpjī and Jāpjī

By Professor JOHN CLARK ARCHER, M.A., B.D., Ph.D.,
Hoober Professor of Comparative Religion, Yale University

These two sets of verse, dear to the hearts of Sikhs, are the *Jăpjī* of Guru Nanak and the *Jāpjī* of Guru Gobind Singh; Nanak and Gobind being respectively the first and the last of the personal line of Sikh Gurus. A book of sacred writing, the *Granth Sahib,* has served as the Guru since the death of Gobind in 1708 A. D. The Jăp and the Jāp stand in important relation to the *Granth* and to the Guruship, and represent something vastly greater than the difference in quantity of the middle vowels.

The nouns *Jăp* and *Jāp* which we interpret as "psalms" are of ancient origin (Sanskritic) and in common use today with such meanings as "the muttering of prayers, the silent counting of the rosary beads, and the inward repetition of the name of God." The Sikh, however, has his own interpretation of them. In Hindi the widely current verb *jăpnā* is used with special reference to the counting of one's beads at prayer. To the Hindu the rosary is a *jăpmālā* and devotion is *jăptăp,* especially if connected with austerities. In the Bhakti (Devotion) Way of Hinduism there is, to be sure, some minimizing of austerity, as one of Tulsi Das's *dohas* indicates.

> *Tulsi jăpe to Prabhu jăpe aur nām mat le*
> *Prabhu nām shamsher hai Jam ke sir men de*

i.e., "When you worship, Tulsi, worship the Lord faithfully praise him;
The Lord's name is a sword; thrust it at the head of the death angel."

Yet Hinduism on the whole has had emphases with which Nanak and the Sikhs have been at odds. Sikhs have avoided holding their *gurus* in the place of God. While Sikhism is in large measure historically in the Bhakti line, Nanak, for one, disapproves of "singing of the manifestation of the distant" (*Gāvai ko jāpai disai dūri,** —*Jăpjī* 3, thinking of such manifestations as Ram and Krishna) and he repudiates "countless repetitions, countless obeisances, countless acts of worship and innumerable austerities" (*Asankh jăp asankh bhāu asankh pūjā asankh tăp tāu*—*Jăpjī* 17, repudiating this sort of *jăptap,* the

in the * गावै को आपै दिसै दुरि

or devotion). In Nanak's case *jăp* and *jăpnā* refer essentially to meditation on the name (*i.e.,* of God). Nanak sang his *Jăp* to Him who would in the Hebrew psalmist's phrase, "consider his meditation." (*Ps.* 5 : I). He sang to

> "The One alone, True Name, the active, all-pervading, fearless, the one devoid of enmity, timeless of form, self-existent....Truth ere the ages began, the present truth and the truth that's yet to be."

—*Jăpjī,* the *mul mantra* or root assertion.

Gobind in his *Jāpjī* subscribes to this same fundamental declaration, and offers in addition a version of his own, as follows,—quite in the phrase if not the mood of the master Nanak:

> "The One, the True, the Wise, the Pure:
> He the Lord hath no contour, countenance, color, caste or lineage,
> No form, complexion, nor any lines by which one may describe him;
> A being that cannot be moved, fearless, luminous and of limitless might,
> Enduring lord of many Indras and numerous Indranis,
> Sovereign of the natural types: heroes, men and demons; not to be described to dwellers of the vale and woodland.
> Who indeed can name thy Name! thou hast so many in accordance with thine actions."

—*Jāpjī,* 1.

But in Gobind's case another element also must be reckoned with. His *Jāp* means more than *Jăp,* possibly signifying something of "manifestation" in a unique sense, although not putting him in the rôle of a Ram or a Krishna. His life and conduct might be deemed "verification" or "conformation" in his own eyes. New occasions taught his newness of doctrine. While he subscribed to the *mul mantra* of Nanak and the faith, he applied it to purposes of the Khalsa, the new state he organized. He used it on behalf of every candidate for *pahul* or initiatory baptism into the new Order of the Purified. It became the creed of *Singhs,* or "lions," into which he had transformed the Sikhs of Nanak—*from* doves and foxes, we might say. And this militant note appears, as in a petition of his *Akāl Ustat,* or "Praise to the Immortal,"

> "O deathless Being, give us all protection;
> Thou who art All-steel, protect us!

Thou who art All-in-death, protect us!
Evermore, All-steel, protect us!"

This new note is consonant with his concept of the *Jăp* and indicative of a new type of *jăpnā* and there comes also to keep it company a certain prominent note of self-reliance. Whereas the mood of Nanak was that of submission to the inevitable, while one sang the praises of the Sure Refuge, Gobind exhibits a more self-reliant attitude, a spirit animating a people destined to acquire power under arms and to insure themselves a position of respect in politics, as well as confidence and effectiveness in the propagation of their faith. Nearly two hundred years had intervened between the time of Nanak and that of Gobind, and events in the Panjab had crowded all those years. The middle vowel of *Jăp* had lengthened!

Take, for example, the only verse of Gobind Singh which has found a place within the canonical *Adi*, or "original", *Granth*. It was composed after the martyrdom of his father, Guru Teg Bahadur, the ninth of the line of ten, but in direct response to a lament which Teg Bahadur had composed, a lament that persecution had sapped his strength, that he was bound fast in Mughal fetters, and that no expedient availed him anything—except submission, the praise of Hari, and meditation on the Name, as he himself said in quoting Nanak. Now Gobind's reply to this lament is,

> "Strength is provided, the fetters are loosed, and all things are expedient:
> All is indeed in thine own hand, and even thou thyself art thine own helper."

Thus he exhibits *his* own sense of mission. While Gobind's *Jāpjī* is *extra*-canonical, its type finds place in the Canon in the form of this pregnant verse of his. And Gobind himself exerts an influence which has not suffered in comparison with Nanak,—at least, among the Singhs who are the potent half of the whole community and among the Akālis, or devotees of the Deathless, who are the vigorous minority of Singhs.

Gobind's *Jāp* stands somewhat in *contrast* with Nanak's *Jăp*. His teaching is in several ways more definite, more forceful. It is even autobiographical, Gobind being one of the very few religious leaders who have written their own life-story into the sacred literature (I refer to his *Vichitra Natak*, in particular). He wrote much in praise of God, including verses embodying a thousand names of God, in imitation, perhaps, of the Hindu *Sahasra Nam*, or "thousand names" of Vishnu. *And* he adds to the orthodox terms of Sikh theology new names of God of his own invention: *viz.*,

Akāl, deathless, the immortal; *Sarb-kāl*, all-death (perhaps the all which is attained in death); *Mahān kāl*, great death; *Sarb-loh*, all-iron, or all-steel; *Mahān-loh*, great steel; *Asipāni*, sword in-hand; and *Kharag-ketu*, *Asi-ketu*, and Asi-dhuj, sword-on-his-banner.

He, Gobind, is the devotee of Akāl, conscious of his mission. In one place he proclaims the purpose of his birth to spread righteousness everywhere to the destruction of wickedness and tyranny, even if it meant the handling of the sword. This saying comes from him (in it one may notice more of an Islamic than a Hindu terminology),

> *Chu kār az humā hayāt dar guzasht*
> *Halāl asat bar din bah shamsher dast*

i.e., "When all other means have failed, it is right to take the sword in hand."

Gobind would seem to be markedly in juxtaposition from Nanak, himself being militant in contrast with Nanak's pacifism. Is there any reconciliation? One recent Sikh apologist has said that "so far as resistance to the forces of evil is concerned, they saw eye to eye." Many Sikhs today are giving thought to a reconciliation of these two types of Sikhism within the one tradition. Perhaps, after all, both Gobind and Nanak were obedient to the *Hukm*, the Divine Command, even as they both served *Sat Nām*. Both were theists, but one a mystic and the other realistic. There was for Nanak a power above, and more inclusive than, Shiva, Brahmā, Indra (*Jăpjī*, 9) and Allah, whose Name is higher than the high (*Ibid.*, 24, 35), whose Truth is ultimate, beyond any wisdom of the Vedas or the Koran (*Ibid.*, 22). So also for Gobind, as well. His thought is centred on *sati sri Akāl Purush ji*, "the true and adorable immortal Person."

But there are auxiliaries, too, including the Gurus—and Gobind himself! These may be relied on if one has first remembered God. *Pritham bhagauti simar ke*, he says, "having first remembered Bhagwat," (incidentally I may remark that Macauliffe mistakenly translates Bhagwat "Sword"). And Gobind has a possibly more practical outlook on humanity, if one may judge from such a verse as this referring to God's and men's relationship,

> *Sarab jot ke bīch samānā*
> *Sabhahūn sarab thaur pahichānā*
>
> * * * * * * *
>
> *Ek chitta jih ik chhin dhiāio*
> *Kāl phās ke bīch na aio,*

i.e., **"He shines as light among all classes;**
He recognizes all the peoples of all places.

Whoever gives him his thought single-mindedly
The noose of death shall not at last entangle."

Of the *Hukm*, or divine "Command", they both (Nanak and Gobind) give testimony, Nanak of course, especially (Cf. *Jăpjī* 1, 2, 3), as in *Jăpjī* 3,

Hukmī hovani ākār,..etc.,

"By his will are all things formed,"

Ik na hukmi bakhsīs iki hukmi sada bhavāī ahi,

"Not one is blessed save by his will and by his will alone doth nature run her course,"

and even more forcefully,

Hukmai andari sabhu ko Bāhari hukm na koi,

"All are under his command, and none may act without it."

Yet Gobind keeps Nanak company, with such expressions as this,

"Under thy favor, O God, has all been done
And naught is of myself alone,"

—*Rahiras.*

........We may then, in time, have something among the Sikhs which we may call—with due regard—the *Jăp-Jāp* resorting to familiar alliteration. The development or transition from *Jăp* to *Jāp* offers opportunity for effective use of both textual and historical criticism. The field deserves attention beyond any it has had. Sikhs themselves have scarcely used the historical method in theology (as I became aware on my recent visit among them). Of western students only two are well known for studies in the Sikh religion: a Dr. Ernst Trumpp, well equipped, made about sixty-five years ago a reliable translation of the Gurmukhi *Adi Granth,* but did little at textual and historical criticism; indeed he was unpardonably unsympathetic toward the *Granth,* characterizing it, to his own discredit, as "perhaps the most shallow and empty book that exists" (p. cxxii). I am not sure how many books he knew! Max Arthur Macauliffe published in 1909 a monumental set of books on *The Sikh Religion.* His own linguistic equipment was defective, and he depended heavily upon Sikh *gyanis* who knew English, also. His work, of course, is highly sympathetic, and admirable save when it condones inaccuracies. His translations abound in slips and faults—for the *gyanis* were not what we should call critical, especially in theology.

There is work to do, linguistic, historical and comparative. For example, some texts have not been published, some textual reconstruction is imperative, and comment is desirable which will clarify many obscure words and passages (I have been laboring with Nanak's *Jăpjī*). Among Sikhs themselves a critical movement is under way (witness Ganda Singh's biography of *Banda Singh Bahadur*—Amritsar, 1935; and Bhai Jodh Singh's *Gurmat Nirnay,* 1936), which needs and welcomes the co-operation of scholars who are not in bond to orthodoxy. We hope the movement may run its proper course from, let us say, *Jăp* to *Jāp* and on through the whole compass of Sikh life and thought. And I say this in the spirit of an old *bhajan* which runs, as I modify it,

Are hānre māna [*Sat Nām*] *ko jăpnā,**

"In praise of God by His True Name."

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* अरे हांर मन [सत नाम] को जपना



QUICKEST WAY OF DEVELOPING INDIAN INDUSTRIES

By Dr. N. V. RAGHUNATH, D.Sc.

By studying the industrial development of the various countries of the world, one can find out why some countries are far ahead of others. At present some of the most highly industrialised countries are (1) U.S.A., (2) Germany, (3) England and (4) Japan.

Let us first examine how each of the above countries developed its industries. England was the first in the field and the necessary stimulus was given by the discovery of the steam engine. At the same time the necessary raw materials were available in plenty like coal and iron which facilitated the starting of heavy industries. As England was an insular country and had colonies in distant parts of the world she perforce had to have ships which necessitated a big navy and merchant fleet. Textile industry was given a big impetus and she became the leader in that direction.

Germany received its impetus for industrial development after the Franco-Prussian War of 1870. The only raw material available in abundance was coal and all German technique is based upon that. From coal have been made dye-stuffs, petrol, rubber and a host of other products and the science of chemistry has been responsible for this. It has been rightly said that chemistry is in the blood of the German.

U. S. A. started later and she adopted the best technique from other countries and then developed her own. Raw materials like coal, iron could be had in plenty and in addition oil. To find a use for oil the internal combustion engine was developed. Let us take for example the automobile industry in which U.S.A. leads. It has been estimated that there are about 40 million cars in the whole world, of which 30 millions are right in the U.S.A. For every five persons there is a car and the whole population of 120 millions could move on the wheels at the same time if that were possible. For developing the automobile industry all the raw materials like iron and oil were available and the whole country has been covered by a beautiful network of cement roads, so that one can roll along in a car from one end to the other. Travelling by car is cheaper than by rail and one hardly sees a person walking in the country. The following table shows the number of persons employed in the industries such as the automobile, steel, textile, food and chemical and machineries :

	Establishments	Value of products in dollars
(1) Automobile	1398	5,260,723,000
(2) Steel	591	4,137,214,000
(3) Textile	27,404	9,243,303,523
(4) Food	55,277	11,606,368,135
(5) Chemical	8,224	3,702,672,063
(6) Machinery	12,955	7,043,380,000

	Total pay roll in dollars	No. of people employed
(1) Automobile	870,612,000	505,465
(2) Steel	841,253,000	458,887
(3) Textile	9,243,303,523	1,842,444
(4) Food	1,207,009,719	872,695
(5) Chemical	553,340,129	402,585
(6) Machinery	2,196,683,792	1,308,617

In the U. S. A. the percentage of men employed in 1820 in industry was 12 and in agriculture 72, while in 1930 the percentage was 29 in industry and in agriculture 21. U.S.A. had changed in the meantime from an agricultural to an industrial country.

Again for any industry to thrive, research should be carried on simultaneously, because it is the eye to the future. For research work suitable men are wanted and it has been rightly said by C. F. Kettering :

> "A research problem is not solved by apparatus. It is solved in a man's head. No one ever solved anything in a research laboratory. The laboratory is the means by which it is possible to do the solving, after the man has the idea clarified in his mind."

Research will improve the present industries, will create jobs and raise the standard of living. On account of research the cost of an automobile has come down from 1590 to 622 dollars and the cost of aluminium from 12 dollars a pound to 22 cents a pound. Without research many industries would not have existed or not have grown. The Chemical Industry has been built almost entirely upon research. So has the food industry. Pick up any industry you like and you will find somewhere the powerful and wholesome influence of research.

There was a notion that Asiatic countries could not industrialise and that has been given a knockout-blow by Japan. The condition in Japan were similar to that in England, except that she had no iron. Japan concentrated more on light industries like textiles, cement, etc.

The way in which she industrialised was to send out her best men to foreign countries for study and after their training and return home to start new industries. Although Japan copied everything from the West in the beginning, now after assimilating she is creating.

Let us take the case of India. India is as big as Europe without European Russia, or U. S. A. and has a population of about 350 millions. For a population of 350 millions, there is only one big iron and steel factory at Jamshedpur with two smaller ones at Mysore and in Calcutta. There is plenty of iron and coal and the first essential is to start heavy industries. Side by side with heavy industries, there should be electrical development for motive and heat purpose. Mysore first gave the lead in Hydro-electric development by the Cauvery Power Scheme which was the first in the whole of Asia for utilising water power going to waste and other places have also started similar schemes. India being a land of mighty rivers and big mountains like the Himalayas, there is plenty of scope for starting hydro-electric stations.

For a vast country like India, automobile transport is the best and cheapest. The whole country could be covered by a beautiful net work of cement roads, which would use millions of tons of cement. All conditions are favourable for starting the automobile industry on a large scale.

As regards railways, it is high time that locomotives, etc., are made here. There are a number of excellently equipped railway workshops and it is not all difficult to manufacture them.

As regards textiles, there are plenty of factories for manufacturing them, but in times of war, they have still to depend upon foreign countries for dye-stuffs, etc. It is high time that this industry should be made self-sufficient by the manufacture of dye-stuffs. This is the right time for starting their manufacture.

What is wanted first of all is a more thorough and minute Geological industrial survey of the whole country, in order to know what raw materials are available and what industry could be started with them. After that hundreds of young scientific students of future promise have to be sent to foreign countries for being trained in these industries. The first requisite for starting any industry is to have your own trained men. Some foreign experts of course have to be imported in the beginning and associated along with our own men. It may be mentioned here that no first rate expert will ever come here for a small salary, because when he has a good career in his own country, he would not like to come to a distant country like India for a short period and then go back home to start his career afresh. In the matter of sending Indian students abroad for industrial training, the writer had the following experience during his visit to Europe. While out on a tour with a party of students to visit industrial concerns, he was surprised to find that entrance was barred, as admission was restricted to only students of that particular country. It is not an easy matter therefore to get industrial training abroad. Hence it is all the more necessary that research should be undertaken by Indians in India. Research laboratories should be established wherever possible and the lines of research chalked out.

It may also be mentioned here that Japan imitating the West industrialised herself and began to compete seriously with the Western countries in the world markets. This has aroused the jealousy of the Western Powers which acts at a handicap for other Asiatic nations to become industrialised. Towards the industrialisation of India a start has been made by the formation of the National Planning Committee, which is a hopeful sign indeed.

India is not lacking in brains and what is wanted is plan and leadership and sympathetic help from the powers that be.





Book Reviews



BOOKS in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in THE MODERN REVIEW. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, THE MODERN REVIEW.

ENGLISH

AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY, OR, THE STORY OF MY EXPERIMENTS WITH TRUTH : *By M. K. Gandhi. Translated from the original in Gujarati by Mahadev Desai. Published by the Navajivan Press, Ahmedabad. Second Edition. Pp. xvi+636. Demy 8vo. Khadi clothbound. Price Rs. 4.*

Neatly printed on thick smooth paper. There are ten illustrations : Gandhiji in 1940; When at School; As a student of Samaldas College, Bhavnagar; 'Aping the English Gentleman' (1887); Vegetarians' Conference at Portsmouth (1890); As Barrister in South Africa (1904); Shrimati Kasturbai Gandhi; In India Again (1915); With the Congress President (1939); At the Spinning Wheel.

Gandhiji's Autobiography is a deservedly famous book. The Navajivan Press has rendered a public service by publishing this popular edition in one volume. Though it is a translation from the original in Gujarati, it reads as if written by Gandhiji himself in English. That is because the translator has thoroughly assimilated Gandhiji's way of thinking and his turns of expression and because the translation has had the benefit of Gandhiji's revision. The book may thus be accepted as a faithful transcript of what the author wants to tell the reader. And he has frankly told him all about himself without trying to conceal his faults or what he considers to have been his faults.

The truth with which Mahatma Gandhi has been experimenting from youth upwards is not any abstract philosophical or metaphysical truth but all kinds of verities or realities which one has to live by and which form, as it were, the warp and woof of life. Thus, for example, Gandhiji's experiments in diet and medical treatment are also, according to him, experiments with truth.

The author's life has been so varied and so full of incidents and momentous decisions that it does not easily lend itself to any full summary. For that reason also no brief useful criticism can be attempted. But this we must say that all criticism of the autobiography of so earnest a soul as Mahatma Gandhi must be free from flippancy, though of course humour may or must have its place in writing of a man who himself has such an inexhaustible fund of humour.

There is not a dull page or paragraph in the book, and no page or paragraph can be skipped. At the same time one may open the book anywhere and find something interesting and profitable to read.

We had a mind to give here the chapter headings in order that those who may want to buy the book may have some idea of its contents before doing so. But as there are 167 chapters and as most or many of the headings do not convey any clear idea of the contents of the chapters, we refrain from doing so.

This autobiography tells us nothing relating to the last two decades of its author's life. The reasons for bringing it to a close in 1920 will appear from the following sentences : "My life from this point onward has been so public that there is hardly anything about it that people do not know. Moreover, since 1921, I have worked in such close association with the Congress leaders that I can hardly describe any episode in my life since then without referring to my relations with them......A reference to my relations with the leaders would therefore be unavoidable, if I set about describing my experiments further. And this I may not do, at any rate for the present, if only from a sense of propriety. Lastly, my conclusions from my current experiments can hardly as yet be regarded as decisive. It therefore seems to me to be my plain duty to close this narrative here. In fact my pen instinctively refuses to proceed further."

As the realization of Ahimsa has been the object of Mahatma Gandhi's life, he writes in the concluding paragraph of his autobiography :

"In bidding farewell to the reader, for the time being at any rate, I ask him to join with me in prayer to the God of Truth that He may grant me the boon of Ahimsa in mind, word and deed."

X.

ORIGIN AND EVOLUTION OF KINGSHIP IN INDIA : *By Sardar K. M. Panikkar, Bar-at-Law, Foreign Minister, Patiala. The Baroda State Press. Pp. 171. 1938.*

The book consists of five chapters originally prepared as five lectures for being delivered at Baroda. The writer says in the introduction that he 'does not claim to have done any original research on the subject' and merely seeks 'to examine the known theories of Hindu kingship in the light of modern thought.' Even within this limitation the book must be regarded as sadly disappointing. For instead of giving a clear exposition of the different view-points in the light of standard authorities on the subject, the author has taken notice of only certain theories to the exclusion of others with the result that it contains merely half-truth which in many cases, and certainly in the present instance, is worse than untruth.

According to the author the 'idea of kingship was elective in the Sutra and Brahmana periods, and it is only in the time of the Mahabharata that it had become hereditary.' This view would hardly be subscribed to by any Vedic scholar. Zimmer held that the monarchy

in the Vedic period was sometimes hereditary and sometimes elective. The elective monarchy is, however, denied by many, though they agree that there is no proof that the monarchy was not sometimes elective. Even admitting, as I do, that there are undoubted traces of election of kings in the Vedic period, it is impossible to accept the author's view that elective monarchy was the only or even the main form of government in the Vedic period.

Similarly, the author holds that in Mahabharata we find only the contractual idea of the origin of sovereignty. As is well-known, the Santi Parvan of Mahabharata gives two different views of the origin of kingship, the one resembling the theory of Social Contract and the other that of Divine Origin. The author ignores the former altogether, and what is worse, he wrongly quotes in support of his view, the particular passage which really upholds the theory of divine origin. We draw the attention of the author to pp. 119-128 of the first series of Carmichael Lectures by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar.

But perhaps the limit is reached when the author condemns the western scholars for interpreting the well-known verses of Manu (Chap. VII, vv. 3-4) to mean that the Hindus believed in the divine character of kings. His elaborate attempt to explain away the texts of Manu does not carry conviction in the least. Curiously enough the author ignores altogether verse 8 of Ch. VII of Manu than which it is difficult to conceive a clearer enunciation of the divine theory of kingship. The author even goes so far as to say that 'the whole conception of even reflected divinity in kings is contrary to Hindu ideas.' Statements like these, to which many others may be easily added, prove beyond doubt that the book under review is not likely to sustain, far less to add to, the reputation of the author as a scholar. As such it is not necessary to discuss in detail the remaining parts of the book which discuss the nature and duties of kings, the relation between king and state, and the evolution of imperialism and autocracy.

The book seems to be written with a definite view of propaganda on behalf of the nationalist movement in India. The patriotism of the author has even led him to remark that 'the Hindu *Aitihasikas* and historians had a truer conception of history than the Greek and Roman historians and their modern successors.' Comment on this is needless, and we can only hope that such propagandist literature should not be mistaken for sober historical work.

THE ZAMORINS OF CALICUT: *By K. V. Krishna Ayyar, M.A., L.T.* *Calicut. Pp. 345.* (1938).

The book deals with the history of the Nayar lords of Calicut known as the Zamorins. The Zamorin figures prominently as the ruler of the kingdom where Vasco da Gama made his historic landing in 1498. But for nearly six hundred years before that these rulers played a prominent part in Kerala. The author seeks to trace the history of this period from all available sources. For the earlier period he had to depend mainly upon tradition most of which is not generally known or easily accessible. As the first attempt to unravel the history of this small kingdom, the work is deserving of praise and recognition. A meritorious feature of the work is the addition of copious notes giving full account of the sources utilised by the author.

R. C. MAJUMDAR

PRISON REFORM IN INDIA: *By Lt.-Col. P. K. Tarapore, I.M.S., with a Foreword by Bhulabhai Desai. Published by Humphrey Milford—Oxford University Press. Pp. 181. Price Rs. 5.*

The author of the book Lt.-Col. Tarapore was for over ten years Inspector General of Prisons in Burma. He writes from intimate first hand knowledge and the result has been a book of wonderful lucidity and charm. His main object is to awaken public interest in the important social problem of prison reform. The book is well suited for the aims the author has in view. Lt.-Col. Tarapore discusses the varied problems of prison reform such as the treatment of young offenders, habitual criminals, the probation system, preventive detention, and other important administrative questions in a remarkably sympathetic and efficient manner. The theoretical side of the problem of crime and of the criminal has not been neglected either. The reviewer, however, does not find in the book any reference to the modern psychological study of crime. It is hoped that in the next edition this defect will be remedied.

G. BOSE

INDIAN STATES AND THE FEDERAL PLAN: *By Y. G. Krishnamurti. Published by Ratansey Parker & Co., Bombay. 1940.*

In this attractively printed book, Mr. Krishnamurti has discussed, not with great clarity or minuteness, the problem of Indian States in the scheme of Indian federation. His view is that the whole trend of Indian history, particularly since the British connection, unmistakably pointed towards the formation of a federal union.

The pretence of alliance and equality between the Indian Princes and the British Government was thrown off in 1813 when it was asserted that the Treaty of Paris had established the undoubted sovereignty of the Crown in the Company's territory. In 1856, when the Mughal Emperor was deposed, even the implications of States sovereignty were invalidated by making the Indian Princes dependent upon the British who claimed to be the successors to Mughal sovereignty. So that it was basically wrong for the spokesmen of Princes to plead during the recent discussions on India's new constitution that 'the relationship between the Crown and the States is one of mutual rights and obligations.' Such a plea "cannot stand a moment's scrutiny, either from the point of view of international law, political theory, or administrative usage." It is, indeed, no wonder that it has not been so far possible, although numerous attempts have been made, to make a rigid and logical classification of the Indian States; the salute basis, the population basis, the jurisdiction or tribute basis—all have proved to be illusory, for they fail to bring out the exact status of the States.

Mr. Krishnamurti suggests that the only valid classification of the Indian States—apart from political practice—can be the one from the point of view of the Indian nation according to the amount of real progress towards democracy achieved in the States. It is a matter for surprise that the Government of India Act, 1935, has not imposed any statutory obligation upon the States to move towards full responsible government even although such constitutional arrangements are operative in the Provinces. This omission, in Mr. Krishnamurti's view, was deliberate on the part of the British Government, for they wanted to be certain 'of a united front of the anti-progressive and anti-social elements in the country.' "It is conceivable that a situation might arise in British India when even constitutional agitation may be interpreted by the British Government as rebellion. If the British forces prove inadequate to

meet the situation, the paramount power can call upon the States to place their armies at the disposal of the British and to work in co-operation with their troops."

The author devotes one chapter to describing the complications of the financial arrangements in the new Indian constitution. He mentions that the clauses relating to the financial position of the federating States are inadequate. "The additional burdens will dry up the slender revenues of the States at their very source itself. The stability of the major States will be reduced to a mere shadow and the weaker States will go to the wall."

There is also a chapter on the 'Doctrine of Federalism,' in which the author refers to the juristic views of Dicey and Kelsen and the pragmatic utilitarian views of William James and Laski, and concludes by saying that "whether federalism is but a half-way house to a decentralised unitary state or a rigid federation, during the period of transition it provides the best method to prevent the rise of despotic government and diminishes the risk to which its size and the diversities of its parts expose the nation."

The book suffers from lack of continuity, and has no point to make. Its charm, however, consists in the few brilliant sentences that it contains scattered over its pages here and there.

BOOL CHAND

THE MAN *VERSUS* THE STATE: *By J. H. Muirhead. Published by Messrs. George Allen and Unwin, Ltd. Pp. 31. Price 1s.*

This is a reprint of the Herbert Spencer lecture for 1939 delivered at Oxford. Since Spencer's days, the antithesis of Man and the State, has undergone a complete metamorphosis. The central problem as a *living issue* is taken to be "not the right of the State to control everything....in the interests of the Community, but the right of the State and Nation to subordinate all the higher interests of man :—truth, beauty, and goodness, justice and mercy...., to its unchecked power." The discussion is intense, refreshing and cogent. The present crisis in human civilisation presented by the challenge of the totalitarian philosophy, can be viewed from the angle of an advanced liberal thinker who has both faith and insight, in this short brochure.

RECENT EXPERIMENTS IN CONSTITUTION-MAKING: *By B. M. Sharma. Published by the Upper India Publishing House, Lucknow. Pp. 354. Price not mentioned.*

The author of this book is Lecturer in Political Science in Lucknow University. He has done a useful service to students by compiling the notable development and features of the constitutions of Ireland, Germany, the U. S. S. R., Italy and Czechoslovakia. The story is brought up to the Munich agreement. The maps, illustrations and the bibliography are welcome innovations compared to similar books published in India.

CHINA AT BAY: *By Wilfred Chester. Published by Kelly & Walsh, Ltd., Shanghai. Pp. 209. Price not mentioned.*

The undeclared war forced by Japan on China in July, 1937 and the subsequent events furnish the occasion for this series of essays on Sino-Japanese relations. The historical background is given whenever necessary and the author has a delightful way of stating his thesis. The book is informative and can be recommended for perusal to anyone, whether a novice or a serious student, who is interested in the turmoil in East Asia. The author is convinced that China will win the war.

BENOYENDRANATH BANERJEA

THE HUMAN FAMILY AND INDIA: *By Dr. G. H. Mees. Published by Taraporevala and Sons, Bombay. Pp. 159. Price Paper Re. 1-12, Cloth Re. 1-14.*

The book is based upon certain extension lectures delivered by Dr. Mees at a number of Indian Universities in 1936 and 1937. The subjects dealt with in this book are as important as they are varied; they range from Ancient Social Theories of the Hindus and Modern Sociology, the Danger of Confusion of Natural Classes, Nationalism and Internationalism, Revolution and the Coming Stage in World Politics.

Dr. Mees has proved here as well as elsewhere that in the analysis of Hindu social organisation he is far more understanding than the usual run of European scholars. He has grasped the fundamental principle of *Varna* and *Jati*, which together have been holding the Indian society. Dr. Mees goes further to say that *Varna* is a universal principle of social organisation. How rare this understanding of the author is, can be borne out by the fact that the reviewer knows only three Indian sociologists who have similarly comprehended the basic theme of our social structure.

It is within such limits of appreciation that the author's point of view can be objected to. On page 31, he writes in what may be called the key sentence of the book: "A satisfactory solution of any social problem can only be found by idealism, by clarifying the thoughts of the people, by ridiculing superstition, by influencing public opinion. The solution is a psychological one, in the first instance. One must first prepare the ideals and thoughts of those sections of the people that matter and then their customs will begin to change as a natural result of a new mentality." I wonder how far this approach is warranted by the scientific findings of any social change that is occurring today. No, not even India would support that thesis—the India which Dr. Mees has selected for his loving study and Mahatmaji for his idealism and ethical experiments. If even in this country, the political evolution of which has been influenced by the greatest moralist of the world living today, changes take place more under the duress of economic factors in the mass than by stirring appeals of individuals for change of heart, I fail to see how psychological considerations are of 'first' importance, and idealism can solve any problem excepting the academic one.

To a student of sociology the connection between idealism and faith in the elite is well-known. So I am not surprised at Dr. Mees' opinion that "The masses are dangerous. It is the true "Brahmana," the knower of Truth, that must eventually give guidance again, not the *party*-leader who is only a part leader." Is Hitler a "Brahmana," a knower of Truth? Is Mussolini one, Stalin another? Mahatmaji only claims to have made *experiments* with Truth, and he will not call himself a Brahmabid. Yet these men are well-known guides of their country's destinies.

The fact of the matter is that if sociology is going to be a systemic study, it is best to take group behaviour as starting points, as Dr. Mees has done with reference to his interpretation of the Hindu social organisation, and keep such factors as the influence of "noble" leaders, the impulse of ethical ideas and the like, in safe custody, as Dr. Mees has not chosen to do.

DHURJATI MUKERJI

INDUSTRIAL PLANNING—WHY AND HOW: *By Dr. N. Das, Ph.D., I.C.S. Pp. 102. Price Rs. 2.*

In this little book the author has sought to present the main problems facing industrial development in India and has attempted to indicate the lines in which the planning authorities should direct their investigations. The author does not presume to offer any 'plan' for industrial re-organisation in India, but confines himself mainly to the task of explaining to the average man what he should expect from those who may direct their efforts at industrial planning, as distinct from a comprehensive National Planning as has been undertaken by the Indian National Congress.

Among the problems to the solution of which the Industrial Planners in India should, in the opinion of the author, apply themselves are the following:- (1) Raw materials, (2) Capital and financing, (3) Labour—skilled and unskilled, (4) Standard of living and industrial efficiency, (5) Industrial promotion and management, and the availability of organisers and entrepreneurs, and (6) Miscellaneous problems, *e.g.*, power, tariffs, trasport, costs, marketing, industrial and technical education, middle-class unemployment and the due place of the cottage industries. In concluding his analysis of the subject the author observes that industrial planning is a complex affair involving simultaneous and comprehensive attacks on many fronts, none of which can be ignored. He has also emphasised that industrial planning should not involve too much of restrictionism or central control. The aim should be primarily to remove the obstacles in the way of industrial development and to indicate the facts of which advantage may be taken by entrepreneurs and managers of industries.

Dr. Das has evinced a thorough insight into the real problems that should be tackled and the book is undoubtedly a valuable addition to the literature on the subject.

INDUSTRIAL FINANCE IN INDIA: *By Dr. Saroj Kumar Basu, M.A., Ph.D., Lecturer in Economics and Commerce, University of Calcutta. Published by the University of Calcutta. Pp. 436.*

This book is based upon the author's thesis approved for the degree of Doctorate of Philosophy of the University of Calcutta in 1937, revised and brought up-to-date as far as possible. The author has attempted at a comprehensive survey and solution of the main problems of industrial finance in India and with that end in view has examined in some detail the banking policy in some representative countries with regard to industrial financing. In doing so the author has taken immense pains to collect materials and experience at first hand and has produced a work replete with much valuable information.

The author's investigations reveal that Indian industries usually suffer very much due to deficiency in long-term industrial finance chiefly during the development period and at the time of extension, re-organisation and modernisation. The absence of any institution for furnishing long-term loans to industries is considered to be the most serious gap in the financial machinery of the country and the managing agency system can no longer be relied upon for making up the void. The establishment of a special machinery like an Industrial Mortgage Bank for India is therefore recommended for providing the particular type of long-term finance of which Indian Industry stands in urgent need.

Although the conclusion arrived at by the author regarding the establishment of a special machinery for the supply of long-term capital to industries may not find favour with all. Dr. Basu's book will be read with considerable interest and great profit by students and industrialists, bankers and financiers alike. It is very rarely that one comes across such a publication virtually providing a mine of valuable information collected from sources far and wide, and yet thoroughly reliable.

NALINAKSHA SANYAL

THE DELINQUENT CHILD IN INDIA: *By Cliford Manshardt, Director of the Sir Dorabji Tata Graduate School of Social Work, Bombay. Published by D. B. Taraporevala and Sons, Hornby Road, Fort. 1939. Pp. 295. Price Rs. 4-8.*

In this book the writer gives a brief but lucid exposition of the modern conception of Juvenile Delinquency, its causes and its remedies.

The author also reviews the existing laws of India (especially those of the Bombay Presidency) as well as the Procedure of the Juvenile Court in the light of the present-day conception of delinquency and finds them unsatisfactory. He urges their amendment.

This volume should help parents, teachers, social workers and all other interested in child-welfare work to get an adequate knowledge of the subject of Delinquency.

G. PAL

I FOLLOW THE MAHATMA: *By K. M. Munshi, B.A., LL.B., M.L.A. Published by the Allied Publishers, Bombay and Calcutta. 1940. Pp. viii+200. 3 illustrations. Price Rs. 2-8.*

Mr. Munshi is an ardent Liberal. He first came into intimate contact with the Gandhian movement during the Bardoli campaign in 1928. Later on, he joined the Salt Satyagraha and was convicted to a term of rigorous imprisonment. Since 1930, he has been one of the important members of the Congress command; and had thus the opportunity of coming in intimate association with Mahatma Gandhi personally. To Mr. Munshi, Gandhiji has sometimes appeared as an inscrutable man; but after every assault of doubt, events have uniformly proved to him that Gandhiji did exactly the right thing. Gandhiji has, according to the author, been responsible for working a number of changes in our national political life, which are nothing short of miraculous. In private life too, Mr. Munshi has had the good fortune of experiencing Gandhiji's toleration, charity and wisdom in an ample measure. He has therefore decided to surrender himself entirely to the Mahatma's leadership, although every action or intention of his leader is not always comprehensible to him.

Mr. Munshi's book gives us an intimate picture of his own political development as it has been moulded after his contact with the great man. His book also gives us an inside, though often one-sided, picture of Congress developments between 1930 and 1937 at which last date, the body finally decided to accept ministerial office in several provinces. This acceptance has been described by him as "the great experiment."

In spite of a fairly long and intimate association with Gandhiji, Mr. Munshi has succeeded in retaining his old faith in parliamentary activity as a means to advancing the cause of India's freedom. When Gandhiji blessed the parliamentary activity of the Congress, he took it to mean that the latter "had seen in acceptance of the office, the next step in India's march to freedom" (p. 149). This is doubtful; for Gandhiji has recently written in the *Harijan* that during office-acceptance, the non-violence of the Congress was in an

inactive condition; and, as far as we know, it is only through non-violence of the most active kind that Gandhiji dreams of India's march to liberation. The letter quoted by Mr. Munshi on page 126 of his book, lends support to the same view, *viz.*, that office-acceptance never received the approval of Gandhiji as part of his own political programme. Evidently, Mr. Munshi's Liberal tendencies have led him astray in this case; just as they have with regard to two other aspects of Gandhism, which we shall now proceed to discuss.

Mr. Munshi has shown little patience with the "chronic tendency among a class of Congressmen to call upon Gandhiji to lead a forward movement, whatever it may mean" (p. 149). So he feels surprised when Gandhiji says,

"Some of their (Socialists') things are acceptable to us. I think that wherever there are differences of principles, we should point them out and remain quiet. To the extent to which there is no difference, let them go ahead. Why should we not cultivate the confidence that, where there is no difference, their work is not going to go forward?" (p. 133).

Mr. Munshi has missed the revolutionary aspect of Gandhism, and the above statement has merely struck him as a supreme example of the Mahatma's toleration and of his wisdom. But he has failed to appreciate that Gandhiji is himself a radical of a rather extreme kind who has more points in common with Socialists than with Nationalists. In fact, he is a philosophical anarchist, who knows how to shape his steps in conformity with prevailing conditions.

Similarly, the author has not given the due to non-violence and its implications in the Gandhian sense. He comes to the conclusion, "Non-violence, Truth, Non-stealing, Non-spending and Non-possession are, respectively, the inseparable antecedents of power and accomplishment, wealth and vigour, and a true view of life's fulfilment" (p. 159). He also seems disposed to ascribe some sort of magical potency to the observation of these vows, when he says, "when a man has given up all possession, he realizes the how and wherefore of existence, what his place in life is and what his destined goal is. It is Non-possession which gives Gandhiji that clarity of vision which baffles all logic and calculation" (p. 159).

This seems to us to be an entirely wrong view of the case; and, we believe, it is the entire lack of selfishness in Gandhiji's behaviour, his abundant love for all human beings, which have given him the command over men's heart. There is nothing mystic about it; it is only what we experience in our private life, appearing in an extended and enlarged form.

Mr. Munshi's observation on the essential contribution of Gandhiji to modern times, is substantially correct. He says,

"Before Gandhiji came on the scene, Non-violence was never considered anything but a personal attribute to be dreamt of by moralists and achieved by *yogis*. It was left to Gandhiji to say in terms that the Law of Moral causation operates as much through masses of men as through the individual; that groups of men can, by eschewing violence and camouflage, attain unity of thought, word and deed and become capable of corporate purposive conduct of a high order. They can cultivate non-violence not only in conduct, but for swear, anger and malice, while conducting a determined conflict" (p. 162).

But the last chapters of the book on world-value of Gandhism do not appear to us to be very convincing. They fail to take stock of many of the important aspects of Gandhism, nor do they do justice to political developments in the European countries. In any case, the charka as a symbol of decentralization in the economic sphere, as a symbol of bread-labour; the apothesis of work; Gandhiji's idea that the means of production should be communally owned, either by the State or, more preferably, by small village-states; the decentralization of political authority; non-exploitation as a corollary of non-violence, all these important and extremely significant facets of Gandhism have been left entirely out of the picture. Therefore, our submission is that Mr. Munshi's presentation of Gandhism is very partial, and consequently incorrect.

The chief value of the book will however lie in the fact that it is a record of how the Gandhian movement has struck one who is a professed Liberal, and how his ideas have been reshaped under its influence. As such, it will be helpful to students of contemporary political history in India.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

HUMAYUN BADSHAH: *By Dr. S. K. Banerji, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.), Reader in Indian History, Lucknow University. Published by the Oxford University Press. Pp. 284. 1938.*

Akbar's father Humayun, an opium-eater by his own confession, who having tumbled all through life at last tumbled out of it by a fall downstairs from the octagonal tower of Sher-manjil—has of late received due attention of scholars. But none came forward to write a modern biography of Humayun, on account of the exceptional difficulty of the task, and also perhaps frightened by Mrs. Beveridge's warning that only a novelist of the foremost rank and not a hum-drum historian could do justice to a character like Humayun. We admire the courage of Dr. Sukumar Banerji in taking up the challenge.

Dr. Banerji tells us that he has spent fifteen long years of study in India and abroad in compiling this biography of Humayun. The volume under review surveys the career of Humayun till 1540 A.D. in twenty chapters. Though we do not agree with some of his conclusions, we admire Dr. Banerji's attempt at careful evaluation of the data available, and also his fairness to his opponents. He has cleared up many obscure issues of this period of history. Dr. Banerji has convincingly refuted the views of Mrs. Beveridge regarding the conspiracy of Babur's minister. He has also corrected the place name *Dadrah* which was read by Stewart as *Duorah*, and unsuspectingly repeated by the author of Sher Shah. As Humayun had been fair to all persons except to his own self, so his modern biographer, Dr. Banerji has been injudiciously generous to Humayun's enemies like Sher Shah and Bahadur Shah.

A perusal of this biography of Humayun leaves the impression that the author might easily reduce this volume to one half of its size and relegate a considerable portion of pointless parrying with other writers to appendices. Dr. Banerji's logic and literary style have all the merits and defects of those of Humayun himself. It is said Babur once wrote to his son Humayun, "in future write without elaboration, use plain clear words. So will the trouble to thy readers be less!"

We can, however, confidently say that Dr. Banerji's biography of Humayun will hold its own for some time as the standard book on the subject. We should expect the second and more interesting portion of Dr. Banerji's work very soon.

K. R. QANUNGO

SHUJAUDDAULAH : *By Dr. A. L. Srivastava, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt., Dungar College, Bikanir. Pp. viii +313. Price Rs. 5 or 7s. 6d.*

Nawab Shujauddaulah of Oudh has gone down to posterity as a typical, voluptuous and pleasure-seeking 18th century despot. The description of his harem "being filled with wives and concubines to the number of eight hundred" has necessarily stained him with an incredible lust for sensuality and created an impression of his utter imbecility. But the present volume which gives for the first time a detailed narrative of the Nawab's career from his birth till 1765 sets him in a different light. Thanks to the patient researches of Dr. Srivastava, Shuja's tortuous diplomacy, subtle intrigues and active military operations now stand revealed to the world and it is abundantly clear that the Nawab's indulgence in sport and pleasures did not impair his faculties nor did it interfere with the pursuit of schemes of conquest and a vigorous foreign policy.

Succeeding to the *gadi* at the young age of twenty-three, he immediately entered into a contest with Imad for the wazirship and successfully met his hostility by a combination of arms and diplomacy on two successive occasions in 1756 and 1757. During the following years Shuja assumed the dominating role of a peace-maker in the Najib-Maratha and Afghan-Maratha contests. It was, however, after the eclipse of the Marathas in 1761. that Shuja's power rose to its climax; he subdued many of the powerful chiefs of Bundelkhand, and wanted to stamp out the English from Bihar and Bengal. Here his ambition overstepped the limits of his capacity and the shattering defeat at Buxar led to a complete break-down of his power. The volume ends with the spectacle of the Nawab being hunted from place to place and suing for peace with the English.

These interesting facts of Shuja's career have been explored with a multitude of details from the published and unpublished materials preserved in various languages—Persian, Marathi, French, English and Urdu. The author deserves special commendation for tracing with remarkable clarity, the twists and turns of Shuja's policy amidst the ever-shifting scenes of political combination and conflict.

The author's narration of events has been singularly candid; he has neither tried to whitewash nor guy the hero of his theme; all the deeds of the Nawab fair and foul, have been narrated without bias or prejudice. Shuja's brave charge at the battle of Panchpahari and his daring stand in an encounter during the Siege of Patna (p. 202) have been as faithfully portrayed as his double-barrelled policy towards the Marathas and Nawab Mir Qasim.

We think the author is justified in concluding that the arrest of Mir Qasim was not entirely due to Shuja's greed of his wealth; his observation that Mir Qasim "had no intention of seeking the aid of the Marathas, Ruhelas and the Jats" also carries much weight.

There are, however, certain points of interpretation that may not carry general assent, *e.g.*, neither Najib's tact and pan-Islamic appeal nor his melodramatic action (in placing his neck under the dagger) did delude the cold calculating Nawab into an alliance with the Durani Chief, rather the considerations of his self-interest, so well analysed in Sarkar's *Fall of the Mughal Empire II*, 277, dictated his union with the members of the Muslim League.

The author's statement that the Ruhela Chiefs and Shuja did not like to offend the Marathas after "*realising that they were not even at that time (after 1761) a negligible factor in North-Indian politics*" does not seem to be warranted by facts. The surrender of Kora Jahanabad to Maratha hands by Shuja was a master-stroke of policy driving a wedge between his territory of Allahabad and that of his hereditary rival, the Bangash Chief. The characterisation of Shuja as "the first patriotic Indian Prince to throw a challenge to the British" cannot be regarded as anything else than the patriotic rant of the author.

These are, however, only minor criticisms. The volume is really the result of indefatiguable research, and all students, particularly of Oudh history, owe Dr. Srivastava a debt of gratitude.

N. B. Ray

FOOD IN EARLY GREECE : *By Kenton Frank Vickery, Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, Vol. XX, No. 3. Published by the University of Ilinois, Urbana, Illinois, 1936. Pp. 1-97. Price $1.00.*

The present work opens a vista in human culture-horizon which shows what had been the attainments of a particular section of people at a place where the East meets with the West and at a time when history had not supplanted pre-history.

The author's field of enquiry spreads over 'mainland Greece, Macedonia, the Troad, Crete and the other Aegean islands' and refers 'to the time previous to the end of the Bronze Age.' He has put forward the subject of his enquiry in four pointed questions, *viz.*,

1. 'What food products were known to the peoples of the various regions of Aegean in each period of pre-history;
2. What was the relative importance of each sort of food in the diet of those peoples;
3. To what extent food products were articles of trade and transport; and
4. How food was prepared.'

In answering these questions Mr. Vickery has depended on archæological and linguistic evidences—mainly on the former. Actual food materials of different kinds have been unearthed in course of extensive excavations in different parts of the area under consideration. Cereals like wheat and barley were found at numerous sites both of Neolithic and Bronze Age periods and appear to have been cultivated during both these epochs. The author tells us how the use of leguminous vegetables gradually spread from the mainland to the Grecian islands in course of the Metal Age. Fruits of many varieties were eaten, and milk of sheep and goats drunk, either sweet or sour. Shell fish and vertebrate fish also appear in the menu of the Aegean gormand. Hunting was practised more as a pastime than as a means of procuring food. Ladies and gentlemen went to hunt wild boars with spears and arrows and sometimes chariots were used for the purpose. The lariat was known to them.

With regard to the question of trade and transport of food articles, the author is confronted with an insufficiency of data. The existence of trade relations between Egypt and the Aegean he has to prove by deductions and not from concrete evidences which he has utilised in dealing with the first two questions. The section on the preparation of food is rather incomplete and seems to have been hurriedly finished. Some information regarding eating customs, food taboos, and the main processes of cooking would have been interesting. The book ends with a bibliography and an index. On the whole, this little treatise contains valuable information on an important branch of Aegean civilization and the author deserves our thanks for collecting and publishing in a handy form such information scat-

tered in a large number of reports and articles, many of which are not easily available even to the scholars.

T. C. Das

OXFORD PAMPHLETS ON WORLD AFFAIRS.

THE PROSPECTS OF CIVILIZATION: *By Alfred Zimmern. (No. 1).* ..

THE BRITISH EMPIRE: *By H. V. Hodson. (No. 2).*

'MEIN KAMPF': *By R. C. K. Ensor. (No. 3).*

ECONOMIC SELF-SUFFICIENCY: *By A. G. B. Fisher (No. 4).*

AN ATLAS OF THE WAR (15 Maps with Explanatory Texts).

Published by the Oxford University Press. Price 3d. each.

These pamphlets, written by well-known scholars and publicists, discusses within a brief compass some important factors that are closely related to the present war. The titles indicate the subject-matter of each pamphlet. They will be found useful and interesting, though many will differ with the views and statements contained in them.

PICTORIAL BOMBAY: *By E. N. Schaeffer. Published by New Book Company, Kitab Mahal, Hornby Road, Bombay. Pp. 75+40 illustrations.*

YOU WILL FIND IT IN BOMBAY: *By R. J. Mehta, M.Sc., Ph.D. Published by D. B. Taraporevala Sons and Company, 210, Hornby Road, Bombay. Pp. 192. Illustrated. Price annas ten.*

Visitors to Bombay will find these two books useful. The first book, profusely illustrated and nicely printed on art paper, brings before one's eyes the beauty spots and other important places of the island city and in a chatty style gives valuable suggestions to the visitor.

The second book begins with the history and development of the city and gives detail information of everything that is in Bombay, including communication and transport services, recreation centres, rockcut temples, etc. A coloured map showing the tramway service is also enclosed.

Souren De

FREEDOM AND FRIENDSHIP: *By George S. Arundale. Published by the Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras. Pages 602. Price Rs. 3/12.*

This is a beautiful exposition of the central teachings of Theosophy. The heart of theosophy is freedom and friendship. Freedom means 'to know more, to be more and to do more' (p. 218). 'The way of freedom, of friendship, of unity, is a way of Holiness' (p. 251). And "the best Theosophist is not he who can most learnedly expound *The Secret Doctrine* or any other classic work, but rather he who can best draw warring elements of whatever kind together in mutual regard, he who can use his knowledge of Theosophy to make his friendship wise, healing and inspiring, and his freedom true and chivalrous" (p. 314).

The Theosophical Society is unique in demanding no professions from candidates for membership. A candidate for membership is not asked to subscribe to the teachings of Theosophy, 'He may do and believe whatever he pleases.' He may be in goal or out of it (p. 344). But if an individual does not believe in universal brotherhood, 'then, of course, he will not care to become a member of a Society which stands for it' (p. 345).

The ordinary reader of the book would have been immensely benefited if the chapters on *The Secret Doctrine* (chapters 6 and 7) gave more of the doctrine. We are later told (p. 359) that behind *The Secret Doctrine* there is a mass of truth which refuses to be expressed in the existing languages, except perhaps Sanskrit. Still could not we be given a little more than we have been? We admit, however, that whatever has been given in this book, makes a pleasant and attractive picture of Theosophy.

U. C. Bhattacharjee

UNIVERSAL UNCOOKED FOOD: *By B. S. Gopala Rao, N.D.D.DT., a Nature-cure Advocate. Published by the Author from Raj Mahendry. Pp. 220. Price Rs. 3-8.*

The Author gives a description of his past career, his illness and of his continued poor health and how he got over his illness by natural methods of healing. But the success which he achieved did not satisfy him and from natural methods of cure he was drawn to the prevention of disease by taking uncooked food and getting rid of disease by the same method.

The Author holds the view that all diseases are due to our taking cooked food, which he calls unnatural food or dead food. By eating live-food he thinks, health can be assured. The Author has a deep aversion for milk, which, according to him becomes a dead food after it leaves the udder. Even to children he would not give milk.

He advocates the use of nuts, fruits and cereals in raw condition. The main energy producing article in diet would be germinated wheat for which he gives directions for making. The Author is an enthusiast and expects much out of the use of uncooked food. He claims that uncooked food is cheaper than cooked food for a meal and gives a chart showing how a party was kept on his dietary and the comparative cost thereof.

There is much that is sensible in the book with much that is dogmatic which refuses to appeal to a scientific mind. Some systems may respond well to his scheme of dietary but a milkless, uncooked dietary will be a stumbling-block to many. I tried and failed. Gandhiji was attracted to it but I do not think he could stick on to it, as he takes cooked food now. But these failures only indicate that the experiment has to be carried on under the advice of an expert. Unguided, one may not get the results claimed by the author. It is probable that under his guidance, the results claimed may be achieved.

The book is worth reading by persons interested in making dietary experiments.

Satish Chandra Das-Gupta

ENGLISH-SANSKRIT

GITA RAHASYA OR THE SCIENCE OF KARMA YOGA, Vol. I: *By B. G. Tilak. Translated into English by B. S. Sukthankar. Publishers Tilak Brothers, Poona (India). Pp. 618. Price Rs. 6.*

Tilak's commentaries on Gita have enjoyed a wide reputation among all sections of the Indian Public. The present volume is a translation into English of the original Marathi Gita Rahasya. Tilak's discussions on the various topics of the Gita are confined to the first part of the Marathi book; the second part deals with the actual text and its interpretation. The present English edi-

tion also seeks to follow the original in its arrangement. The volume under review contains, besides material found in the original Marathi edition, the publishers' foreword, the opinions on the Gita of prominent personalities like Vivekananda, Annie Besant, Madan Mohan Malaviya, Valentine Chirol, Gokhale, Gandhi, Aurobindo Ghose and others. The translation has been very ably executed and has all the charm of the original. The book is sure to find a good response from English readers.

G. Bose

THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE YOGA-VASISTHA : *By B. L. Atreya, M.A., D.Litt., Assistant Professor of Philosophy, Benares Hindu University.*

This constitutes a 'comparative, critical and synthetic survey of the philosophical ideas as presented' in the well-known work called the *Yogavasistha Ramayana*. The work is divided into two parts. The first part which is introductory ascertains the position occupied by the *Yogavasistha* in the philosophical literature of India, discusses its probable date, gives a bibliographical account of the *Yogavasistha* literature and summarises the stories narrated in the work in illustration of the different philosophical views.

As regards the highly controversial question of the date and the real nature of the work Dr. Atreya assigns it to a date 'before Bhartrihari and after Kalidasa on the ground mainly of its philosophical doctrines' (p. 27). He is of opinion that the influence of the *Yogavasistha* is clearly noticeable in the works of Bhartrihari, Gaudapada, Sankaracharya and others. In the bibliographical account non-reference to the editions and translations of the work published in Bengal, as also to the manuscripts described in the Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts (Vol. V) of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, is rather unfortunate.

The second part which is divided into four sections draws a complete picture of the philosophical outlook of the work and cites elaborate illustrative quotations. The views of the *Yogavasistha* are also elucidated by comparison with those of other thinkers, 'ancient and modern, Indian and Western.'

Critical study of this type is highly useful for a correct appreciation of the value and importance of a work. It serves as a check against the rather too common, hasty and imperfect conclusions based on superficial acquaintance of portions of the work. The work under review will therefore be highly welcome to all students of Sanskrit, especially those who are interested in Indian Philosophy.

Chintaharan Chakravarti

THE UPANISHADS—SELECTIONS, CONTAINING THE TEXTS IN DEVANAGARI, AND ENGLISH TRANSLATION : *Edited by Prof. T. M. P. Mahadevan, M.A., Ph.D. Published by G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras. Price Re. 1-4.*

This book contains selections from the 108 Upanishads. The pieces have been judiciously chosen so as to give the readers some idea of the Upanishadic philosophy. Hence it will be found useful also by the students of Indian philosophy as a handy volume of Upanishadic reference. The translation is literal and easily understandable. The prefatory notes are scholarly and give a summary of the contents of each Upanishad.

Isan Chandra Ray

BENGALI

BRAHMA DHARMA O BRAHMA SAMAJ : *By Satish Chandra Chakravarti, M.A. Published by the Sadharan Brahma Samaj, 211, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Pp. vi+76. Crown 8vo. Price four annas.*

The author of this small book is a minister and missionary of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, and is a reliable expositor of the faith and ideals of the community to which he belongs. Both those who have accepted Brahmoism after arriving at years of discretion and those who are born of Brahmo parents will profit by reading it. Others who are drawn towards Brahmoism should also read it. Fellowship of faiths is an ideal which is being accepted by increasing numbers of persons. In order that that ideal may be followed intelligently, one should have a working knowledge not only of the old historical religions of the world but also of faiths of comparatively recent origin. This booklet will give such knowledge of Brahmoism. Lastly, critics of the Brahmo religion may read it if they wish that their criticism may not fall wide of the mark.

As Brahmos do not believe in any infallible scripture or teacher, this book should not of course be taken as authoritative.

It is divided into five chapters, devoted to the doctrines and beliefs of the Brahmo Samaj, the conduct and domestic and social ideals inculcated by Brahmoism, duty of Brahmos to the Brahmo Samaj, individual and family and congregational worship and prayers suited to different conditions and occasions, and sacraments and rites of the Brahmo Samaj from birth to death.

An English version of the book is desirable.

MA O KHUKU (Mother and Baby), KHUKUR CHHADA (Baby's Rhymes), SAPTA BAICHITRA (Seven Wonders), NAGARDOLA (Merry-go-round) : *By Professor Hemendra Kumar Bhattacharya, M.A. Published by Ashutosh Library, 5, College Square, Calcutta. Prices annas 4, 5, 10 and 6 respectively.*

These four books are meant for little children. Their contents, style, printing and illustrations are such as cannot fail to fascinate them. The coloured pictures on the covers (of thick boards) are very attractive.

GACHHPALAR GALPA (Story of Plants) : *Author and Publisher the same as of the abovementioned books. Price Re. 1-8.*

The author is a professor of botany. He has brought the main scientific facts relating to plants within the reach of boys and girls by telling his story in relation to the life of ordinary plants found in Bengal in an easy and attractive style. The illustrations, which are fine, are all drawn by himself. These help in increasing the readers' knowledge and making it definite.

Though the book is written for juvenile readers, we their elders also would do well to read it. For owing to too much and too early specialization, we educated men do not generally know much about plant life. A perusal of books like this will enable parents to answer many questions which children ask.

ATITER KATHA (Story of the Past) : *Parts 1 and 2, The Earth and Plants; Part 3, Lower Animals; Part 4, Man. Author and Publisher as above. Price Re. 1-4, Re. 1-8, and Re. 1-8 respectively.*

These books are written for juvenile readers. They are written in a popular style without sacrifice of scientific accuracy. They tell the readers how the Solar system and our Earth have arrived at their present condition in the course of evolution, and how the plants as

we find them now and the lower animals and man have evolved and reached their present forms. The pictures really help in understanding the text. They are all neatly printed. Some of the pictures are coloured.

Though written for boys and girls these books also, like the author's story of Plants, would be found profitable and interesting reading by their elders.

X.

HINDI

DHARMA KI UTPATI AUR VIKAS: *By Ramchandra Varma. Published by Jaidev Brothers, Atmaram Road, Baroda. Pp. 270. Price Re. 1-6.*

This is a Hindi translation of Moore's *Birth and Growth of Religion,* published under the *imprimatur* of H. H. Maharaja Sir Sayaji Rao Gaekwad Trust which was founded by the late ruler of Baroda for the express purpose of promoting indigenous literature. The thesis of the book is, that in some form or other religion has always existed in all climes and in all stages of human evolution. For, like the instinct for self-preservation religion, too, it would appear, is the basic law of man's being. As the Maharaja Sayaji Rao said:

"Religion is really a kind of emotion individual to each one of us, and that emotion should be expressed by each one in a manner that is best and most intelligible to him personally."

And this emotion before long, is integrated in "personifying apperception," which, therefore, sees the person behind the phenomenon.

There are eight chapters in the book which deal with the various aspects of religion, such as, gods, spirits, morality, the hereafter, salvation. The translator has done his job very well indeed. His rendering is faithful to the spirit of the original and has a distinct literary quality. It is not heavy reading which is saying much for the nature of the theme is so obstruse and involved.

G. M.

RAMKRISHNA LILAMRIT (VOLS. I & II): *By Pandit Dwarka Nath Tewari, B A., LL.B. Published by Shri Ramkrishna Ashram, Dhantauli, Nagpur, C. P. Pp. 337. Price Re. 1-6 and Re. 1-8*

The subject-matter of the book is apparent from its title. The first volume is a systematic and comprehensive study of Swami Ramkrishna Paramhansa's life In his Foreword, Mahatma Gandhi says that in this age of scepticism, the study of Shri Ramkrishna's life is bound to give a new hope and inspiration to mankind. Further he goes on to say that Shri Ramkrishna's devotion to the Almighty, his material analysis of truth and non-violence and his spiritual love cannot but help us to realise that only God is Truth and everything else is a myth.

The second volume gives a succinct and interesting reading of his enterprises, experiments, Experiences and teachings beginning from his taking to the life of a hermit to that of his illustrious end.

M. S. SENGAR

BHARATIYA RAJNITI KE ASSI BARSH: *By Sir C. Y. Chintamani, translated from original English by Keshav Dev Sharma. Published by The Hindustani Academy, Allahabad. Price Re. 1.*

A translation into simple and lively Hindi of the four lectures which Sir Chintamani delivered in the Andhra University on "Indian Politics since the Mutiny," in 1935. Sir Chintamani's hold over facts is remarkable. Remarkable also is his complete freedom from prejudice which enables him to appreciate the view points of those who do not see eye to eye with him in Politics. Coming from one of our leading thinkers and one who has been a close observer of events and personalities in the political field, this book is a valuable contribution for the students of recent political history of India.

BHARAT KA ARTHIC SOSHAN: *By Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya. Published by The Rashtra Bhasha Mandir, Prayag. Price annas fourteen.*

A translation in Hindustani of Dr. Sitaramayya's book *The Economic Conquest of India or the British Empire, Ltd.* by Sjt. Jagapati Chaturvedi. That the British came to sell their products in India and are now staying on precisely for the same purpose, is the brief thesis of this book. In short but highly informative chapters the author lays bare the economic policy of the British Government in India, which is, to safeguard the continuous exploitation of Indian resources through Taxes, Import duties, Excise, Exchange, and Trade-agreements, to the best advantage of Britain. It is a small but useful book for students of general knowledge.

SOVIAT BIDHAN: *By Rahul Sankrityayan. Published by Mahadeo Prasad, 20, Gopal Nagar Road, Alipur, Calcutta.*

A translation of the New Constitution adopted by the 8th Soviet Congress in 1936, and of Stalin's speech on the occasion. Had the translation been in simple Hindustani instead of in difficult and involved Hindi it would have served the useful purpose for which it was written.

MAHMUD GHAZNAVI: *By Maulvi Mohd. Habib, B A. (Oxon). Translated by Syd. Jamil Hassan. Published by The Hindustani Academy, Allahabad. Price Re. 1.*

The author has tried to clear some of the wrong impressions concerning this great warrior. He was, says the author, neither a 'dacoit' nor the 'Ideal King' which his critics and admirers have made out of him respectively, but a unique warrior of his times gifted with a shrewd military sense and a passion for power. At a time when the religious zeal to spread Islam had subsided and a thirst for power had arisen in its place, Mahmud, prompted solely by this thirst, fought his 30 successful battles in India and outside. It is an interesting study of the man and of the times whose remarkable product he was.

BHISAM SAHNI

KANNADA

KAVYAVALOKANA—A TREATISE IN VERSE OF KANNADA GRAMMAR AND POETICS BY NAGAVARMA THE SECOND, WITH COPIOUS NOTES: *By Prof. S. S. Basavanal and Shri Kepu Narayan. Published by the Karnataka Vidya Vardhak Sangh, Dharwar. Pp. 386. Demy octavo. Price Rs. 2-4.*

It is a happy coincidence for Kannada scholars that within a few months of the publication of a new edition of the Shabdamanidarpana (a book on Kannada Grammar) Kavyavalokana, a fine treatise on Grammar and poetics with notes has appeared in a new and attractive form. The author lived in the latter part of the twelfth century, about one hundred years earlier than Keshiraja, the famous author of the

grammar named above. Kavyavalokana may be said to be the earliest systematic Grammar in Kannada though Nripatunga's Kavirajmarga forestalled this treatise in the matter of poetics. Keshiraja's treatment is certainly more elaborate and exhaustive and original in many respects. The style of this book is simple and lucid.

He has also written Sanskrit Sutras on Kannada Grammar, called Karnataka Bhashabhushana. That book is the forerunner of Bhattakalanka's famous grammar on Kannada, Shabdanushasana which came in the 16th century.

The notes above referred to are modest, and in the words of the writers themselves, are meant more for students than for pundits.

R. R. Diwakar

GUJARATI

SAHITYA : *By Rabindranath Tagore. Translated and Published by Jayantilal Mafatlal Acharya, Raipur, Mehtapol, Ahmedabad. Sole Agents : Gurjar Grantharatna Karyalaya, Gandhi Rasta, Ahmedabad. Pp. 161 +7. Price Re. 1-8.*

Poet Tagore is one of the most distinguished literary artists of the present age. His works have already evoked a wide measure of appreciation throughout the world. But we are inclined to maintain that a true appreciation of Rabindranath may not be possible without a proper understanding of his conception of literature. The dominant note of his august contributions to literature is intense realism suffused with sympathy and love for humanity and a healthy pride for all its virtues. Here is something which enables us to have a peep into the inner self of the Poet.

The book under review comprises of Rabindranath's nine essays on different aspects of literature, translated into Gujarati from the original Bengali by an ex-student of the *Visva-Bharati*. The Poet herein expounds his ideas of literature very lucidly.

Most of these essays were written between 1898 and 1908, thus they bear an imprint of the trend of the Poet's thoughts as reflected in the contemporary Bengali literature during this decade. It was during this decade that he encountered some unusual ups and downs of his life and his courage, patience and perseverance were subjected to repeated trials. The external atmosphere was also disturbed by the storm and stress of the Swadeshi movement of Bengal. All these left a deep impression upon the Poet's mind, which is conspicuously reflected in his writings during this time.

It cannot be gainsaid that literature is a great unifying factor. As such, the translator has not only done justice to his studies and stay at Santiniketan, but has rendered a valuable service to the cause of literature, particularly to Gujarat and the Gujarati-speaking people. In his informative introduction the translator gives an appropriate analysis of the intrinsic merits of the Poet's literary works. We would unhesitatingly recommend this useful and thought-provoking book to Gujarati readers with the belief that they will surely enjoy the book as well as get instruction from it.

M. S. Sengar

RA GANGAJALIO : *By Jhaverchand Meghani. Printed at the Swadhin Printing Press, Ranpur. 1939. Cloth bound. Pp. 248. Price Re. 1-8.*

This novel, depicting the life and end of the last Hindu king—Ra Mandalik of Junagadh—who had to embrace Islam to save his life—is founded on history, and folklore, and reads like a romance. Ra Mandalik's reign was notable for many events. One of them being the test to which he put Narsingh that celebrated poet of old Gujarat, and sincere devotee of Lord Krishna. The episode of Lord Krishna garlanding his devotee Narsingh, who was lying in prison doomed to death by the Ruler unless Krishna appeared and garlanded him, is well-known. Mr. Meghani has narrated Narsingh's life as an attractive folktale. Other incidents of the reign of this king are also attractively set out.

(1) ABAD HINDUSTAN, (2) HINDUSTANI GARIBAI, (3) SHRI BHAGVATISAR : *All three by Gopaldas Jivabhai Patel. Printed at the Navjivan Printing Press, Ahmedabad. 1939. Thick card board. Pp. 244, 201 and 783. Price Re. 1, As. 14 and Rs. 2.*

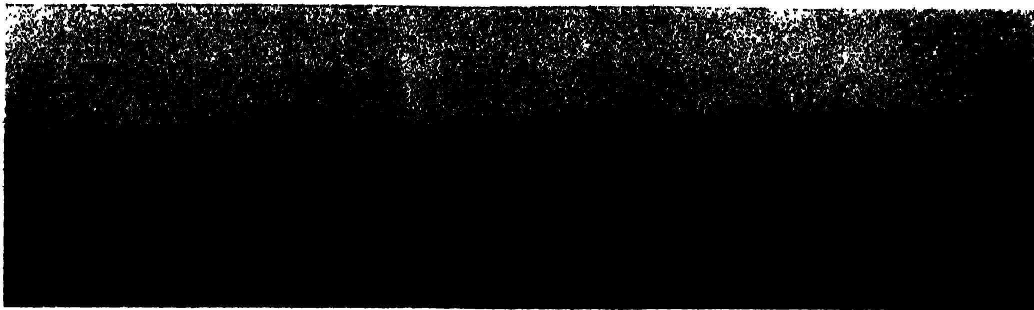
The first book is a translation of Digby's *Prosperous India* and the second of Dadabhai Naoroji's *Poverty and Un-British Rule in India.* Both translations are well rendered and the economic details brought up-to-date. For instance, it is calculated that whereas in 1850 the income *per capita* in India per day was two annas, in 1882 it went down to one anna and a half and in 1900 dwindled down to less than nine pies! The third book is a scholarly translation of a Jain religious classic. Every endeavour has been made to make its very difficult subject easy and popular by means of notes. The Introduction is very informative.

K. M. J.

AUTHORS & PUBLISHERS OF MARATHI BOOKS

Are requested to kindly send books for review *direct* to Mr. Daji Nagesh Apte, B.A., LL.B., Dandia Bazar, Baroda, who has kindly undertaken to review or notice them.—Editor, *The Modern Review.*





Hillocks of salt with *Kyars* in front and wagons standing by to carry the salt

SALT MANUFACTURE AT SAMBHAR

The Largest Salt Source in India

By S. C. GUHA-THAKURTA, M.A.

One has to go to Sambhar to have some idea of the magnitude of the vast undertaking which supplies salt to a large area in Northern India, including Rajputana and the United Provinces. The largest single salt source in India, Sambhar Lake, gives an annual yield of about 70,00,000 maunds of salt; the annual clearance is about the same quantity while an year's production or more is always kept in storage to provide against contingencies. A familiar sight is (one may almost say euphemistically) hillocks of salt called Central Stores, which one has to see to believe.

Situated in the heart of Rajputana, Sambhar lies in a closed depression surrounded by the Aravalli schists. It is about five miles from Phulera, an important junction on the Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railway, and is itself a station of no small importance on this railway. For, it provides a large volume of traffic to the railway and one would notice hour after hour wagons loaded with salt moving out on their outward journey.

A Lake or A Desert

Sambhar town stands on the edge of the Lake, which takes its name after it. One going to the area, say during the hot months, will perhaps get one of the greatest surprises of his life —for there is hardly a drop of water anywhere to be seen. All around him the visitor will see vast expanses of barren ground—saline earth—with not a shred of vegetation and not unoften throwing up mirages which delude the unwary traveller. It could well be called a desert rather than a lake for a large part of the year.

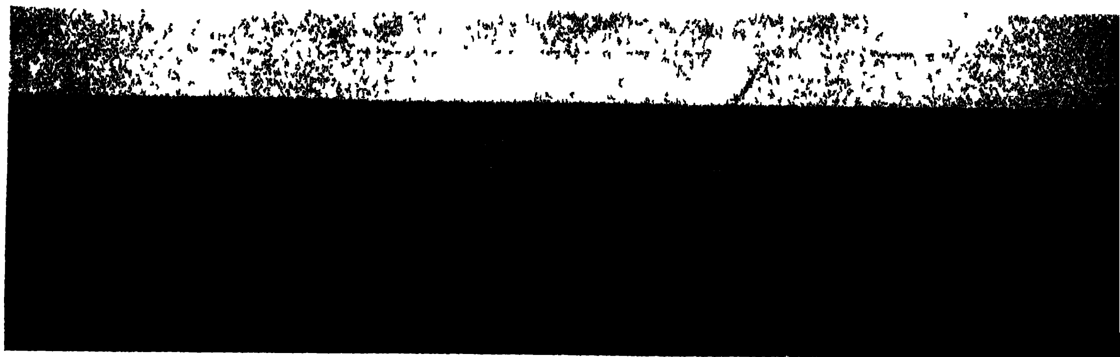
But it is a lake still, though a railway line runs over its bed, with three stations on it. It drains a catchment area of about 2,200 sq. miles and is fed by three main streams which flow for a few days during the rains. Twenty miles long with a width varying from one and a half to seven miles, the Lake has a total area of 90 sq. miles of which 60 sq. miles go under water when the Lake is full. By the end of a normal monsoon the Lake is filled to a depth of two feet, but as soon as the water reaches the requisite density, it is drained off for salt manufacture, and the bed remains dry for a considerable part of the year.

Works Over 30 Square Miles

The salt-works proper now cover nearly 30 square miles of this area. Were it not for mechanical haulage, telephone and electric pumps, this development would have been next to impossible.

The total length of track laid at the Lake is about 37 miles in meter-guage and 13 miles in two feet guage. Nearly 1,500 labourers are employed on the works during busy season.

The entire system of manufacture was examined in 1920 and overhauled at a cost of about Rs. 30,00,000. A dam 12,000 feet long, 10 feet high and 10 feet wide at the top, pitched with dry stones on both sides and ballasted on top, converts a portion of the Lake into a deep reservoir for conserving the brine. The dam



A view of the Sambhar Lake—Desert or Lake ?

carries a meter-gauge track over it. With two canals the dam encloses an area of 5 sq. miles which constitutes the main reservoir. From the main reservoir the brine is drawn off by electrical pumps into smaller reservoirs attached to kyars or collections of manufacturing pans.

There are 14 kyars in four circles into which the whole works are divided. The kyars are permanent and regularly laid out works, consisting of large areas enclosed by mud embankments pitched with stones Within the enclosures regular pans, two to three acres in area, are excavated for holding the brine. Drains connected with pumps are used to charge the pans with brine and to take away the waste brine or bitterns.

Process of Manufacture

To get chemically pure salt the crystallization is restricted to 30° B density of Beaume Hydrometer, for other salts and impurities begin to deposit after this density is reached.

Before charging, the pans are cleansed of impurities and flushed with rainwater or weak brine. They are then charged with good density lake brine conserved in reservoirs and condensers. The depth of the brine in the pans is so regulated as to give about 12 inches at the saturation point (25°B). Salt is then allowed to deposit up to 30°B density, and from time to time the supply is replenished with high density brine till a crust of four to six inches thick is developed. Extraction generally starts in March or April and extends over a period of nearly two to four months. The salt is heaped in the pans after it has been washed in the mother liquor. The bitterns are then completely drained off.

In addition to the crystal salt thus manufactured, another product obtained is the *reshta* or snow-white fine salt which forms spontaneously along the edges of the pans charged for crystallization. As the wind blows about the brine held in the pans, this fine powder is precipitated along the edges.

Subsoil Brine Supply

In times of deficient rainfall the subsoil brine supply is also exploited. Last year when there was less rainfall than usual and the accumulation of brine in the lake was not adequate to the needs of manufacture, a number of pans with subsoil brine wells for charging were dug. The brine from the wells is lifted by a simple contrivance in buckets and thrown into the pans to deposit salt crystals, which are extracted in several crops.

A problem in manufacture is the elimination of what is locally called 'nil,' and algal growth which imparts different colours to the brine at various stages of condensation. At a certain stage of density the 'nil' is usually separated out and comes up on the surface of the brine in a thick scum when it can be removed by manual labour, but when present in harmful and excessive quantities, it tends to remain in solution during the crystallization period. The brine is generally pink or red, and there is a tendency for the salt to get discoloured, but manufacturing operations are directed towards avoiding such contamination as far as possible.

There are some allied salts also present in the lake brine, the chief of which are sodium sulphate and sodium carbonate. These with the bitterns and the waste brine are thrown away, and an amazing thing has happened in the area, which for years and years has been receiving these waste products.

Ready Made Salt From Bitterns

An average sample of bitterns shows in its composition 19.32 per cent of sodium chloride or common salt to 9.92 per cent of allied salts, the remainder being water. In view of this high percentage of common salt, attempts were made

SALT MANUFACTURE AT SAMBHAR



The Central Stores with wagons standing by



Getting together salt from manufacturing plant



Salt for the mere scraping—huge deposits in waste area



In the bitterns area—loading salt in the wagons



In the bitterns area—heaping salt for the wagons to carry to the Central Stores









In the bitterns area—gathering salt



Breaking up salt hillocks

from time to time, on an experimental scale, to recover the sodium chloride contents of the waste product, but the research remained inconclusive. With normal monsoon, lake brine is available in sufficient quantity to yield the required output for the season, and no need was ever felt to look about for some other means of production until lately when deficiency in rainfall for the last two years has been causing anxiety.

Recently, an examination was made of some samples of the natural deposits in the bitterns areas to find out how far it was possible to get caustic soda from the bitterns salt on a commercial scale. Investigations showed that there was in the bitterns salt a large percentage of sodium chloride varying between 76.5 and 99.

Ordinarily, after the rains, the bitterns area has brine in it, but this year, owing to deficient rainfall, the whole of the deposits lay exposed and exploration led to the discovery beneath one-inch to two-inches thick crust of impure salt of a regular layer of crystal salt of good quality about three inches in thickness, which could be had for the mere scraping. Washed with condensed brine, the salt thus obtained has been found to attain a purity, which physically and chemically compare very favourably with the ordinary salt manufactured or mined in India or imported from abroad, the percentage of sodium chloride varying between 95 and 99.

Large Quantities Expected

Enormous quantities of salt are available from this waste area, if all things go well. For two years past, deficiency in rainfall has been a source of anxiety to the salt authorities, but now their anxiety is the other way about. They are anxious to collect and garner such of this precious find as they possibly can before the rains start. They are working at top speed, but do not expect to be able to extract more than 40,00,000 maunds of salt before the season is out. This is one of the most remarkable discoveries in Sambhar Lake since salt manufacture started, the possibilities of which are yet not fully known.

From Pans and Kyars to the Stores

The Salt authorities have their own trucks and hire out a few more from the railway authorities with which they convey the salt from the pans to their stores. For, the vast area over which work is carried out, mechanical haulage is a necessity and a loco is hired to do the haulage, though, of course, hand labour is also not excluded.

There are seven stores, each consisting of what one may well call hillocks of salt, left in the open to wash in the rains and dry in the sun till the pure crystal is obtained. For the clearance of salt a system of rotation is followed, so that while storage goes on one side of the stores, clearance proceeds on the other. This enables the season's output to be stored separately and also a watch to be kept on the results of clearance from the different stores. Movable railway sidings are used to bring the salt to the stores, while there are permanent sidings by the stores, where wagons wait to receive the salt bags and carry them to their destinations.

Taken Over in 1870

This vast development in manufacture has only been of recent growth. Prior to 1870 when the Government of India took over the Lake, the system of manufacture and storage was crude and primitive. On the bed of the lake and as near the shore as convenient, large enclosures over 300 to 400 sq. ft. were made to retain the lake brine before it receded to the centre. The retaining walls were made of mud and wooden stakes, and the salt formed was



Pumping brine into the supply canal to be used in salt manufacture

removed to the localities of consumption on carts, camels and pack animals. In all, there was an area of about 411 acres of lake-bed utilized for crystallization of salt and the quantity extracted did not exceed 3,00,000 maunds of salt.

On the south edge of the Lake about 14 miles south-west of Sambhar, there is a hillock called the "Mata Pahari," with a temple of a Hindu goddess. The local traders offer prayers every year to the goddess to continue her favour and to give them a prosperous trade in salt. A fair is held annually at the place.

Local Tradition

Local tradition has it that there was a dense forest where now the Lake is. About 1,400 years ago, in 540 A.D., a Chowhan Rajput, Manik Rai by name, who lived in a village called Sirthulla on the margin of the depression and used to graze his cows in this forest, observed one day that one of the animals had returned home dry. Manik Rai kept watch the next day and found that the cow went to the cave temple of the goddess mother Sakambari (the consort of Shiva), the tutelary goddess of the Chowhan Rajputs, on a conical hill on the western edge of the plain, which still exists and is known by the name of "Mata Pahari". There the cow milked herself into the brass vessel of an ascetic who sat motionless at the shrine absorbed in contemplation.

The cow returned to the herd, but Manik stayed back and stole up unperceived to the holy man. After a while, the ascetic removed a charm from his mouth, and placing it on the ground, commenced drinking the milk. Manik Rai instantly picked up the amulet, and by its virtue visited in spirit the sacred places of Hindu pilgrimage in a moment; but as soon as the ascetic had finished his drink, he gave him back the charm. The holy man, who now saw the stranger for the first time, was pleased with his honesty and desired him to keep the amulet. Manik, however, declined with thanks. More surprised than ever, the ascetic asked him to present himself before the goodess for a favour. As Manik reverently approached the shrine, the goddess created a horse and bade him mount and ride, but warned him not to look back.

Manik Rai mounted and rode, taking a circuitous course, and as he passed along, the forest disappeared and the plain became covered with solid silver. By evening when he had done about 50 miles, the branch of a tree caught his turban. He turned to set it free, foregetting for a moment the goddess's warning. The horse stopped instantly and refused to go further and Manik came back.

The Doubtful Gift

Next morning the villagers found, much to their awe, a vast plain of beautiful silver and collecting in knots, sought fearfully from each other the meaning of the strange sight. Manik told them his adventure. But the wise men of the village apprehending that the plain of precious metal might be an apple of discord rather than a blessing, insisted that Manik should go back and request the goddess to take back her gift. The goddess replied that from real silver the plain would be transformed into one of apparent silver, and it instantly became a vast

sheet of water. The villagers remained ignorant of the value of the lake till some time later when an officer of position passing by the lake, noticed the formation of crystals of salt in the water. He had himself appointed to the charge of the place, in order that he might manufacture salt.

A family now residing at the lake still claim to be the descendants of this personage.

One need not believe the story, but there it is. Any way, it indicates the date about 1,400 years ago, when the lake assumed historical importance as a source of salt supply. After seeing many changes it finally came into the joint possession of Jodhpur and Jaipur States.

In 1870, the Government of India took lease of the lake from the Jodhpur and Jaipur States. Under the agreements made the Government were authorised to manufacture salt at the lake on payment of royalty and compensation. Royalty is payable only to the Jodhpur and Jaipur States, and is based on the quantity of salt cleared every year, over and above a fixed quantity of 17,25,000 maunds. The amount is calculated on 40 per cent of the selling price and is distributed between the two States in the ratio of 5 to 3. The amount of payment therefore, varies from year to year, but the average is about Rs. 5,00,000 annually. The total sum paid as compensation to these and other States is Rs. 27,00,000 a year.

Theories of Salt Contents

There are various theories to account for the salt contents of the lake. According to one, the foundation of the bed of the lake is rock salt, while another would have it that the salt is obtained from subterranean saline springs hidden under the mass of silt which forms the bed of the lake. According to a third, the salt is brought as fine dust by the south-west monsoon from the Runn of Kutch and sea coasts, and is dropped in the interior of Rajputana when the velocity of the wind passing over it goes down. The fourth theory is that the lake derives its salinity from the denudation of the rocks of the surrounding country. It is surmised that the catchment area is more or less impregnated with salt and comes up in a sort of efflorescence which is swept into the Lake by the feeder streams.

The theory most favoured is that the deposits of salt are contained in the bed of saliferous silt, which stretches over the whole bed of the lake and is 10 to 20 feet deep round the shore and about 70 feet in the centre. After the rains when all brine in the lake is drawn off, and its bed of about 60 sq. miles of moist mud is exposed to the sun, evaporation of water left in the mud takes place. The brine from below is then raised by capillary attraction and evaporates at the surface, resulting in a spongy layer of salt which attains a thickness of 4 to 6 inches before the monsoon breaks.

Curiously enough, though the whole area is one vast expanse of salt flats, if one digs on the margin of the lake, one gets fresh water.

Devayani's Place

There are some temples in the immediate neighbourhood where pilgrims come from far and near. According to local tradition, this is the place where Sukra, the great Acharya, or preceptor of the Daityas, had his hermitage and where his daughter Devayani sought the love of Kacha, the son of Brihashpati, the preceptor of the Devas, who had become Sukra's disciple to learn of him the great secret which would kill the Daityas and bring victory to the Devas who had been expelled from Heaven. Intent upon his mission, Kacha controlled his feelings and politely refused Devayani's advances. Needless to say, consistent with the great principle that knowledge is not to be denied to those who seek it and work for it, Sukra knowingly gave the secret which ultimately brought about the downfall of his disciples and restored the Devas to their lost domain. Even to this day a part of the locality is known as Deodani.

There is a *kunda* or tank at the place, which is credited with having had in the olden days marvellous properties of curing leprosy. A story has it that a prince afflicated with the disease, came to the *kunda* guided by divine agency, and was cured of his malady after he had a dip in its sacred waters.

INDIA'S BALANCE OF TRADE AND MOVEMENT OF TREASURE

By SISIR KUMAR ROY, M.A.

Long-standing Favourable Balance of Trade

A careful study of the economic history of India, ancient, medieval and modern, brings out the fact that India had all along a favourable balance of trade and she used to import gold and precious metals in heavier quantity from foreign countries as a result of her commercial transactions with them. This tendency to absorb treasure was visible in the mercantile activities of India up to the third decade of the present century. The opening of the fourth decade, accompanied by the worst effects of international trade depression, reversed the character of India's foreign trade and she was forced to relinquish gold in considerable quantities. The demand for gold as the unfailing source of economic power on the part of many progressive Western countries, artificially inflated the price of gold and induced India to part with it. The result has been that an undue pressure is being exerted against the maintenance of the exchanging ratio of Indian rupee at 1s. 6d.

About the characteristic drain of gold to ancient India in her commercial intercourse with other countries, Prof. Taussig writes :

> "In the trade between the West and the East and especially between Europe and India as far back as we have any definite knowledge about it, the merchandise sent by the East has exceeded in money value that sent in return from the West. A balance has remained steadily due to Eastern countries and has caused a steady flow of gold and silver....to go to them in payment of the balance....Hence specie flows steadily to the East. This is the meaning attributed to Pliny that India is a sink of precious metals....Elsewhere a large inflow will raise prices; this will tempt imports and check exports; then the flow of specie in payment for exports will cease. But in India the response of prices to increasing specie is slow indeed."

During the Moghul rule this drain of gold to India continued. In this connection Moreland in his book, *From Akbar to Aurangzeb*, observes:

> "The most conspicuous feature of Indian commerce was the absorption of the precious metal....In the words of William Hawkins—India is rich in silver, for all nations bring coin, and carry away commodities for the same; and this coin is buried in India, and goeth not out."

In the transactions of the East India Company during the seventeenth century, the export of gold to India figured prominently. In the words of Prof. S. A. Khan, "the total amount of bullion exported by the Company (£812,516) in 24 years may not seem large at the present time...." Dr. Parshad in *Some Aspects of India's Foreign Trade* has stated, "On the side of imports into India, bullion, particularly silver, formed the most important item."

Movement of Treasure in Indian Commerce During the Present Century

Let us consider the movement of gold or treasure in Indian commerce during the present century. The annual average import of Treasure into India during the first decade was worth 25·82 m. £ or 38·73 crores of rupees, whereas the export of Treasure from India averaged per year at 6·39 m.£ or 9·58 crores of rupees. Thus it is evident that in the first decade India still preserved the old tendency of draining gold and precious metals from foreign countries. This excess import of Treasure is explained by the fact that the Grand Total of India's exports on an annual average registered 159·65 crores of rupees in the first decade whereas that of imports stood at 112·25 crores. It is to be noted in this connection that the Grand Total includes the value of merchandise and of treasure. In the second decade, on the other hand, the level of Treasure import on yearly average fell to 14·38 m.£ or 20·66 crores of rupees, while the export figure rose to 6·53 m.£ or 9·80 crores of rupees. The Grand Total of India's exports in this decade averaged 239·87 crores while that in the case of imports recorded 193·90 crores. In the third decade, too, the excess of the import of Treasure over its export was very heavy, as the former on annual average reached 4·68 crores while the latter showed such a low level as 4·53 crores. The divergence between the average Grand Total of exports and that of imports was also great, as the total exports were valued at 312·05 crores whereas the total imports claimed 233·91 crores. With the commencement of the fourth decade, however, the age-long tendency of India to import Treasure in excess disappeared; she betrayed a persistent tendency towards heavy export of Treasure. In the first seven years of the fourth decade, the annual average export of Treasure jumped up to the level of 51·60 crores of rupees whereas the size of the import fell so low as to realise a value of 6·43 crores,

Another striking phenomenon corresponding to this is that the Grand Total of the export of merchandise on annual average fell down to the level of 160·66 crores while that of imports stood at 134·9 crores. Another thing to be noted in this connection is that in the first decade the excess of Indian exports over imports recorded 47·40 crores, that in the second and third decades 45·97 and 48·14 crores respectively, while the similar excess in the first seven years of the fourth decade dwindled to 25·76 crores of rupees. The one inevitable conclusion from all the foregoing investigations is that India has all through the ages a favourable balance of trade. But it is to be borne in mind that this favourable balance is in respect of the visible items of import and export. Apart from these visible items there are also certain invisible items and the intrusion of some such invisible items of import turns India's balance of trade into an unfavourable one and has of late induced a heavy drain of gold.

IMPORTANT INVISIBLE ITEMS IN INDIAN IMPORT

Home Charges. Now we proceed on to the discussion of certain important invisible items in Indian import. The first item to engage our special attention is what is known as "Home Charges". Home Charges stand for the expenses incurred in England by the Government of India for the sake of Indian administration. These Charges are, so to say, perpetual in character and they are to be met by India for the generous guardianship exercised by Britain over India, and there is no prospect of their being liquidated at any time so long as British administration continues in India. The principal items in Home Charges may be enumerated as follows: Interest on Ordinary Debts; Salaries & Expenses of Civil Department together with Miscellaneous Civil Charges including Superannuation Pensions and Allowances; Railway Revenue Accounts including Annuities and Interest on Debts; Army, both Effective and non-Effective. On an inspection of the figures relating to these items it will be found that 'Railway Accounts' grasps the major portion ranging to 40 per cent of the total; then comes Army claiming near about 25 per cent; then the cost of Civil Department. Pension and Allowances; after that we get the item of 'Interest on Ordinary Debts' involving 15 per cent of the total charges.

Variations of Home Charges During the Four deceades. Let us now study the annual average of Home Charges decade by decade. In the first decade of the present century, the average figure stood at 29·14 crores; then it proceeded to 32·73 crores in the second; in the third decade the average was recorded at 23·38 crores of rupees while in the first seven years of the fourth it progressed to 26·79 crores. Thus the limits of variation in case of the annual average of India's Home Charges lie between 20 and 35 crores. In other words, it may be said that the cost for British administration per head of the population of India, so far as payments in England are concerned, is one rupee. Apart from these charges, the Civil and Military Services in India cost a good deal, when payments made in India are taken into account.

Other Invisible Imports. In addition to the Home Charges, there are other invisible items of import for which India has to pay by her excess of merchandise exports. In the case of both exports and imports, in the absence of any merchant marine service of India herself, freight charges are to be paid to shipping companies most of which are British in origin. Allied to this item of freight charges is the payment made by India for marine insurance, for imported articles are mostly insured with foreign companies. Quite akin to this is another charge which includes Bankers' Commission, etc., which is to be paid for the services rendered by foreign Exchange Banks in connection with the financing of India's foreign trade.

Y. S. Pandit in his book *India's Balance of Indebtedness* has observed in regard to the above invisible items of Indian import:

> "We see that freight and insurance charges together on India's coastal trade amount to 5 per cent of the coastal imports. Prof. Findlay Shirras has estimated 15 per cent of the freight and insurance charges as payment for finance, insurance and other commission charges. By using his estimate we calculate the percentage of pure freight charges to import values at 4·25."

As regards marine insurance charge the same author remarks:

> "In 1882 Sir Robert Giggen calculated the earnings of these concerns at 2·5 per cent of the total of Great Britain's import and export trade. Prof. Findlay Shirras after careful inquiries has brought down the estimate for India at 1·5 per cent; 0·5 per cent for insurance charges, 0·25 per cent for banker's commission and bill stamps, and 0·75 per cent for other minor charges."

In order to vivify the picture of the invisible imports of India other than Home Charges, it is proper to cite certain concrete figures. The total value of imports in 1937-38 was 173·78 crores; according to Pandit's principle freight charges would amount to 4·25 per cent of this total, *i.e.*, these would approximate 7·39 crores of rupees. The insurance charges, etc., on these imports would come up to 2·61 crores.

Apart from the above elements of invisible imports, directly connected with import transactions, there are also other items. Firstly, take the case of the Sterling Remittances of the Government of India. Then we have postal money-orders sent abroad either by private individuals or by companies. Again, transfers of money are taking place from banks in India to their foreign correspondents or their main offices at international monetary centres in the form of drafts. A large amount of foreign capital is invested in India in the form of Government securities and in shares and bonds of well-established business firms in India. V. K. R. V. Rao in his book *An Essay on National Income, 1925-29,* repeats his investigations published in the *Economic Journal,* March 1932, that

"the total estimated amount of foreign capital in India is a little less than £600 millions. Of this £330 millions formed the sterling debt of the Government of India. The amount of foreign capital invested in private firms and institutions is a little more than £250 millions. If we apply to this figure an average rate of profit of 8 per cent we get £20 millions or Rs. 26·70 crores."

A greater part of this sum must be considered to be the obligation that India has to discharge by means of so-called favourable balance. Over and above this, the remittances abroad of foreigners resident in this country may be taken at Rs. 18 crores in the opinion of Rao. The last item that may be mentioned in this connection is the payments made for the education of Indian students in foreign land and also those coming from Indian tourists, visitors and health-seekers staying abroad.

Invisible Exports. On the export side, too, we have certain invisible items, but these are not of considerable importance when compared with the visible elements. Indian emigrants in Ceylon, Africa, Burma, etc., send a part of their earnings to their native places by postal money-order or other system of remittance. Again, there come a regular band of tourists from America to our country and spend a good deal of money in collecting curios. These curios thus form a part of Indian exports in a wider sense. Yet, such invisible exports are quite negligible when compared to the huge amount of invisible imports which at the lowest possible estimate realise a value of more than 40 crores. The favourable balance of trade, showing excess of India's exports over her imports, described previously, is nothing but an attempt on the part of India to meet her invisible obligations which rarely fall below 40 crores of rupees.*

* Statistics relating to India's foreign trade have been collected from the *Sea-Borne Trade of British India,* Vol. I & II, from 1200 to 1938-39, and the figures regarding Home charges have been reproduced from the Financial and Revenue Accounts of the Government of India for the four decades of the present century.

EDUCATIONAL EFFORTS IN SATARA

By L. N. RAO

SATARA is an ancient town and is of historical interest. It was the capital of a Mahratta kingdom and has many proud associations of chivalrous and glorious wars fought for the sake of Hindu freedom. One feels a thrill as one beholds the lofty citadel of the proud Mahratta kings, out-topping a hill behind Satara town. A hundred thousand thoughts, all vague and inexpressible, about India that was and is no longer, throng upon the mind of the visitor, as the citadel appears before his vision from a distance of a few miles from the town. Salutations to you, O! Heroes of Maharashtra !

In this old town, where every ruined wall has an inspiring story to tell us, it is fitting that a big institution imparting education on national lines has been started. Sjt. Bhaurao P. Patil, belonging to a Jain peasant family of Satara district, is the soul of this institution. With commendable patience and vision, he has been working since 1924 to make the institution what it is today. He is a popular social worker of long-standing and was known for his welfare activities long before 1924. Sjt. Patil has no University education to boast of, but he inherits the rich qualities of the Indian peasant at his best. He possesses practical wisdom, good capacity for organisation, a strong will and keen enthusiasm and love for practical nation-building work.

Sjt. Patil's institution has the following branches :

1. SHRI CHHATRAPATI SHAHU BOARDING HOUSE

This was started in 1924 with only one Harijan student as a boarder. In 1927 it was consecrated by Mahatma Gandhi in a small

house, belonging to Sjt. Patil, which was given as a gift to the Boarding. It was named after the late Maharajah of Kolhapur, Shri Chhatrapati Shahu, who loved Patil's activities. Today in this boarding there are nearly four hundred students, living together for a common purpose, —that of receiving education. There we have people practically of all communities. The despised untouchable Mang or Mahar lives as a brother on terms of equality with other students here. He is no longer the despised untouchable. The Muslim boy also, lives here and finds it a congenial home. There is no question of "Hindu-Pani" or "Mussalman-Pani" here! It is a single indivisible Home. The Christian boy too shares the life of his Hindu and Muslim brethren. Rahimtullah, a tiny Muslim boy of six or seven years, just learning the alphabet, is the pet of all the inmates and little John bakes bread to serve his Hindu and Muslim brethren!

The inmates study in the following classes:

		Boys
(a) High School Classes	..	80
(b) Industrial School	..	2
(c) Rural Training College :—		Students
1st Year Class	..	30
2nd Year class	..	25
(d) English, Classes I to VII	..	137
(e) Marathi, Classes Infant to VII	..	116
Total	..	388

They are by caste and community as follows:

Mahrattas	..	133
Dhangars or Shepherds	..	13
Weavers	..	7
Tailors	..	5
Barbers	..	2
Gardeners	..	2
Lingayats	..	6
Guravs	..	3
Sonar	..	1
Washermen	..	3
Sali	..	4
Carpenters	..	2
Koli	..	3
Brahmin	..	5
Baniya	..	1
Kumbhar	..	7
Bhoi	..	1
Rajput	..	1
Depressed Class Boys :—		
Mahars	..	75
Mangs	..	30
Chambhars	..	18
Dhor	..	4
Ramoshi	..	8
Kaikadi (tribals)	..	4
Vaddar	..	1
Nat	..	1
Jains	..	17
Christians	..	12
Muslims		14
Others		6
Total		388

Excepting the 80 students of the High School who have a separate kitchen and lodging, all the other 308 dine together. But they are lodged in five places as follows:

		Students
1. Main Boarding at the common mess	..	156
2. In Sjt. Patil's house, which is now a property of the Boarding	..	30
3. In three rented buildings, total monthly rent for them being about Rs. 70;	(a)	30
	(b)	42
	(c)	50
Total		308

All the five buildings are within a radius of half a mile and so the boarders need not have to walk a long distance for meals. The main Boarding is situated in a garden of 10 acres, just on the out-skrits of the town. This is leased out from the Maharajah of Satara, a Zamindar, on an annual rent of Rs. 600. It is an historical spot. There is a big well, beautifully paved with stones on its sides, which was built by Pratap Shiv Maharaj, the last independent King of Satara, who was later captured by the British and kept a prisoner. Sjt. Patil points out to a dais, in the middle of the garden, where formerly stood a building, but which was demolished, and where during the days of the "Mutiny" in 1857 there was a 'conspiracy' on the spot, as a result of which 15 persons were hanged by the British.

There are no beautiful buildings for the hostel. It is all one long row of rooms with corrugated iron-sheets roofing, a thin brick wall at the back along some length only and the other sides being covered with some thatch. Sjt. Patil tells the visitor that his boys have lived in this *katcha* line quite comfortably all these years. Indeed the boys are quite happy there. One can see groups and groups of them playing beneath the ancient trees and their merry chatter falls soothingly on one's ears.

Not a single servant is employed! Every bit of the work is done by the boys and boys alone. Food is prepared for all the inmates by batches of boys of 15 each per day. One superintendent and his two assistants supervise the work of the boys and issue provisions. The five teachers of the Practising Primary School, which is attached to this main Boarding, live with the boys in addition to the Superintendent and his two assistants. Each teacher sleeps in the room where the boys of his class sleep. True to the ideal of our ancient Gurukul sys-

tem, all the inmates rise up from their beds long before dawn and the sweet melody of their prayer song in Marathi sung in that quiet and godly hour is charming and is heard and loved by the people of the neighbourhood. The boys have no bedsteads, but lie on Swadeshi carpets spread on the floor. Thus they are being trained in that great school, the school of poverty and simplicity.

The food expense of this Boarding commend themselves to all organisers of similar institutions. The cost per head does not exceed Rs. 3/- per month. No ghee and milk are given, as the boys do not get the same even in their homes. Rice and bread (bakri) with dal and vegetable are supplied twice a day for all grown-up boys, while for very young boys two loaves of bread are given in addition to the two meals, once in the morning and another time in the afternoon. The management deserves credit for doing this work so economically and well. Last year's total expenditure of this boarding was Rs. 18,000.

Of the present number of 388 boarders, 86 pay their full expenses from their own pockets, another 62 also pay their full expenses, as they are Government scholars, 110 pay half their expenses only and 130 are free boarders.

2. PRACTISING PRIMARY SCHOOL

Attached to the main boarding, this school serves two purposes; namely (1) as a Marathi Primary School and (2) as a Practising School for the Rural Training College. There are five teachers in this school,—one of them is a Harijan. There are 47 Harijan boys out of the total strength of 205 boys and girls. In this school day-scholars are also admitted for the convenience of the people of the neighbourhood. In the evenings, sometimes the senior boys hold classes and teach their juniors, because the latter feel more at home with their seniors than with their teachers and thus learn with less effort. Spinning has been recently introduced in this school. Children ply the Charkha and they have made progress in this matter. Sjt. Patil, peasant as he is, wants to give an agricultural bias to the education imparted in this school. So he makes the boys work in the ten-acre garden, where vegetables for all their needs and even crops are grown. In Satara even in the Government High School the students are taught a little about agriculture.

3. PRIMARY EDUCATION IN THE DISTRICT

Satara is a backward district. The western portion of it is hilly and undeveloped. Sjt. Patil grasped the crying need of the villages of the district for primary education and in the year 1938 an opportune moment came to him. The Congress Government of Bombay began to encourage primary education of rural parts by giving large amounts of grant to private bodies carrying on rural education work. Sjt. Patil started rural schools in 1938 and in these two years he has been able to establish 188 registered primary schools, spread over the whole district. Twelve more are to be opened soon.

Before starting a school in any village, Sjt. Patil takes a written promise from the villagers to the effect that they would admit Harijan children on terms of equality with all other children. Another condition imposed upon the villagers is that they should construct a school-house or shed at their own cost. In some villages the school is held in the village temple and even there Harijan children are admitted without discrimination. Two or three Muslim teachers are conducting their rural schools in the Hindu temples without any hitch. Sjt. Patil speaks of these things with much pride and joy.

The Bombay Government gives grant to all the 188 registered schools. Last year a sum of Rs. 22,370 was received as grant from Government.

The administrative staff of this rural education scheme consists of one administrative officer, who is a graduate, on a salary of Rs. 40/- p.m., three supervisors on a salary of Rs. 15/- p.m. per head plus a daily allowance of Rs. 0-1-9 for the days on tour and two peons on Rs. 5/- p.m. per head. The supervisors, on their visit to villages, are required to dine with the parents of the school-children and thus cultivate their acquaintance. They are strictly prohibited from taking any provision or supplies from the teachers.

This administrative staff seems to be working efficiently. Files and accounts are maintained carefully and well. The history and conditions of each of the villages where rural schools are started are carefully studied and recorded.

The teachers' salary ranges from Rs. 10/- to Rs. 12/-. In the case of villages for which no postal conveniences exist, the Administrative officer goes in person to disburse the salaries to the teachers, gathering them in convenient groups at central villages. In the first year, books and slates are supplied to all children free of cost.

Thus these 200 schools, run by a non-official body, are promoting primary education and are augmenting the efforts of the Local boards in the spread of education in villages. These 200 schools provide schooling on the average at least for 5,000 pupils.

4. SILVER JUBILEE RURAL TRAINING COLLEGE

Facilities for the training of primary school teachers are very few in Maharashtra. About half the number of teachers employed by the Local Boards are untrained. In some cases, even after ten years' experience they are not sent to Training Colleges. A trained teacher is at any time preferable to the untrained. Also, a trained one earns a couple of rupees more than the other.

At the time of the Silver Jubilee of His Late Majesty George V, Sjt. Patil started a Rural Training College with only five students on the roll. In the second year there were 20 students, in the third year 40 students and in the fourth 160. Today the number on the roll is 200. Thus it has been progressing rapidly.

It provides a two-years' course and there are now five sections on the whole, two of the 1st year class and three of the 2nd year class. This year 20 Harijans have been admitted for training. The untrained teachers of the rural schools run by Sjt. Patil are given preference at the time of the admission. The Deccan States and the Local Boards also are sending their employees for training in this College.

The College is conducted in a rented building, the rent being Rs. 40/- p.m.

Examination results of this College have been very good. Last year it secured 92% passes in the Examination conducted by the Provincial Educational department. At the head of this College there are two highly qualified persons. The Principal, Sjt. K. S. Dixit, is a retired Educational Inspector and is an intelligent old gentleman. He is an honorary worker. The Vice-Principal, Sjt. Sukthankar, is a T. D. of Edinburgh University and is an active young gentleman. They are both taking keen interest in the welfare of this College.

Last year the College received a grant of Rs. 1,300 only from the Government. Altogether, the Government has paid this College only Rs. 3,000 since its starting. But in coming years it is expected that grant will be paid on 50% basis.

5. SIR SAYAJIRAO FREE AND RESIDENTIAL HIGH SCHOOL

This High School, named after the great patriot Prince Sir Sayajirao, the late Maharajah of Baroda, was started only a few weeks ago in June 1940. Sir Sayajirao had visited Satara and Sjt. Patil's institutions in 1933 and had appreciated the work of Sjt. Patil. It is proper that the High School is named after a pioneer in the spread of rural education in our country and the ruler of a progressive State in India.

The Chief of Phalton has very kindly given to this School free of rent his bungalow with its spacious grounds, situated on a high mound overlooking a vast area of green-land. This is an excellent place for a school. The students as well as the Management should feel highly grateful to the Chief of Phalton.

There are 80 boys in this High School now and there are only two classes, the IV Form and the P. S. L. C. Class, which is here called the Special Class. There are 25 students in IV Form and 55 in the Special Class. Of these, 12 are Harijans who are free boarders. The rest pay Rs. 3-8-0 per month per head for ten months in a year, *i.e.*, Rs. 35 per year, for their food expenses. Tuition is free for all the students. Food is prepared by the students themselves without the assistance of a cook or a servant. The teaching staff consists of two graduates.

THE FUTURE

These five institutions of Sjt. Bhaurao Patil, controlled by a single central organisation called the Rayat Sikshana Sanstha, a registered body, have a greater future ahead of them. Sjt. Patil wants to build proper houses for all of them on one plot. For this purpose, he has been able to secure a plot of land measuring 10 acres, on the slope of a hillock. He must be congratulated both on the choice of the plot and on securing the same from the Government. The plot is outside the business centre of the town. The levelling of the sloping ground in terraces was seen by me being done by the boys themselves ! The foundation-stone has been laid by the young Maharajah of Baroda and let us hope that the buildings will rise up soon. When the buildings are completed, they will be a grand sight.

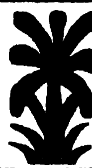
Sjt. Patil is thinking of starting a Training College for women teachers separately, in about two years. Let us with him god-speed in his benevolent work. At present he is concentrating his attention on the newly founded High School.

It is a joy to meet Sjt. Patil and listen to his simple narrative of his work. He finds delight in showing round the institutions to visitors. With his massive build and flowing white beard, he makes an indelible impression upon us. A worthy peasant, true to the soil of his birth !

Let us wish this good old man health and joy so that he may continue to serve the people of Satara district as efficiently as he is doing now. Let us also wish that his idea of giving permanent buildings to all his institutions will materialise in the course of the next few years.



INDIAN PERIODICALS



Mid-Day

How silent is the light !
What depth is in the clear blue sky !
The eyes grow weary of the dazzling light
The forest depths are plunged in silence

Who are these that pass so softly by the garden
Wandering with soft whispers and still softer steps ?
Ah, my heart, why despair at such an hour as this.
Thy lute untouched, thy song of joy unsung.

Hushed in a sudden wonder with wide open eyes
Life's narrow fretfulness is lost in light profound.
What a glory of the sun floods the world !
The light is still. How deep the sky !

C. F. ANDREWS in *The Visva-Bharati Quarterly*

C. F. Andrews

The socio-political public services C. F. Andrews had rendered in several parts of the world and his attachment to Poet Tagore and Gandhiji are generally known to a wider public, though the details of his family surroundings and early life and the influences that had moulded his character have not gained adequate publicity. The Andhra journal *Sadhana* writes :

Andrews was born in Carlisle on 12th February, 1871, though his early days were spent in Newcastle-on-Tyne. He had in his veins both Celtic and Anglo-Saxon blood, in that his mother claimed relationship to the Highlands of Scotland, while his father came from the Eastern Counties of England. He belonged to a family of fourteen children and "one of the happiest households in the world." As his father who was a clergyman and an idealist showed indifference to human affairs the brunt of household responsibility fell on his mother, who had to struggle hard to bring up the large family of sons and daughters and Andrews had learnt from her the faculty of using every moment of time in a thrifty manner. All the same "there were few more charitable and contented families in the British Isles" than this. He had his school education in King Edward VII School, Birmingham and later on joined the Cambridge University and at both places he was easily able to win sufficient scholarships to carry on his studies not only independently of his limited family resources but even to help the younger members of the family from time to time. At school and college he had great attraction for athletic life and cricket, rowing and golf claimed his attention.

While at the University at Pembroke College the passion for adventure across the seas took possession of him and the thought of going out to Central Africa and joining the University's Mission there first attracted him.

About this time Basil Westcott, the youngest son of the saintly old Bishop of Durham, who had decided to go out to the Cambridge University Mission in Delhi, became his most intimate college friend.

Waiting for a vacancy on his own College staff, he wanted to learn at first hand something about the labour conditions in the slums of England.

He undertook the headship of the Pembroke College Mission in the slums of south-east London and lived among the dock-labourers and coster-mongers in a district marked as one of the black spots of poorer London on Charles Booth's map. It was one of the thieves' quarters, where drunkenness was rife.

The slum work was more than he could bear and his health failed for the first time.

But the desire to go abroad was still aching him. About this time his friend Basil Westcott had died at Delhi nursing a cholera patient. His death proved to be a sacred call to Andrews to go out to India and take up his work.

After four years teaching work at Cambrdge as a College lecturer and Don he found himself, in his thirty-fourth year, on his way to India to join the Cambridge University Mission.

As an educationist the movement intensely attracted him by its potency for creating a new India.

By this time he had left his educational work at Delhi and joined Dr. Rabindranath Tagore's school at Santiniketan. But before joining he had the poet's permission to go to South Africa at a very critical moment and take part in the great passive resistance struggle which Gandhiji was carrying out in Natal for abolishing the £3 poll-tax.

In 1914, the first year of the Great War, Andrews was suddenly attacked in Bengal by Asiatic cholera and his life was dispaired of for 36 hours.

During his convalescence he learnt through a celebrated Blue Book that the conditions of indentured labourers in Fiji Islands were far worse than those prevailing in Natal and soon he felt the call that he must go out to Fiji. He visited Fiji again in 1917 to finish his earlier work and to help to bring the pernicious system to an end.

He became an expert in labour questions. Twice over he had to go out to Kenya as a peace-maker in Indian affairs in the Eastern regions of Africa.

From the very first meeting he was overwhelmed by the spirit of Tagore. He first met the poet one evening in 1912 in the house of William Rothenstein, the artist, at Hampstead, in the North of London, when the Irish poet W. B. Yeats was reciting to a few invited people the English translation of *Gitanjali.*

Andrews says : "That evening marked a complete change in my life."

Andrews was fearless in the expression of his views. In one of his letters to Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee he says :

"I agree with you entirely that raising false hopes by promising Swaraj *within* a year is wrong. I don't like it and never did like it. I have told this to Mahatmaji." But Andrews wanted friendship between India and Britain as between equals.

He acknowledges his indebtedness to Poet Tagore and Gandhiji in very high terms.

Of the Poet he says: "I have never in my whole life met any one so completely satisfying the needs of friendship and intellectual understanding and spiritual sympathy as Tagore. His very presence always acts as an inspiration. To be with him, to be at unison with him in some creative work, is a privilege which it is very difficult to state in words. Indeed, it has been by far the greatest privilege of my life."

Regarding Gandhiji he says: "His marvellous spiritual genius has appealed to me in a very different way. For his character, in its own way, is as great and as creative as that of Tagore himself. It is however of the more ascetic order. It has about it rather an air of religious faith of the Middle Ages than that of modern times. Tagore is essentially a modern: Mahatma Gandhi is the St. Francis of Assissi of our own days."

The Story of Bengali Literature

"I propose now to give a sort of pen-and-ink sketch of the history of Bengali literature, composed of many blank spaces, and a few detached lines." With these words Pramatha Chaudhuri proceeds to give a broad outline of the history of Bengali literature. We quote from the *Current Affairs* s

Bengali literature was born in Mahamedan India. The reason for this to my mind is not far to seek. Along with the Hindu Kings, Sanskrit, the universal literary language of ancient India, came to be dethroned. And it was under the new political regime that the people of Bengal, for the first time in their history, got the chance of speaking out their own mind in their own tongue.

Our first poet Chandidas was a contemporary of Chaucer.

That Bengali and English literatures should have been born at the same time is one of those strange historical coincidences whose mystery astronomers try to solve by reference to the periodical appearance of sun-spots.

Whereas Chaucer paints the men and manners of his time, Chandidas sings out his personal emotions; in a word, Chandidas's poetry is as subjective as Chaucer's is objective.

Our first poet also happens to be one of our greatest.

As a matter of fact, between him and Rabindranath Tagore, there is no other lyric poet who can be placed in the same rank with him. The most remarkable thing about his poetry is that it is perfect in expression. There is nohing crude or experimental, nothing loose or vague about it. In it the Bengali language became fully articulate, and Indian literature had a new birth. By the simplicity and directness of his speech, by the sincerity and intimacy of his feeling, he brought into existence a new literature, far removed from the spirit and temper of our classical literature. The personal note which is altogether absent from Sanskrit literature, was heard for the first time, in Chandidas's lyrics, in all its clearness and fullness.

After Chandidas, the poetic genius of Bengal, having lain dormant for a century, suddenly burst forth into a superb and superabundant crop of songs and lyrics.

What shook the people of Bengal out of this spiritual slumber was the revival of the Vaishnav cult inaugrated by Chaitanya, the greatest religious reformer Bengal ever produced. Vaishnavism is the oldest monothiestic creed of India and with its doctrines of personal God and incarnation, salvation by faith and divine grace, it bears a close resemblance to Christianity. After the fall of Buddhism, this religion was received throughout the length and breadth of India, and has now come to occupy the position of a dominant creed in our country. Chaitanya's revivalist movement had a double aspect, destructive as well as constructive. In its negative aspect, it represented on the one hand a revolt against the dry intellectualism and the mechanical ritualism of orthodox Brahmanism, and on the other hand, a revolt against the gross and immoral rites of popular creeds. In its positive aspect, it represented the lyrical cry of the human soul for the divine.

Chaitanya was a contemporary of the founder of protestantism, but he had much more in common with St. Francis than with Martin Luther. Chaitanya deliberately turned his back of the intellectual and practical activities of man. Neo-Vaishnavism, if I may so call it, being divorced from metaphysics, became wedded to aesthetics, and all its appeal was to the emotional nature of man.

The poets of this age played on the whole gamut of what we call tender emotions.

But sex-love as the intensest and as the most insistent of all human passions was considered the culminating flower of the human spirit. Naturally in neo-Vaishnavism, sex-love soon became the symbol of the love of the human for the divine soul, and gradually these two passions came to be identified as being fundamentally one and the same spiritual activity. The sublimation of the sensual into the spiritual is a common and dominant trait of all romantic literature, and we know that in the hands of Christian mystics, the relation between Christ and the Church very often assumed too human a character. In Bengal this process of identification was an easy one, as our poets sang only the love-story of the divine Krishna for the human Radha, which might be taken as symbolic of the communion of the human soul with the divine. In the result, some of the finest lyrics in our language came from the hands of these neo-Vashnav poets.

Nature in Bengali is not always benign, she has also her angry moods.

Ours is the land of earthquakes and cyclones, of devastating floods and tidal waves. We live to face with the destructive forces of nature and it is impossible for us to ignore her terrible aspect. Shakta poetry represents the lyrical cry of the human soul in the presence of all that is tremendous and death-dealing in the universe. There is such a feeling as the rapturous adoration of the mysterious energy which creates life only in order to destroy it. We in Bengal see before our very eyes, the process of boundless creation going on simultaneously with reckless destruction. So the goddess Shakti be-

came for us the divine mother who devours her own children.

The Bengali mind, however, humanised the motherhood of Shakti, and the greatest of our Shakta poets, Ramprasad, sang of her living kindness in such simple and deep tones that his songs are amongst the most popular in Bengal.

This Shakta poetry represents the very antithesis of the Vaishnav. The contrast between the two is well exemplified by the respective emblems of the two sects, the red flower and the white. The songs of Bengal show that what we now-a-days call the soul of a nation is made up of irreconcilable contradictions, and which side of it will at a particular moment blossom forth into literature is determined by causes other than history.

All poetry falls naturally into two classes, the lyric and the narrative; because man's feelings and actions are the material on which the poet works. Bengal also produced both.

The reason why I have dealt at some length on the lyric poetry of Bengal is that our literature cannot show anything better, and in delicacy and depth of feeling the lyrics of Bengal are equal to the best in any other literature.

The best specimens we have of this class of literature (narrative poetry) are the translations of the two great Sanskrit epics, the Ramayana and the Mahabharata.

Krittibasa, the author of the Bengal version of the Ramayana, was almost a contmeporary of Chandidas. So the lyric and the narrative were born at about the same time.

In spite of all their literary short-comings, they are the two sanest and healthiest books in our literature.

We also have a few indigenous epics in our Bengali literature. All national epics have their origin in international conflicts, and the Bengali epics are no exception to this rule.

These stories have evidently been built up out of popular legends, and are reminiscent of an early period of our history, when there was a battle of rival creeds in Bengal, and the local gods and goddesses fought for supremacy with the gods the early Aryan immigrants to Bengal had brought with them. There are two distinct cycles of these legends, one connected with the worship of Chandi, another with that of Manasha, both of whom in course of time had succeeded in insinuating themselves into the ample and hospitable bosom of the Hindu pantheon. These stories turn on the wrath of these goddesses against those who refused to bow down their heads before them, and the tale is the tale of woe which befell them on account of their intransigeance.

These poems form the real folk-lore of Bengal, and as such, are characterised by all its artlessness and naivete. At the same time they have a peculiar interest for us. In them we find a graphic description of the Bengali life and Bengali mind of a bygone age. These village poets paint the picture of contemporary life, in that rough and realistic manner which is so dear to the heart of the people: and what redeems this literature from dullness and banalite, is its humour, half satirical and half playful, a humour which never degenerates into positive grossness and prurience.

You have seen that the whole of our poetic literature was intimately connected with religion, and had thereby assumed not only a semi-religious but almost a sectarian character. But there is one exception to this rule. There is a unique book, the *Vidya Sundar* of Bharat Chandra—unique both in its merits and its faults, that marks the birth of the secular spirit in our literature. I have already said that an epic poem partakes of the character of architecture.

What Bharat Chandra has given us is a piece of literary sculpture.

The *Vidya Sundar* is a love-story, a novel in verse. And the love he treats of has nothing spiritual or ideal about it, but is the common mundane passion which lends itself to humorous and even indelicate treatment. To Bharat Chandra, love is an amusing episode in man's life, and he has not failed to draw all the fun he could out of his subject. Bharat Chandra's poem, if I may say so, is a study in nude, not of Psyche but of Venus Pandemos.

The son of a Raja himself, and the court-poet of another Raja, Krishna Chandra, one of the principal actors in the drama of Plassey, he embodies in his works all the outer elegance and all the inner corruption of a decadent aristocratic society. Gay and frivolous, cultured and cynical, witty and perverse, Bharat Chandra represents the utterly secular spirit of eighteenth century poetry. However paradoxial it may sound, there is no gainsaying the fact that he had a typical Latin soul, and there is nothing indefinite or inchoate, shadowy or mystical about his poetry, which is as brilliant as it is transparent.

In the whole field of ancient Bengali literature, there is nothing which can be compared to it as a work of art. With the solitary exception of Rabindranath Tagore, no Bengali poet has shown such mastery over verse forms. In sheer technical skill, I doubt if he has any superior, even among the Neo-Parnassian poets of France. He was not only the finest artist, but the keenest intellect of the Bengali literature of pre-British days.

The English brought prose into Bengal, and when rhyme gave place to reason, our literature entered into its modern phase.

The opening years of the nineteenth century saw the birth of a new literature, because by that time, the country had got a settled government, and a new generation had come into existence. This new literature did not grow out of the old. Both in matter and manner, it was so novel that it represented, not an evolution but a transmutation, as it were, of the national psychology.

Bengal at this period showed too exclusive a desire to acquire and spread what is called useful knowledge.

The earliest printed book I know of, *Prabodh Chandrika*, is one of the curiosities of our literature. The author, a Brahmin pandit, says in his introduction that he had composed the book in order to give a little education to young Englishmen. What education they derived from this book has always been a mystery to me. The book is divided into two parts. The first part is a jumble of logic and grammer, philosophy and philology written in an unintelligible jargon composed of three-fourths Sanskrit and one-fourth Bengali. The second consists of folk-tales and animal stories written in the raciest vernacular.

Michael Madhusudan Dutt, had made many experiments in life and literature.

In his youth, he became a convert to Christianity, married an Englishwoman, and wrote English poetry. The first generation of English educated Bengalis all wrote English, because they had deluded themselves into the belief that they could do so. We also write English but labour under no such delusion. Michael was one of the very first to realise that a Bengali could create literature only in Bengali, and in no other language. So, after having tried his hand at every form of English poetry and failed, he sat down to write an epic in Bengali after the manner of Milton. This is one of the boldest experiments ever made in any literature, and strange to say, he performed the miracle. It is impossible to bring out the deep-toned music of *Paradise Lost* from our thin-voiced language. Michael knew perfectly well that however violently he might torture the Bengali vina, it would never yield the notes of a church organ. So this audacious poet deliberately invented a language of his own, rich in assonance and consonance, which could be put into Miltonic blank-verse. He had followed the advice of Theophile Gautier to aspiring poets long before the French poet gave it. He studied the dictionary and drew his vocabulary from it.

Our people consider his work to be a masterpiece of Bengali literature.

Our fathers strove to reform everything, our religion, our society, our languge, our education.

Bengal produced in the last century a man of colossal intellect and marvellous clairvoyance in Raja Ram Mohun Roy who embodied in himself all these various reforming activities.

British India upto now has not produced a greater mind, and he remains for all times the supreme representative of the spirit of the new age, and the genius of our ancient land. He looked at European civilisation from the pinnacle of Indian culture, and saw and welcomed all that was living and life-giving in it.

Our modern literature is too near us to be treated historically. Through lack of a proper perspective, we cannot see the literary products of the present age is their right proportion and true character.

It is universally admitted that modern Bengal has produced only two writers of undoubted genius, Bankim Chandra the novelist, and Rabindranath the poet.

It is obvious from their works that their psychology has been profoundly modified by Western thought and Western feeling, and yet retained its Indian character. In them the East and the West have met. Modern Bengali literature is born of the contact of these two different cultures, and represents in varying degrees and shades their conflict and union.

We in Bengal live under the shadow of the Himalayas, with the breath of the sea in our nostrils. Mentally also we live in a similar land. At our back stand the ancient literature of India, in all its lofty and static grandeur; and in our front lies the wide expanse of European culture with all its inward depth and with all its outward restlessness. Both have an equal fascination for us, and we can no more deny our past than refuse to recognise the present.

A United Utterance

The Archbishop of Canterbury, the Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland and the Moderator of the Federal Council of Evangelical Free Churches have issued a joint appeal to their fellow-countrymen and fellow-Christians. In the course of this appeal as published in *The National Christian Council Review* they say :

Once again our country is at war. Bitter disappointment and distress must fill our hearts when we realise the terrible significance of these words. But we have not sought this war. It has been thrust upon us by the action of one man. On him alone lies the dreadful responsibility of having inflicted this crime upon humanity. It is needless to enlarge upon the motives and principles of his action. They are only too well known.

It is based on force. It must be met by counterforce. What this means must be hateful to any Christian man. But there is no other way—would God there were !

The only effect of any appeal of non-resistance upon Herr Hitler would have been to encourage him to pursue his way with more ruthless determination.

Penitence We dare not approach the Holy God and commit our cause to Him if there be any self-righteousness in our hearts. His judgment is upon the world for the neglect by all nations of the laws of His Kingdom. Does not even our own country deserve some measure of that judgment ?

Prayer. The Christian knows the mystery, but he also knows the power, of prayer—of prayer which first and foremost desires only that in all things the Divine Will may be done. Let prayer rise continually from our hearts, our homes, our churches.....

We shall pray that in maintaining the honour of their country they will also maintain the honour of their own manhood and womanhood.

As the stress of conflict grows, spiritual strength will be even more necessary than material resources.

Charity. There will always be one clear but difficult test of the Christian spirit. It is that, God helping us, however great the provocation may be and in spite of all the passions which war arouses, we shall refuse to give way to words or thoughts of ill-will or hatred towards those who have been compelled to be our enemies.

A Call to Indian Patriots

The communal situation has suddenly and profoundly deteriorated during recent years. In the course of his article under the above caption in *The Aryan Path* Prof. Radhakamal Mukerjee observes :

Looking back towards the birth of Indian nationalism about the beginning of this century, with its poets of patriotism, like Tagore and Aurobindo Ghose, and its prophets of nationalism, like Gokhale, Tilak and Bepin Chandra Pal, we can still appreciate the wide-mindedness and the comprehensiveness of that national movement which touched art, literature, economics and social reform alike, and wanted to bring into its irresis-

tible idealistic sweep men of all religions and castes without distinction.

The present political movement has lost its idealistic character; it smacks too much of bargaining and huckstering.

It is permeated by this bargaining spirit as it concentrates less on the cultural and spiritual goal of Indian independence and more on concessions from the British in matters of trade, economic policy and recruitment to the All-India services. The same spirit of bargaining, based not on a deep social and ideological unity but on rational calculation of reciprocal sectional interests, underlay the Gandhi-Ali-Brothers Hindu-Muslim *rapprochement* during the Khilafat agitation, which was hailed as the first India-wide cementing of Hindu and Muslim political interests. This was, however, mere strategy. There was no recognition here of the claims of the larger loyalty of the two communities to the goal of Indian political independence or to the common spiritual message of an emancipated nation.

The deterioraiton of Hindu-Muslim relations has, of course, been speeded up by the Communal Award and the acceptance of separate electorate.

Indian democracy, long before it has reached its goal of national self-determination and the planning of its constitution, is encumbered with a vicious principle of representation on the basis of castes and communities, a system unparalleled in the world in its opposition to the evolution of nationalism and of democracy itself. Representative government, introduced since the Communal Award, has become communal government. The welding of the two communities which had been going on silently in municipal, local and civic bodies, in educational work and in social service for the last few decades has suddenly been interrupted. Alike to Councils and to Assemblies, to Municipal and District Board meetings and to those of school committees people now come with stereotyped narrow ends and with truculent communal temper.

India's national movement is to-day unfortunately guided only by the politicians.

They have tried and still are trying to check Hindu-Muslim divisiveness through pacts and bargains in the form of concessions, such as recruitment to the services on agreed communal ratios or seats in the Ministries or on Municipal and District Boards by agreements brought about through long-drawnout astute compromises; these pacts and compromises, however, only perpetuate and do not solve the problem. No spirit of bargaining can ever solve it. Unless the monopoly of leadership of the politicians who have become saturated with the bargaining spirit is broken, there can be no solution.

The communal problem obtains its leadership on the issue of educated unemployment.

There is neither Hindu nor Muslim poverty. Infant mortality is not a communal but a national scourge. Thin gruel and a loin-cloth are national, not communal issues. Likewise a constructive economic programme, whether carried out by a responsible Ministry or preached in the villages, is bound to bring the two communities together on a common political platform and under a common leadership. In the Punjab and in Bengal, where the majority of Hindus are landlords and money-lenders and the majority of the Muslims small tenants, debtors and agricultural labourers, the communal antagonism feeds the economic conflict of the classes. More imperative here is the development of a common economic front through a direct attack on the problems of permanent settlement, subletting, transfer of land, mortgages and indebtedness.

The problem, therefore, has become too deep-rooted socially to be tackled by superficial pacts and concessions; it needs a change of heart on the part of the politicians. That change of heart can come only from a religious idealism. Political bickerings can never disappear nor can social distrust and suspicion be set at rest unless by religion we can awaken or restore the soul of a mass politico-economic movement.

New Orientations of the Educational Creed

Educational progress knows of no last term or finality. An epoch-making educational revolution was associated in Bengal with the glorious Swadeshi Movement of 1905-14. It was embodied in the National Council of Education, which is today represented chiefly by the College of Engineering and Technology, Jadabpur, near Calcutta. Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar observes in *Prabuddha Bharata*:

The impacts of the "ideas of 1905" and especially of the "national education movement" on Bengali culture and pedagogics are too obvious to be overlooked. In the first place, Bengali is today not a mere second language. It has become the official medium of instruction in all the subjects taught in the entire school system of Bengal. An educational war-cry of the *Swadeshi* revolution has thus been rendered into positive law. Secondly, the encyclopædic scientific training for all the classes of a Matric school on which the "national education movement" placed the greatest emphasis has been accepted at last by the authorities as the programme for all the schools in the country. Then, again, it may be observed, incidentally, that the prosecution of independent researches and original investigations in Indian history and culture on the one hand and in the modern exact sciences on the other was one of the fundamental objectives of the National Council. The entire world of scholarship in Euro-America, Asia and Africa today is aware that this objective of the pioneers of 1905 has not remained a pious wish of a few dreamers and visionaries in Bengal but has been realized in a thoroughly palpable manner throughout the length and breadth of India during the last quarter of a century or so.

But if in 1940, I were to start again on a career of educational propaganda and pedagogic patriotism it would not do to depend exclusively on those ideas.

The effective advances of Bengal, nay, of all India in education and culture as in politics, economic development and social life have rendered some of those articles superfluous or rather first postulates of the pedagogic apparatus. That creed has to be re-made and adjusted to the novel psycho-social pattern or *Gestalt*.

A somewhat new educational creed requires to be constructed in consonance with the new conditions of life obtaining today.

Several noticeable features of the present social and cultural atmosphere may be singled out. In the

first place,....the patriotism of establishing schools and colleges independent of the Government or the Universities is not likely to flourish on a mentionable scale in the atmosphere of 1940. This consummation,—the swarajification of Government, partial and halting although,—is indeed a tremendous justification of the Bengali nationalistic movements of a generation age.

In the second place, industrialization and technocracy with which the Bengali *Swadeshi* movement was identified in its economic aspects have made advances in Bengal as elsewhere in India during the last generation. Factories, banks, insurance companies, export-import houses and so forth are to be counted among the Bengali enterprises of today. Equally noteworthy are the new agricultural methods, the renovated varieties of rice, wheat, sugarcane, etc., and the expansion of industrial crops throughout India Roads, railways and irrigation works have also felt the urge for expansion and improvement. All this has succeeded in improving to a certain extent the economic condition of the people. New careers and avenues to employment have not failed to make their appearance. The standard of living, health and efficiency has been somewhat rising not only among the middle classes but among peasants and industrial workers as well.

Thirdly, it is worth while to note that during the first decade or two of the present century, Bengali culture, especially in its modern aspects, was in the main man-made. The evolution of the *Swadeshi* movement has in its natural course engendered the class-consciousness of creative woman, both Hindu and Mussalman. Today the civilization of modern Bengal is marked by gradually increasing doses of onstructive feminism

The Bengali woman, indeed the entire womanhood of India, is at present in evidence as much in social service and politics, as in journalism, fine arts, sports, education and what not.

Last but not least is to be mentioned the self-conscious manhood of the peasants in the villages on the one hand as of the wokingmen in the industrial areas on the other. The "ideas of 1905" were hardly cognisant of the peasant and the working classes. It is chiefly during the last two decades that the economic, political and cultural requirements and demands of these two classes have forced themselves upon the Bengali (and all-Indian) *Swadeshi* revolution

These four sets of social forces in the Bengali as in the All-India culture-complex call for a fresh re-making of educational visions.

Situated as we are in 1940 we cannot but indulge in a profound discontent and engender a disequilibrium in our educational and cultural perspectives, in our socio-economic relations and in political norms. The cry for more freedom, more democracy, more socialism, more sex-equality, more technocracy, more industrialization, more careers, more food, more health, more culture,—no matter under what slogans—has got to be embodied in new educational creeds.

A Chapter from the History of the Near-East Culture

Prof. Peter Krieger writes in *India and the World*:

It is a prominent theory, widely accepted in these days, that the various peoples of the earth have their specifically alloted tasks in the general concert of nations, or, as it is usually put, that "every nation has a mission of its own."

As an example of such an unconscious and unintentional performance of a historical task we choose the case of the happy cultural co-operation of two different nations of the Near East and the Mediterranean World in the 7th century and after. That was the period of the rapid expansion of Islam over the whole Near and the Middle East. When Muhammad the prophet died in 632 the new faith had taken root in the Arabian peninsula.

In 633 the subjection of Persia began, at the same time Abu Bekr alvanced into South-Palestine. In 636 Omar appeared before Jerusalem, in 638 before Damascus. The years 638-640 were sufficient to take the many well-fortified strongholds of the Byzantines in Syria and at the end of 640 he made his appearance in Egypt which was equally overrun in two year's time. In an amazingly short period the Khalifs had conquered the whole of the Near East, Egypt, North Africa and the greater part of Spain.

In their quick advance in the Near East the Arabs had met a people of old culture which after the destructino of its homeland—had become a nation of exiles, scattered in numerous communities over the East: The Jews. And now an unprecedented thing happened. Between these two nations, so different in temperament, outlook and origin a unique cultural co-operation developed which made this period one of the most magnificent in the history of the Near East. From Baghdad to Cordova this cultural synthesis ripened into wonderful fruits.

The spiritual association between the Jews and the Arabs became so close that we are used to speak of that period as of the period of "Arab-Jewish culture."

The collaboration began in the fields of Mathematics, Astronomy and Medical Sciences but its main subject was Philosophy. Jewish religious philosophy was deeply influenced by the Islamic *Kalam* and the official conception of the classical Greek philosophy was coined by men like Alfarabi, Ibn Sina and later Ibn Rosd.

This epoch was abundantly rich in eminent scholars and philosophers. A number of very remarkable poets also appeared both in Arabic and in Hebrew literature. This Golden Age of the common Jewish-Arabic culture lasted for almost 300 years. When the Christian kings had regained their lost positions (1493) and Islamic rule in the Mediterranean world was again restricted and limited, the Jews like the ancestors of the great philosopher Spinoza were scattered over North and Central Europe carrying with them the great spiritual values and high cultural traditions which originated in the age of their collaboration with the Arabs.

From this point of view we may discover a new significance in the appearance of the Jewish philosopher Spinoza (1632-97) out of the Hispano-Semitic Stock of Spain. From Spain indirectly came the light of the new philosophy of Europe based on the strong Oriental Pan-theism of Spinoza (whose ancestors were Spanish Jews migrating to Holland) spreading to ther countries of Europe.

Food and Nutrition

Writing about food and nutrition in *Science and Culture*, A. C. Chatterjee, director of Public Health. Bengal, remarks:

Man must have food in order to provide for materials for the growth and development of the physique as also to have adequate supply of energy for his bodily requirements. The amount and the quality of food vary according to various factors such as age, sex, occupation, etc. As a result of physical exercise and the various vital processes within the body including thinking there is wear and tear of the body tissues which require to be constantly replaced. Even when a man is normally asleep, the vital parts of his organism are working continuously and food has to be provided for such processes to continue their function in a healthy manner.

For the purposes mentioned above the various kinds of tissues forming the human body, that is, nerves, muscles, bones, glands and other cellular organs have to be provided with suitable special types of food elements. For muscles and bones, protein and certain minerals like phosphorus, calcium, etc., are essential. Similarly, for the nervous tissues, protein, phosphorus, carbohydrates are essential.

To keep the metabolism in the human body in proper order, one must have adequate supply of different types of vitamins.

Vitamin A is necessary for giving man the power of resistance to infectious diseases. It assists growth and prevents night-blindness. It is found in butter, eggs, ghee, oil, meat, milk, liver—particularly of fish—and green leafy vegetables. Vitamins B1 and B2 are found in the pericarp of cereals like rice, wheat, maize, etc. Vitamin C is found in all citrous fruits like lemons, oranges and limes and in fresh vegetables and meat, which, however is largely lost in cooking. Vitamin D is found in eggs, milk, fat, liver—particularly of fish. The human skin also produces this vitamin when exposed to sun's rays. Vitamin E is found in the germinated portion of all cereals, seeds, eggs, etc. These vitamins should be present in adequate quantities. This is essential because not only do they have specific actions themselves on the body but many of them have also marked influence over the action of the other. In other words, they assist mutually to a great extent. For production of energy, fats like ghee, butter, oil and carbohydrates like wheat, rice, sugar and vegetables are essential. For the total requirement of the body, there should be proper supply in different form of the following essential principles of food : proteins, fats, carbohydrates, salts, vitamins and water. These are found in different quantities in different articles of food. Protein is found in meat, fish, lentils, milk, eggs, etc. Carbohydrate is found in rice, wheat, milk, certain tubers, vegetables like marrow, fruits, etc. Fat is found in milk, butter, ghee, mustard and other edible oils like *til* and cocoanut.



The thirty-second annual meeting of the Sevasadan Society was held recently under the Presidentship of Mrs. Maneklal Premchand. Mrs. Maneklal Premchand in the *centre* along with others

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Joseph Stalin Revealed

Reviewing *Stalin's Russia* by Max Eastman and *Stalin* by Eugene Lyons, Pearl S. Buck writes in *Asia* :

Marx believed that the evolution of mankind was necessarily and in itself upwards, so that whatever the steps taken, whatever the struggles, the graph moved onward toward a goal so idealistic and good that no one could disapprove it. If this particular premise had been sound, the experiment in Russia would have been assuredly a success. But it was false. As Max Eastman says, there was no proof of it, and yet the blind belief in it resulted in a Jesuitical state of mind in many of Marx's followers which justified any means to the end they thought certain, and which destroyed all necessity for truth in the process. Thus lies were not only condoned but considered right because the organization was all-important. Super-morality became the stupid, blind loyalty to the organization which threw away as useless all personal integrity. But what men failed to see when they demanded this super-morality was that even it became impossible when personal integrity was gone, and in the end the whole structure collapsed into the ruin of an absolute tyranny where fear is the whip "...for large and long-time purposes progress really cannot feed on lies. In feats of social engineering comparable to that indicated in the concept of socialist transformation honesty and reliable truthfulness, above all in those who lead, are indispensable. This is not a 'supernatural law,' but a most natural fact." In other words, if the means to an end are not in accord with the spirit of that end, the end itself is so changed that it is never achieved.

The tyranny under which the Russian people now live appears to be the worst they have ever known and Stalin a greater tyrant even than his hero, Peter the Great.

The ideas as well as the ideals of Communism seem to have been entirely lost in a weltering Russia. For it may be only fair to emphasize from new material in this well written book [by Eugene Lyons] a point mentioned in the author's first book, *Assignment in Utopia*, that Stalin's great power is a coincidence of the hour and the man coming together. In another environment Stalin could never have come to be the absolute power he is. But the Russian people, depressed for centuries by their rulers and enslaved by their priests, have rushed, it seems, to return to the old pattern. They have given to Stalin the combined fawning praise and the abject obedience which they used to give to God and the Czar and it is this which makes a people so incomprehensible to other peoples, accustomed and trained to freedom.

These two books present two facts important among others. The first is that Marxism was obviously never meant for nor suited to any but a highly civilized people.

It is a tragedy that Marxism was seized upon by Russians and, it may be said, ruined by them. In a well industrialised democracy, Marxism might have been made into the means of increased liberty and freedom for millions of people but, as it is, the new industrial Russia has been built by labor apparently as forced as that which built the Great Wall of China or the pyramids of Egypt, and so history may judge it, one day.

The second fact, and it is more important, perhaps, even than the first, is that the failure of the Russian revolution has again proved that people cannot be changed by abrupt means, and that until people are changed, nothing is different.

Once again these authors convince us that people cannot be changed except by the long slow processes of education. Thus the Russian people freed from their czars and priests were not freed from their own nature, trained in a slave mentality. Nothing can make them free except education in graduated freedom for at least one generation, and probably for at least three.

Qualification for the Presidency of the United States

What are the qualities essential for a President of the United States ? Harold J. Laski writes in *Current History* :

Above all, I think, the power to handle men, the ability almost intuitively to recognize the efficient human instrument for his purpose. That power has been more rare than is usually imagined. Lincoln, though he had an amazing insight into character, was never able to discover those instruments; no small part of the history of his administration is the record of his painful effort to transcend the results of that situation. Franklin Roosevelt has possessed it, as he showed when he chose, in remarkable circumstances, Mr. Ickes to be his Secretary of the Interior. Woodrow Wilson lacked it very largely; and no doubt a good deal of his final tragedy was due to that lack. So, also, did Calvin Coolidge; and he thereby prepared the road which led to the depression.

There is need for a President to come to office not only with a sense of the general direction in which he wishes to move, but with a sense, also, of the direction in which the times require him to move. And a President, further, must be able to think and decide rapidly; time is of the essence of perhaps half of his decisions.

Few things better illustrate this sense of time than President Wilson's approach to the problem of American intervention in the War of 1914. He created an atmosphere in which the mass of the people was persuaded to accept his view that intervention was inescapable; and he took, accordingly, a practically united people

into the war. Had he acted much before he did, that psychological success would have been dubious enough at least to risk the chance of his re-election in 1916.

The main problem for the President is his relation to that queer, shifting, labyrinthine amalgam we call public opinion.

Whatever his effect upon Congress, a President who can get to the multitude will seize the attention of the multitude. His ideas, his policies, his purposes, will shape the mental climate as will those of no other man in America. He must, of course, be persistent in keeping them to the fore. He must convey the sense that the victory of his purposes is really of importance; and the best way to convey that sense is to fight battles in which both his supporters and his opponents alike feel that his victory really is important. That, it may be noted, has been the secret of much of the hold President Franklin Roosevelt has maintained over his electorate. He has gone for the big things; he has dramatized the issues upon which men know that their lives depend. He has communicated his own eagerness to those upon whose interest he has to rely. The enthusiasm of his supporters, the hate, even, of his opponents, have given a color to his term of office that has influenced millions to whom the spectacle is rarely of itself arresting He has known how to prick men into thought, not least to prick the younger generation into thought. Because he has himself cared so much, he has made others care too.

That quality, it is important to note, has been characteristic of every significant President in the record. It is true of Jefferson, of Jackson, of Lincoln, of Theodore Roosevelt, of Woodrow Wilson. They were all positive Presidents They had a policy to recommend which seemed to their generation a challenge.

The President who can arouse the dynamic of democracy will make his policies a central thread in the life of the electorate. To do so, his effort must be a challenge. It must look forward and not backward. It must arouse a quality of interest that is essentially moral and positive in its nature.

To end slavery, to curb the money-power, to build the "new freedom" to establish, beyond peradventure, the foundations of the "New Deal" –these make their appeal to the impulse of the crusader in man. The President who can do this penetrates within and beyond the little private life of the individual and links him, through himself, to purposes felt as great. There is an exhilaration in the atmosphere, a sense of big things on foot, which lifts the individual out of himself. Anyone who compares the fierce tempo of American politics under Jackson with that of his successors up to Lincoln, or of the age of Coolidge and Harding with that of Franklin Roosevelt, will, I think, have some sense of what this dynamic of democracy can imply.

Finland Yesterday

Writing in *The Geographical Magazine*, Alexander King looks back on Finland's past, and gives a brief description of a country, a people, a culture which is rare in the modern world. The Finnish spirit has produced, during the last two decades, achievements in social development, in industry and economics, in sport and in art, which are not easy to rival; and, when the necessity arose, the inhabitants of this little country astonished the world by their courage, endurance and daring.

The most outstanding feature of their conditions of life is the distribution of wealth, which is more even than elsewhere. Clerical workers, for example, earn only slightly more than skilled artisans; doctors and lawyers receive perhaps one-fifth of what they would get in England, while the number of Finns who would be considered even moderately wealthy in the City of London is infinitesimal. While wages are much lower than in England, prices are correspondingly less. Thus the cost of the long railway journey to the Arctic is about 12s. 6d. including a place in a third-class sleeper which is furnished with linen sheets ! A full meal in any of the bigger country hotels costs about 1s. 6d., while in the 'elanto' co-operative restaurants in Helsinki it will be less.

Unemployment has been unknown in Finland, except for a short period during the slump of 1931-2; indeed the supply of labour lags behind the demand and consequently there is considerable employment of women, even in manual jobs. I remember being rather shocked, during my first visit to Finland, to see a woman breaking up a street in Kotka with a pneumatic drill; within a few minutes, however, I saw also a woman house-painter and women loading timber into ships and realized that such employments were general. I think that it is true to say that in no other country is there such complete equality of the sexes Such a state of affairs seems to develop in Northern countries where hard work must be shared by all and at the same time the intellectual standard is high.

There exists in Finland real equality of opportunity for education, even the university courses being free to all those whose capacity gains them admittance. The proportion of women in the universities is remarkably high.

Another outstanding feature of Finnish life is the extraordinary success of the co-operative system. The Finns have always been ready to appreciate the advantages of communal ownership of things such as agricultural machines, but it is only of recent years that the system has extended to cover practically everything which is bought or sold. This enables the Finnish farmers, for example, to sell their agricultural produce abroad at a cost of only slightly over 2 per cent. The retail co-operative societies include in their membership about 50 per cent of the adult population of the country. All these things, combined with a sane social and financial policy of the part of the government, have made the Finns a contented and a free people with education and leisure to develop in their own individual manner. It is interesting to note that all the social reforms offered by the Russians as an incitement to the Finnish worker to revolt were already mature institutions in democratic Finland.

Nowhere is the spirit of a country so clearly displayed as in its art, and Finnish music which, with the exception of that of Sibelius, is little known abroad, is certainly no exception. Of all the arts Finland has perhaps excelled in architecture, and in the Helsinki of the last two decades are to be seen some of the very best examples of modern building. The secret of Finnish architecture is that it is organic; Siren's new diet-house in Helsinki, for example, which like most of the other modern buildings is of granite, seems to have grown out of the rock of Finland, huge blocks of which

have been left sticking out of the ground beside it.

In music the genius of Sibelius dominates. Finnish painting, although it owes much to French impressionism, is also highly individual and depicts, in some extraordinary way which cannot be defined, the same mystery as the *Suites* of Sibelius, the same combination of melancholy, determination, earthiness and spirituality which flows in the blood of the Finnish people.

Japan Want the Dutch East Indies

Japanese business interests have launched a campaign to include the Netherland East Indies in the framework of the "New Order" in East Asia, according to a *China Weekly Review* report.

Japan, which is nearer the Indies than any other great power and asserts her paramount interest in their future, assumed a self-imposed guardianship over them with an increasingly proprietary air as it became apparent that London and Paris would henceforth dominate the Dutch Government-General of the islands. The anxiety of Japan arose from the fear that increased exports of tin and rubber to the munitions plants of the Allies would cut into Japanese supplies.

Japan's hopes of expansion to the Indies was frankly admitted in a statement to the press made by Admiral Seizo Kobayashi, Governor-General of Formosa, on the occasion of his recent visit to Tokyo recently.

A further allusion to Japanese aspirations in the Pacific was made by Navy Minister Admiral Zengo Yoshida on the thirty-fifth anniversary of the Japanese naval victory over the Russian fleet in the battle of Tsushima. Admiral Yoshida referred to a new "Pacific era" about to begin for Japan.

On this same day of celebration the Tokyo English-language *Japan Times,* in a long leading article, urged the government to act promptly to safeguard Japan's interests in the South-eastern Pacific. The paper pointed out that every nation on earth, neutral as well as belligerent, is racing to increase armaments and to this end all possible raw material resources are being drafted.

"The importance of trade relations with the Dutch East Indies and the United States to Japan is obvious in such circumstances," declared the paper. "and it is only natural that the Japanese Government and Navy should be resolved to protect Japan's trade rights in the Dutch East Indies."

Education and Tradition

Walter Lippmann observes in the New York *Herald Tribune* :

So-called progressive education is based on the notion that if you can remove authority and discipline and tradition in the upbringing of young people, the unobstructed natural goodness of their hearts and minds will by spontaneous creation bring them to good ideas. The fact is, however, that if you remove authority and discipline and tradition, what you create is an unsatisfied need, a vacuum, which is then filled by some other tradition and by some other form of authority. Thus you emancipate the young from the alleged tyranny of their own elders, and, before you know it, they are hypnotized by an alien tyranny. You teach them to believe that their own moral and political and religious tradition is an outworn idolatrous superstition, and before you can say Jack Robinson, they are worshiping the idols set up elsewhere.

EDUCATION OF THE DEAF IN BENGAL

By NRIPENDRA MOHAN MAJUMDER

Hony. Zone Secretary, Bengal, Bihar Orissa and Assam, The Convention of the Teachers of the Deaf in India

By a resolution dated 14th August, 1937, I was asked to thoroughly investigate into the conditions of the existing schools of Bengal and report on that basis. It was possible for me to personally inspect certain schools. Through the good offices of Babu Kalidas Bhattacherjee, Principal, Delhi Deaf & Dumb School, it was possible to get first-hand knowledge of certain other institutions, some of which furnished me with full particulars of their work and organisation.

The work with the deaf in Bengal dates back to the year 1893 when the first School was established. Subsequently the movement penetrated gradually but steadily from metropolis to district towns. This history is the history of public spirited men who laid their life for this cause and the benevolent public who ungrudgingly backed their efforts. The Government was very slow to subsidise and that only later on, and never came forward to lead the movement at any time and at any place.

The following table tells the story:

TABLE I

INSTITUTIONS AND THE MEN AND THEIR OCCUPATION

Year	
1893	Calcutta Deaf & Dumb School.
	Late Mr. J. N. Banerjee—Teacher of the Deaf.
	Late Mr. U. C. Dutt—Principal, City College.
	Late Mr. Srinath Sinha—Teacher of the Deaf.
	Sj. Mohini M. Majumder—Teacher of the Deaf.
1911	Barisal Deaf & Dumb School.
	Late Mr. H. N. Mukherji—Teacher of the Deaf.
1916	Dacca Deaf & Dumb School.
	Rai Sahib Satish Ch. Ghose—Late Secretary, Dacca Orphanage.
1923	Chittagong Deaf & Dumb School.
	Mr. R. C. Hazari—Lawyer.
	Late Mr. Bholanath Ghattak—Trained Deaf.
1925	Mymensingh Deaf & Dumb School.
	Late Mr. H. N. Mukherji—Teacher of the Deaf.
1931	Rajshahi Deaf & Dumb School.
	Late Mr. Bholanath Ghattak—Trained Deaf.
	Mr. B. C. Moitra—Lawyer.
1934	Murshidabad Deaf & Dumb School.
	Mr. K. D. Bhattacherji—Teacher of the Deaf.
	Mr. G. D. Neogi Chowdhury—Teacher of the Deaf.
1934	Khulna Deaf & Dumb School.
	Mr. H. L. Chatterjee—Lawyer.
1936	Birbhum Deaf & Dumb School.
	Mr. D. C. Bhowmick—Trained Deaf.
	Dr. U. N. Ghose—Medical Practitioner.
1939	Bogra Deaf & Dumb School.
	Mr. Abdul Jabber—Govt. Service.
	Mr. N. Chakraverty—Teacher of the Deaf.
1939	Comilla Deaf & Dumb School.
	Mr. Debendra Binode Chakraverty—Teacher of the Deaf.

The time relationship is an index of the hopeful sign that the movement has acquired momentum with the process of time. The first twenty-three years saw the growth of 3 schools only and the second twenty-three saw the growth of 8 schools.

As we go over the names of the persons responsible for the institutions the prominent note is that the profession mainly carried the movement on its shoulder. The institutions grew because it was in the interest of these persons to see them grow. So we see that the great and good institutions are as much the product of heart as of head.

TABLE II

INSTITUTIONS AND THE NUMBER OF PUPILS AND THE NUMBER OF STUDENTS OF SCHOOL-GOING AGE IN THE LOCALITY

Schools	Number of pupils	Number of Deaf-mutes (school-going age) in the locality
Calcutta Deaf & Dumb School	230	500
Barisal Deaf & Dumb School	31	1683
Dacca Deaf & Dumb School	30	
Chittagong Deaf & Dumb School	22	1400
Mymensingh Deaf & Dumb School	15	930
Rajshahi Deaf & Dumb School	14	1000
Murshidabad Deaf & Dumb School	12	824
Khulna Deaf & Dumb School	7	
Birbhum Deaf & Dumb School	8	720
Bogra Deaf & Dumb School	13	773
Comilla Deaf & Dumb School	5	1500

This table shows that local needs offer ample opportunity for the healthy growth of these institutions. And the poor number in the Roll suggest that extensive field work is necessary to awaken the public to utilise the help laid at their

door. As it stands today it is the local school authorities who must devise ways and means to facilitate this part of the work with and without the help of the Convention by means of lectures and demonstrations. The Census Report as it stands is favourable but the number will increase if field work is undertaken.

TABLE III

FIELD WORK AND THE INSTITUTIONS AND THE PEOPLE RESPONSIBLE FOR IT

Date	
1923	Bengal Association of the Workers of the Deaf. Founder—Mr. Nripendra Mohan Majumder.
1935	The Convention of the Teachers of the Deaf in India. Founder—Mr. S. N. Banerjee.

Propaganda and field work as an imperative necessity were recognised as early as 1923. At that time the author of this paper enlisted the help of such persons as Maharajadhiraj Bahadur of Burdwan, Late Maharaja Bahadur of Cossimbazar, the then Agent of B. N. Rly., Rai Sahib Atal Chand Chatterjee and Rai Sahib Satish Chandra Ghosh and plunged headlong into this task but as the time available for a professional man is meagre for such a huge task and as the response from the authorities concerned at that time was not much the project was abandoned. But out of the ashes of this honest endeavour at no distant time grew an institution heralded by a more efficient person, I mean the Convention of the Teachers of the Deaf in India and its Founder Secretary, Mr. Sailendra Nath Banerjee. The aims and objects of this institution are:

1. To advance the cause of the Education of the Deaf in India.
2. To promote public interest for the rehabilitation of the Deaf in society.
3. To amend the legal disabilities of the Deaf.
4. To secure effective representation of the Teachers of the Deaf in controlling bodies of Primary Education.
5. To promote and safeguard the professional interest of the teachers of the Deaf in India.
6. To promote and foster a spirit of brotherhood and of actual co-operation among the members of the profession.

Much is being done to translate these into action. List of the works done to date by the Convention is obtainable from the Reports given by the General Secretary on different occasions.

TABLE IV

Institutions	Number of pupils	Number of teachers
Calcutta Deaf & Dumb School	230	27
Barisal Deaf & Dumb School	31	1
Dacca Deaf & Dumb School	30	2
Chittagong Deaf & Dumb School	22	3
Mymensingh Deaf & Dumb School	15	2

Institutions	Number of pupils	Number of teachers
Rajshahi Deaf & Dumb School	15	1
Murshidabad Deaf & Dumb School	12	1
Khulna Deaf & Dumb School	8	1
Birbhum Deaf & Dumb School	8	1
Bogra Deaf & Dumb School	13	1
Comilla Deaf & Dumb School	5	1

We have remarked that extensive work is urgently necessary but one should not forget that extensive work stands or falls by the intrinsic work that we could put up to convince the public about the possibility with a deaf child. It is only meet that the guardians and the public will demand from us to show that the money spent from the pocket of the individual or the State is worth it. But as this table shows, with the exception of the Calcutta Deaf & Dumb School all the institutions are under-manned. It is impossible to expect good work from an institution which is under-manned. A class of Deaf children containing more than ten is not expected to yield good results. We know that the authorities of these institutions have to deal with a knotty question, the question of finance, and if the public and the Government are apathetic they can do very little. Yet, any way, means must be found to get the public and the Government interested for the attainment of the al. But more distressing figures come from 'able V.

TABLE V

Institutions	Number of pupils	Number of trained teachers
Calcutta Deaf & Dumb School	230	27
Barisal Deaf & Dumb School	31	1
Dacca Deaf & Dumb School	30	2
Chittagong Deaf & Dumb School	22	1
Mymensingh Deaf & Dumb School	15	1
Rajshahi Deaf & Dumb School	15	1
Murshidabad Deaf & Dumb School	12	1
Khulna Deaf & Dumb School	8	Nil
Birbhum Deaf & Dumb School	8	1
Bogra Deaf & Dumb School	13	1
Comilla Deaf & Dumb School	5	1

We all know that education of a deaf-mute has a technique and a science which must be learnt before one could be a teacher of the deaf. Untrained teachers are therefore a liability to the intrinsic part of the work and not an asset. So far it has been possible to train some untrained teachers through the good offices of the Convention of the Teachers of the Deaf in India. It is high time that others not so trained should either get the benefit of the Normal Department of the Calcutta Deaf & Dumb School where possible or the Summer Course offered by the Convention of the Teachers of the Deaf in India.

RESOLUTION No. VII

Whereas teachers not properly trained are detrimental to the spread of the Education of the Deaf and hinder the gradual development of the school, be it resolved that the authorities of the schools for the Deaf in India be requested not to appoint so far as possible under present conditions, any teacher who has not the necessary qualification to teach deaf-mute children.

RESOLUTION No. IX

Resolved that the Convention should arrange for Summer Course for untrained teachers in service. Three Summer Courses will qualify them to get Certificates from the Convention.

While we expect better men with better qualifications it is only meet, we should remember that teachers also have a world to live in and their very existence demands if not bread and butter at least bread and water. A man's existence is not ethereal but very plainly earthly. Table VI elicit very discouraging figures :

TABLE VI

Institutions	Teachers' Pay (Average)	Graded or not	Benefit of Provident Fund	Benefit of Gratuity
Calcutta Deaf & Dumb School	73	Yes	Yes	No
Barisal Deaf & Dumb School	50	No	No	„
Dacca Deaf & Dumb School	50	„	„	„
Chittagong Deaf & Dumb School	35	„	„	„
Mymensingh Deaf & Dumb School	35	„	„	„
Rajshahi Deaf & Dumb School	40	„	„	„
Murshidabad Deaf & Dumb School	40	„	„	„
Khulna Deaf & Dumb School	15	„	„	„
Birbhum Deaf & Dumb School	25	„	„	„
Bogra Deaf & Dumb School	25	„	„	„
Comilla Deaf & Dumb School	X	„	„	„

(Salaries of the Principal and his Assistant of Calcutta Deaf & Dumb School are not taken into account).

It is a very poor and hopeless story and comment is unnecessary.

This remark is not meant to be a fling at the authorities of the several institutions. A School Committee can not run a mint. The financial condition of the institutions is such that the authorities are obliged to half starve their men. The following tables will throw light :

TABLE VII

Institutions	Number of Pupils	Finance Available P.A.	Expense per Capita P.A.	Average Expense per Capita P.A.
Calcutta Deaf & Dumb School	230	63000	277	100/-
Barisal Deaf & Dumb School	31	6546	211	"
Dacca Deaf & Dumb School	30	3371	112	"
Chittagong Deaf & Dumb School	22	1791	81	"
Mymensingh Deaf & School	15	1296	87	"
Rajshahi Deaf & Dumb School	15	1324	88	"
Murshidabad Deaf & Dumb School	12	388	82	"
Khulna Deaf & Dumb School	8	204	25	"
Birbhum Deaf & Dumb School	8	144	18	"
Bogra Deaf & Dumb School	13			"
Comilla Deaf & Dumb School	5	15		"

These figures are vitiated by sums at the head of Industry which with tde writer's best efforts could not be overcome.

Table VIII

(Expenses per Capita)

Bengal P.A.	United Kingdom P.A.	America P.A. Clarke School for the Deaf
Rs. 100/-	£ 100	$ 1140

We are often told that the quality of work with deaf children in the United Kingdom and America is better than that in Bengal. This only reminds me of a Bengali proverb which when translated stands like this: More the sugar more the sweet.

A few more tables may further throw light.

TABLE IX

Institutions	Number of Pupils	Govt. Grant P.A.	~~Govt. Grant~~ Per Capita P.A.
Calcutta Deaf & Dumb School	230	13200	58
Barisal Deaf & Dumb School	31	1210	39
Dacca Deaf & Dumb School	30	609	20
Chittagong Deaf & Dumb School	22	720	32/11/-
Mymensingh Deaf & Dumb School	15	720	48

Institutions	Number of Pupils	Govt. Grant P.A.	Govt. Grant Per Capita P.A
Rajshahi Deaf & Dumb School	15	300	20
Murshidabad Deaf & Dumb School	12	300	25
Khulna Deaf & Dumb School	8	Nil	
Birbhum Deaf & Dumb School	8	Nil	
Bogra Deaf & Dumb School	13	Nil	
Comilla Deaf & Dumb School	5	Nil	

We have no State schools. We have only State grants. Even that not always. Again grants per capita varies from school to school, on what grounds I can not say. Newer schools require better nourishment; the authorities seems to think otherwise.

TABLE X

Institutions	Public Money Available P.A.	Per Capita P.A.	Average per Capita P.A.
Calcutta Deaf & Dumb School	47703	207	68
Barisal Deaf & Dumb School	1120	36	
Dacca Deaf & Dumb School	3233	108	
Chittagong Deaf & Dumb School	864	40	
Mymensingh Deaf & Dumb School	576	38	
Rajshahi Deaf & Dumb School	980	65	
Murshidabad Deaf & Dumb School	900	75	
Khulna Deaf & Dumb School	204	25	
Birbhum Deaf & Dumb School	144	18	
Bogra Deaf & Dumb School			
Comilla Deaf & Dumb School			

Public sympathy towards these institutions is very meagre. If rehabilitation of the deaf is the aim, academic work however valuable, is by no means by itself sufficient, some sort of handiwork must be taught, that they may earn their own living. In certain schools the Industrial section is fairly well equipped. Some run the Industrial section. Most schools do not and can not run an Industrial section, as Table XI shows.

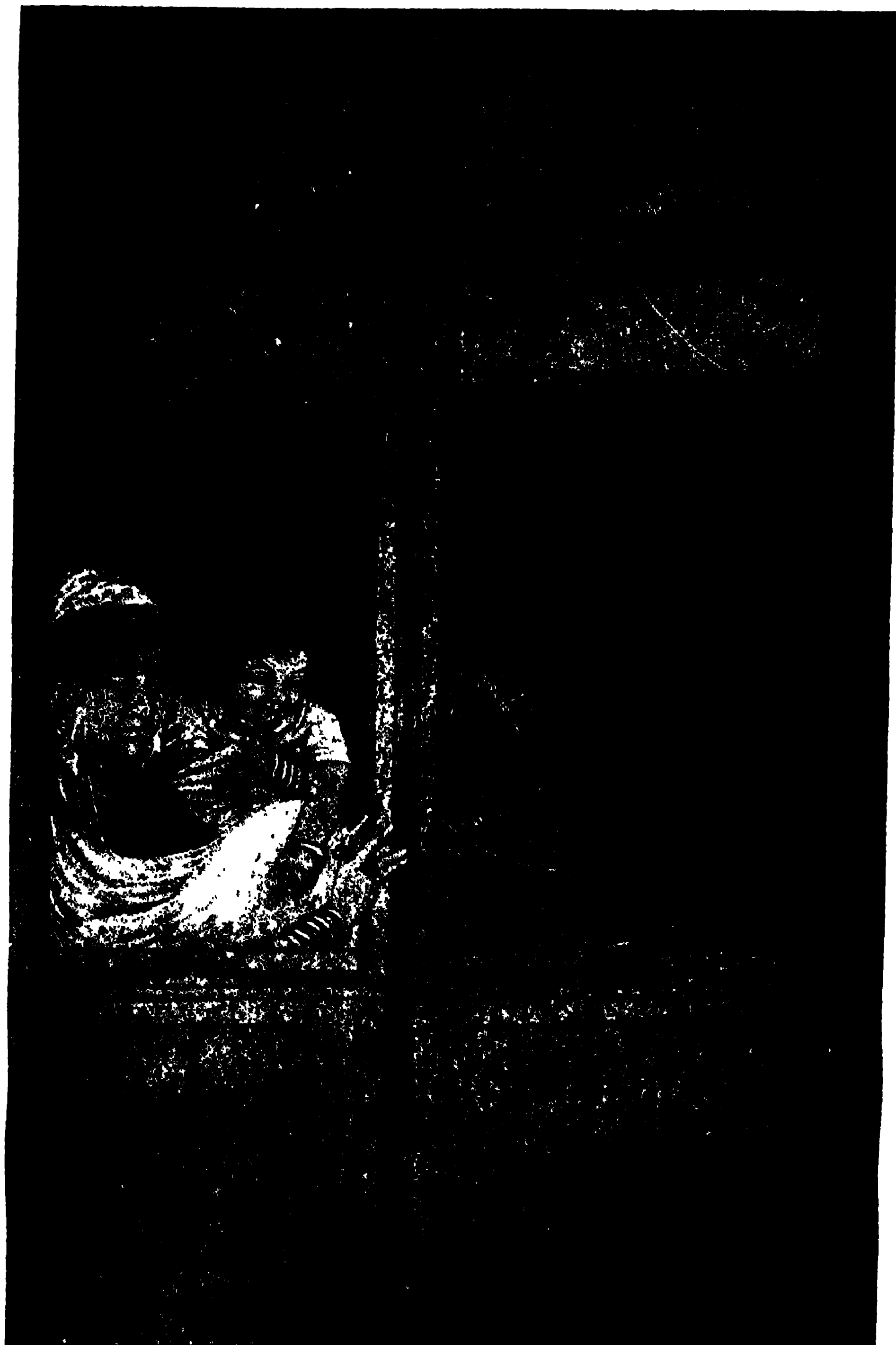
TABLE XI

Institutions	Industrial Section and the trades in which instruction is given
Calcutta Deaf & Dumb School	Drawing, Modelling, Printing, Book-Binding, Machine Shop, Smithy, Carpentry, Fret Work and Tailoring.
Barisal Deaf & Dumb School	Weaving, Dying and Drawing.
Dacca Deaf & Dumb School	Weaving and Drawing.
Chittagong Deaf & Dumb School	Elementary Tailoring.
Mymensingh Deaf & Dumb School	Weaving.
Rajshahi Deaf & Dumb School	Drawing, Modelling, Tailoring and Knitting.
Murshidabad Deaf & Dumb School	Drawing, Modelling, Engraving, Envelope Making and Coir Mat Making.
Khulna Deaf & Dumb School	Nil
Birbhum Deaf & Dumb School	Book-Binding.
Bogra Deaf & Dumb School	Nil
Comilla Deaf & Dumb School	Nil

In the present condition it would be futile to expect well organised Industrial section in all the schools.

All that can be done, is to recommend the system on which the Industrial Section of the Manchester Royal School for the Deaf is run. When the students finish their academic course they join the Industrial section. Likewise those schools which do not run an Industrial Department should send in their boys to join the Industrial section of the Calcutta Deaf & Dumb School for a whole time course covering two academic years, provided of course the authorities of the Calcutta Deaf & Dumb School kindly consent to bear the burden for the whole of Bengal at least for the present.

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NOTES

The Latest Statement of the Viceroy

The latest statement or declaration of the Viceroy, issued from Simla on the 7th August last relating to the expansion of his Executive Council and the future political status of India, is not at all satisfactory. It is mainly a re-iteration of old things and does not foreshadow any fresh *constitutional* advance.

The "Responsibilities" of "His Majesty's Government"

The following passages occur in the Viceroy's declaration:

> It goes without saying that they could not contemplate the transfer of their present responsibilities for the peace and welfare of India to any system of government whose authority is directly denied by large and powerful elements in India's national life. Nor could they be parties to the coercion of such elements into submission to such a Government.
>
> The second point of general interest is the machinery for building within the British Commonwealth of Nations a new constitutional scheme when the time comes. There has been very strong insistence that the framing of that scheme should be primarily the responsibility of Indians themselves, and should originate from Indian conceptions of the social, economic and political structure of Indian life. His Majesty's Government are in sympathy with that desire, and wish to see it given the fullest practical expression subject to the due fulfilment of the obligations which Great Britain's long connection with India has imposed upon her and for which His Majesty's Government cannot divest themselves of responsibility.

In these sentences the Viceroy speaks of His Majesty's Government's and Great Britain's responsibilities and obligations. The responsibilities are for "the peace and welfare of India."

Freedom from internal disturbances and security from external aggression are implied in peace. For more than a quarter of a century communal dissensions and conflicts have been more frequent than ever before. As to disturbances, can it be said that either British India or the Indian States are everywhere free from disorders? We need not mention flagrant instances of disorders in both. Some areas may be said to have been and still to be in a state of chronic insecurity. They can cease to be so if the people be made responsible for their own security and defence.

Regarding security from external aggression, can it be said that from the time that the sceptre of India passed into the hands of Great Britain her aim and her endeavour have been so to develop the country's military strength as to enable it to repell foreign invasion by its own unaided strength? Can it be said even now that the British Government in India have been steadily pursuing any such object? Where is India's vast mechanized land army to surpass or even equal that of any of her eastern or western possible invaders? Where the adequately manned and equipped navy to prevent and repell any invasion by sea? And where are the thousands of aeroplanes with their

more numerous trained pilots to overpower or even match those of her possible invaders? It is true these cannot be brought into being in a day. But where are even the adequate beginnings? British generals and others have often said that India must take charge of her own defence, and that is true. For Britain would not be able to spare any of her fighters for India's defence in case some powerful nations attacked both Britain and India. The fate of British Somaliland ought to be a lesson. In order that India may be able to defend herself she requires the freedom to do all that is necessary for the purpose.

The welfare of India implies material prosperity of her people, national health and mental enlightenment. Among the peoples of the world under civilized rule the Indian masses are the poorest and among them there is greater unemployment, in spite of their country's vast resources, their native intelligence, their sobriety and their power of patient industry.

So much for material wealth.

As for health, the vital statistics of all the various countries of the world under civilized government show that India has the highest rate of mortality, which again is a proof of the phenomenal poverty of her masses.

As regards enlightenment, India holds the record for illiteracy among the countries of the world under civilized government.

And all this though the country has been under the rule of Great Britain for more than a century and a half.

It is found that wherever people are wealthier, healthier and more educated and enlightened than the masses in India, they are so because they are self-ruling. Some nations are able to spend fabulous amounts for defence, because self-rule has made them rich beyond the dreams of avarice.

For all the reasons stated above, it is Great Britain's greatest obligation and responsibility in India to allow her people to be free and self-ruling, instead of indulging in endless talk of "His Majesty's Government's" responsibilities.

The Viceroy has said that His Majesty's Government "could not contemplate the transfer of their present responsibilities for the peace and welfare of India to any system of government whose authority is directly denied by large and powerful elements in India's national life. Nor could they be parties to the coercion of such elements into submission to such a Government."

The authority of the present "system of government" has been denied by the largest and politically most powerful organized elements in India's national life not merely in words but by direct action. But that Government has not for that reason relinquished that authority. Therefore no representative of that system of government can logically and consistently argue that because some elements in India's national life *verbally* deny in advance the authority of India's proposed National Government, therefore power and responsibility cannot be transferred to that Government.

The Viceroy added that "His Majesty's Government could not be parties to the coercion of such elements into submission to such a Government." But should power and responsibility be transferred to a National Government, Her Majesty's Government would have neither the responsibility nor the power to coerce anybody in India. If coercion were necessary in the case of any elements in India's national life, her National Government would be quite able to coerce them into submission. But, as has been pointed out in the Congress Working Committee's resolution on the Viceroy's declaration,

> "that although the Congress has never thought in terms of coercing any minority, much less asking the British Government to do so, the demand for a settlement of the constitution through a Constituent Assembly of duly elected representatives has been represented as coercion and the issue of minorities has been made into an insuperable barrier to India's progress."

Though the Viceroy has said that His Majesty's Government cannot oblige the Congress by undertaking to coerce any minority to submit to any possible Popular Indian Government, His Majesty's Government *have* tried to coerce the Congress into submission to themselves!

India's and Britain's "Common Cause" and "Common Ideals"

The Viceroy's declaration begins thus:

> India's anxiety at this moment of critical importance in the world struggle against tyranny and aggression to contribute to the full to the common cause and to the triumph of our common ideals is manifest.

There is no question that Britain desires that no foreigner or foreigners should tyrannize over her and that there should be no encroachment on her freedom by any aggressor, and that India, too, hates tyranny and aggression. It is also true that India's ideal is that she should have back her birthright of freedom, and that Britain's ideal is that her birthright of freedom should not be taken away from her. But whereas Britain is in deadly earnest in preserving her birthright, she does not show any earnestness

in restoring to India her birthright of freedom. On the contrary Indians feel that Britain is determined, on some excuse or other, to keep India under her subjection as much and as long as possible.

So *in reality* there does not seem to be any community of ideals between India and Britain.

"Dominion Status"

The Viceroy states in the course of his declaration that "Last October His Majesty's Government again made it clear that Dominion Status was their objective for India."

The most advanced and powerful section of politically-minded Indians have not accepted this objective for India. Those others who have accepted it, have done so on the understanding that it would be of the Westminster Statute variety like that enjoyed by Canada, South Africa, Australia. But the Secretary of State for India in explaining the Viceroy's declaration has quoted some words of Lord Balfour which go to show that the Dominion Status meant for India is to be a status lower than that of those Dominions. So it is doubtful if all those who were in favour of Dominion Status will not now revise their opinion.

It is curious that many Britishers say that Dominion Status is as good as independence, some even going to the length of asserting that it is superior to independence, but none of these lovers of liberty would seem to agree to India having even real Dominion Status, not to speak of independence!

War Advisory Council and Expanded Executive Council

The Viceroy proceeds to state:

"They (*i.e.*, His Majesty's Government) added that they were ready to authorise the expansion of the Governor-General's Council to include a certain number of representatives of political parties, and they proposed the establishment of a Consultative Committee In order to facilitate harmonious co-operation it was obvious that some measure of agreement in the provinces between the major parties was a desirable prerequisite to their joint collaboration at the centre. Such agreement was unfortunately not reached, and in the circumstances no progress was then possible.

"During the earlier part of this year I continued my efforts to bring political parties together. In these last few weeks I again entered into conversations with prominent political personages in British India and the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, the results of which have been reported to His Majesty's Government. His Majesty's Government have seen also the resolutions passed by the Congress Working Committee, the Muslim League and the Hindu Mahasabha.

"It is clear that the earlier differences, which had prevented the achievement of national unity, remain unbridged. Deeply as His Majesty's Government regret this, they do not feel that they should any longer, because of these differences, postpone the expansion of the Governor-General's Council, and the establishment of a body which will more closely associate Indian public opinion with the conduct of the war by the Central Government. They have authorised me accordingly to invite a certain number of representative Indians to join my Executive Councils. They have authorised me further to establish a War Advisory Council which would meet at regular intervals, and which would contain representatives of the Indian States, and of other interests in the national life of India as a whole."

In an earlier passage of the declaration deep concern has been expressed that unity of national purpose should be achieved in India as early as possible. And it has been said in the passage quoted above that "unfortunately"(!) some measure of agreement between the major parties in the provinces was not reached. The differences created or aggravated by the laws and other measures of the British Government would cease to exist with the disappearance of those measures. But whilst no attempt is made to do away with those laws and other measure, it is said to be unfortunate that agreement has not been reached!

The mention of the name of the Hindu Mahasabha along with that of the Muslim League appears to have tickled the vanity of some Hindu Mahasabha members. Probably they cannot guess that the Hindu Mahasabha may have been given this slight recognition for a reason similar to that which has led the Government to extend their full patronage to the Muslim League in preference to other numerically stronger Muslim organizations, namely, that like the Muslim League the Hindu Mahasabha may be utilized to minimize the importance of the Congress.

The Governor-General's Executive Council is to be expanded perhaps by His Excellency selecting some men belonging to some communities to become its additional members, and perhaps the number taken from each community would not be proportionate to its numerical strength. These nominees could not be considered the representatives of their communities. Still their inclusion in the Executive Council would have had some constitutional importance if the Executive Council or at least its additional members had been made responsible to the Central Legislature. But that is not to be.

In order to assess the constitutional value of the War Advisory Council it should be remembered that it is to be merely a consultative body. That it would include representatives of the Indian States does not mean that the people of the States will have in it men elected by them; it means that some nominees of some

princes or of the chamber of princes will be there.

It is stated that His Majesty's Government deeply regret that the "earlier differences," whatever that may mean, "remain unbridged." But it is not stated what His Majesty's Government have *actually* done to construct a bridge between or to obliterate at least those differences which owe their origin to Government action. That in spite of these differences remaining unbridged some action is going to be taken is in the Government's own interests.

Full Weight to be Given to Minority Views

The Viceroy's declaration proceeds :

> The conversations which have taken place and the resolutions of the bodies, which I have just mentioned, make it clear, however, that there is still in certain quarters doubt as to the intentions of His Majesty's Government for the constitutional future of India, and that there is doubt, too, as to whether the position of minorities, whether political or religious, is sufficiently safeguarded in relation to any constitutional change by the assurance already given. There are two main points which have emerged. On those two points His Majesty's Government now desire me to make their position clear.
>
> The first is as to the position of the minorities in relation to any future constitutional scheme. It has already been made clear that my declaration of last October does not exclude examination of any part either of the Act of 1935 or of the policy and plans on which it is based. His Majesty's Government's concern that full weight should be given to the views of the minorities in any revision has also been brought out. That remains the position of His Majesty's Government.

The religious, cultural, linguistic and other similar rights of minorities should certainly be fully safe-guarded, and the Congress has all along been for such safeguarding. But according to what principle of political science, justice or equity are the views of minorities alone to be given that full weight which is not to be given to the views of the majority ? Why should any minority be allowed to have a strangleh old on the freedom movement ? Is it an original sin or a crime to be the majority of a nation ? Are the majority of a nation outlaws ?

And who are the minorities, pray ? If the Muslim community be a minority, which it is, why are the views of the Muslim League alone to be taken into consideration, ignoring the existence of other numerically stronger and influential Muslim organizations ? The answer is obvious. Unlike the Muslim League, they are Nationalists and support the Congress demand for independence.

Minority views are going to be used as a sort of veto on all proposals which go against British political and economic interests. And, therefore, only those communities or sections of communities stand a chance of being treated as minorities who favour the continuance of British domination. Otherwise there could be no reason why the views of the Hindu minorities in Bengal, Panjab, Sind and N.-W. F. Province should not be given full weight.

The Viceroy says :

> "It has already been made clear that my declaration of last October does not exclude examination of any part either of the Act of 1935 or of the policy and plans on which it is based."

Opponents of the Communal Decision on which the Act of 1935 is based should not build any superstructure of hope on this observation of His Excellency. Nor should the Indian advocates of legally unobstructed industrial and commercial development of India by Indians expect from it that the chapter on Discrimations in the Government of India Act of 1935 will be omitted or substantially amended in response to their patriotic views.

Another "Round Table Conference" ?

The Viceroy's declaration concludes :

> It is clear that the moment, when the Commonwealth is engaged in a struggle for existence, is not one in which fundamental, constitutional issues can be decisively resolved. But His Majesty's Government authorise me to declare that they will most readily assent to the setting up after the conclusion of the war with the least possible delay of a body representative of the principal elements in India's national life in order to devise the frame work of the new constitution and they will lend every aid in their power to hasten decisions on all relevant matters to the utmost degree. Meanwhile they will welcome and promote in any way possible every sincere and practical step that may be taken by representative Indians themselves to reach a basis of friendly agreement, firstly, on the form which the post-war representative body should take, and the methods by which it should arrive at its conclusions, and secondly upon the principles and outlines of the constitution itself. They trust, however, that for the period of the war with the Central Government reconstituted and strengthened in the manner I have described and with the help of the War Advisory Council all parties, communities and interests will combine and cooperate in making a notable Indian contribution to the victory of the world cause which is at stake. Moreover, they hope that in this process new bonds of union and understanding will emerge and thus pave the way towards the attainment by India of that free and equal partnership in the British Commonwealth which remains the proclaimed and accepted goal of the Imperial Crown and of the British Parliament.—*A. P. I.*

It is quite true that at this critical juncture no elaborate parliamentary legislation relating to the future constitution of India is practicable. But as war time legislation of various kinds has been undertaken and carried through even during this period, it is quite practicable to pass an Act in Parliament now laying down in definite

terms that within six months or one year at the longest Dominion Status will be given to India by parliamentary statute. As such Status has been long promised, there should be no difficulty in giving parliamentary sanction to the promise. The British Parliament should make the promise its own, because it has been stated authoritatively, without a dissentient voice, in both houses of Parliament, which is the ultimate authority in the British constitution, that, not to speak of promises made by lesser persons, not even a pledge given by the Sovereign himself is binding on Parliament against its judgment.

If it be said, as was said in the course of the debate on the Government of India Bill, that Dominion Status cannot be defined and therefore an Act promising Dominion Status would be practically unmeaning, then it may also be said that the recent and previous hopes of Dominion Status held out to India by British statesmen and functionaries of various ranks are also practically unsubstantial.

A Promise to set up a body representative of the principal elements in India's national life is contained in the Viceroy's declaration. It is to be presumed that the Government will decide which are the principal elements and will nominate the "representatives" of these elements and will fix the number of "representatives" of each element. This cannot be satisfactory. The "elements" and their "representatives" might be so chosen that, as was the case with the mischievous Round Table Conferences, it would be impossible for them to arrive at any agreed conclusions. The British Government did not give effect to the recommendations of even the Aga Khan and other "Moderates," but framed their own Government of India Act. So even if the "representative" body adumbrated in the Viceroy's declaration do make any agreed proposals, there is no guarantee that they will be given effect to, seeing that then the war being over the British Government will feel absolutely unconstrained to disregard all varieties of Indian opinion. But we have already given more time and space to the Viceroy's declaration than was perhaps necessary. We note in conclusion that "*sincere* and practical steps" taken by "representative" Indians to reach a basis of friendly agreement" will be welcomed by the British Government. But the judges of the Indians' representative character and the sincerity and practicability of the steps will be that Government!

Mr. Amery's Speeches on India

In the Viceroy's last month's carefully and cautiously worded declaration guarded language has been used. The speeches on Indian affairs in general and the Viceroy's declaration in particular which Mr. Amery, Secretary of State for India, delivered at the Opera House at Blackpool and in the House of Commons repeated many of the Viceroy's views word for word and were fine literary efforts. But fine words butter no parsnips.

It is not necessary to comment in great detail on Mr. Amery's speeches. We will notice a few points in them. They contain reiterations of bureaucratic half-truths whose real character has been repeatedly exposed but which British imperialists will use as their stock in trade until India wins freedom. More than two decades ago we wrote with regard to fitness for self-rule: "There are two kinds of fitness: the fitness to have and exercise a right, and the fitness to win it. The first kind of fitness can be proved by facts and arguments. This we have done. The second kind can be proved only by the logic of achievement," that is, by winning self-rule. All the arguments and pseudo-arguments brought forward by British imperialists against Indian self-rule have been met. But they can argue still and will go on arguing. It is the Indian nationalists' misfortune that they have to bring forward counter-arguments. But while doing so, they must remember that they can silence their opponents only by the logic of achievement.

In his Blackpool speech Mr. Amery paid a tribute to India's civilization, which we appreciate.

With regard to "this English freedom" he observed:

> "This English freedom of ours, we have never thought of it as a monopoly to be secured for ourselves at the expense of others. We have sought to spread it wherever our adventurous people have wandered afield and wherever British influence has extended. It has been the life-blood of our Empire, securing the unfailing allegiance across the wide-world spaces, converting conquest into free and equal partnership."

The last quoted sentence does not yet apply to India.

His promise of Dominion Status is contained in the following words:

> We have repeatedly declared our resolve that India shall attain to the same freedom, to the same full and equal partnership in the Commonwealth as the other Dominions or, for that matter, as this country herself. There is no greater freedom, no higher status, than that in the world today.

A similar description of Dominion Status has been given in his House of Commons speech.

Is the status of the British Dominions higher than that of the United States of America, or, say, of Japan?

The effect of the promise of Dominion Status is spoiled by the following qualifying words :

We have in these last few days given further earnest of our intentions by making it clear that, subject to due provision for those special obligations and responsibilities which our long connection with India has imposed on us, we wish to see India, like other Dominions, framing her own Constitution in her own way and in harmony with her own political, social and economic conception.

The effect of the promise of Dominion Status is further spoiled, if not entirely nullified, by the following passage in Mr. Amery's speech in the House of Commons :

As the late Lord Balfour pointed out in his remarkable exposition of the nature of British Commonwealth relations in the constitutional report of the Imperial Conference of 1926—"the principles of equality and similarity appropriate to status do not universally extend to function," and he instanced in particular the functions of defence and foreign policy. It is in respect of these, for example, that the position of India both in virtue of her historic military organization and of her geographical position differs from that of the Dominions, but the difference that arises from these and similar obligations is one of degree and not of kind For, in the case of every Dominion there has always been some measure of adjustment, formal or informal, to British obligations.

It is Lord Morley's fur-coat argument in another form !

In his Blackpool speech Mr. Amery had said that "India *shall* attain to the *same* freedom, to the *same full* and *free partnership* in the Commonwealth as the other Dominions or, for that matter, *as this country herself.*" A subtle distinction has been drawn between status and function. But if a country, *e.g.*, Britain, be self-controlled as regards all functions, including those relating to defence and foreign policy, and if another country, *e.g.*, India, cannot function independently as regards her defence and foreign policy, is it not absurd to suggest that when India shall have attained to her special brand of Dominion Status, her freedom will be the *same* as that of "this country (Britain) herself" and that India will have the "*same full and equal partnership* in the British Commonwealth" "as this country (Britain) herself," or that there will not then be any "higher status" in the world than India's ?

The second sentence in Mr. Amery's House of Commons speech is :

To keep one's balance steadily along a knife-edge of ice in the high Alps is a much easier task than threading one's way without stumbling or offence through the intricate pitfall-strewn maze of the present Indian situation.

The "intricate pitfall-strewn maze of the present Indian situation" is to not a little extent the creation of British statecraft.

In the course of his eulogy on the Government of India Act of 1935 Mr. Amery observed :

"So far as the provincial part of the Act is concerned, *it* presently came into operation and *is still being worked* **successfully** *in four out of the eleven provinces.*" (Italics ours.—Ed., *M. R.*).

Astounding truth !

How *successfully* the administrations of these Provinces is being conducted the Hindus of the N.-W. F. Province, Sind, Bengal and the Panjab know to their cost.

Mr. Amery paid a well-deserved tribute to the Congress and its leaders :

The Congress leaders are men inspired by an ardent national patriotism. They have built up a remarkable organization, by far the most efficient political machine in India, of which they are justly proud. They have striven to make that organization national and all-embracing. If only they had succeeded, if the Congress could, in fact, speak, as it professes to speak, for all the main elements in India's national life then however advanced their demands our problem would have been in many respects far easier than it is today It is true that they are numerically the largest single party in British India. But their claim in virtue of that fact to speak for India is utterly denied by very important elements in India's complex national life.

Mr. Amery admits that the Congress leaders have striven to make that organization national and all-embracing and if they had succeeded "our problem would have been easier....." Had he been both well-informed and fearlessly impartial he would have been compelled to add that the British Government not only did not help the Congress leaders to make the Congress national and all-embracing but that they have been actually helping and patronizing its opponents and thwarting its endeavour.

Referring to the Muslims Mr. Amery has expressed the opinion that

"In religion and social outlook, in historic tradition and culture the difference between them and their Hindu fellow-countrymen goes as deep as if not deeper than any similar difference in Europe."

This is a highly exaggerated view of Hindu-Muslim differences, born of a conscious or unconscious desire to exploit these differences for a political purpose. Many enlightened Indian Mussalmans have exposed the incorrectness of this view. Mr. Amery himself has unwittingly borne witness against this view by observing in a later passage of the same speech :

"There is the fact that India can boast of an ancient civilization and *of a long* **history** *common to all its peoples of which all Indians* are equally proud." (Italics ours.—Ed., *M. R.*).

A similar inclination to exploit some social differences manifested itself when Mr. Amery referred to the position of the "scheduled castes" in Hindu society. Many of these castes protested against their being placed in the scheduled list.

In spite of the differences referred to by Mr. Amery he could himself perceive and point out India's fundamental unity :

> It is essential to keep these differences in mind when we talk of finding a solution for India's constitutional problems. They are at the moment still unbridged. I refuse to regard them as unbridgeable Underlying them there is after all the fact that India is a self-contained and distinctive region of the world. There is the fact that India can boast of an ancient civilization and of a long history common to all its peoples of which all Indians are equally proud Is there any Indian who is not proud to be called an Indian or any Indian or any community who has not felt a thrill of pride to be a fellow countryman of a man like Rabindranath Tagore whom Oxford has just honoured in so unique a manner? Underlying them too is the unity not merely of administration but of political thought and aspiration which we here can justly claim to have contributed to India's national life. India cannot be unitary in the sense that we are in this Island but she can still be a unity-India's future house of freedom has room for many mansions.

If in the last sentence of the extract given above Mr. Amery expressed indirect approval of the Pakistan proposal, he was guilty of profanation in adapting a sacred utterance of Jesus Christ for blessing a scheme which contains seeds of bitter communal discord and national disintegration and disruption.

We will conclude by referring to one other passage in Mr. Amery's speech :

> His Majesty's Government have made it clear that they could not contemplate the transfer of their present responsibilities for the peace and welfare of India to any system of government whose authority is directly denied by large and powerful elements in India's national life In this matter too there is no departure from the principles which have governed the coming into existence of every Dominion constitution. In every case in the Dominions there has been an antecedent agreement not only between the geographical units but also between the main racial elements—English and French in Canada, British and Boer in South Africa—both as to the method of framing the constitution and as to the constitution itself.

Hindus and Muslims in India—not to speak of the main body of Hindus and the scheduled caste Hindus—are not racially different from one another in the sense that the French and the English in Canada and the English and the Boers in South Africa are racially different. The Muslims in India are mostly descendants of Hindu converts. Moreover, they speak the same Indian languages, whereas the English, the Boers and the French speak different languages.

British imperialists have been making much of the fact that in India some sections of Muslims and some other "elements of national life" deny the authority and representative character of the Congress. But these minorities have, in fact, received encouragement, if not also instigation, from British sources, in their attitude. And may it be asked, if before granting self-rule to Canada, South Africa, Australia, etc., Britain inquired whether the native races there admitted or denied the authority and representative character of the European settlers in their midst?

Congress Resolution on Viceroy's Statement

At Wardha on the 22nd August last the Congress Working Committee passed the following resolution on the Viceroy's latest statement and the report of the speech of the Secretary of State for India in the House of Commons explaining it :

"The Working Committee have read the statement issued by the Viceroy on the authority of the British Government on the 8th of August and the report of the speech of the Secretary of State for India in the House of Commons explaining the Viceroy's statement. They note with deep regret that the British Government have rejected the friendly offer and practical suggestion contained in the Poona resolution of the A.-I. C. C. of 28th July framed for a solution of the deadlock and to enable the Indian National Congress to withdraw its non-co-operation and secure in the recent crisis the patriotic co-operation of all the people of India in the governance of India and the organisation of national defence.

Must Attain Status of Free and Independent Nation

"The Working Committee have read with pain and indignation the declarations and assumptions contained in the statements and speeches made on behalf of the British Government which seek to deny India her natural right of complete national freedom and reiterate the untenable claim that Britain should maintain herself in a dominant position in India in the discharge of the higher functions of the state.

"These claims render false and empty even their own promise to recognise India at an early date as a free and equal unit within the British Commonwealth. Such claims and recent events and developments in the world have confirmed the Committee's conviction that India cannot function within the orbit of an imperial power and must attain the status of a free and independent nation. This does not prevent close association with other countries within a comity of free nations for the peace and progress of the world.

Blow to Willingness to Compromise and Adjustment of Claims

"The Working Committee are of the opinion that the assertion contained in the statements made on behalf of the British Government that they will not part with power and responsibility in favour of the elected

representatives of the people of India and that, therefore the present autocratic and irresponsible system of Government must continue so long as any group of people or the Princes, as distinguished from the people of the States, or perhaps even foreign vested interests, raise objections to any constitution framed by the elected representatives of the people of India, is a direct encouragement and incitement to civil discord and strife and amounts to a fatal blow to all willingness to compromise and adjustment of claims.

Congress Never Thought of Coercing any Minority

"The Committee regret that although the Congress has never thought in terms of coercing any minority, much less of asking the British Government to do so, the demand for a settlement of the constitution through a Constituent Assembly of duly elected representatives has been misrepresented as coercion and the issue of minorities has been made into an insuperable barrier to India's progress.

"The Congress has proposed that minority rights should be amply protected by agreement with elected representatives of the minorities concerned. The Working Committee, therefore, cannot but conclude that the attitude and assertions contained in these statements made on behalf of the British Government confirm the prevailing feeling that the British authority has been continually operating so as to create, maintain and aggravate differences in India's national life

"The Working Committee note with astonishment that the demand for the constitution of a provisional Government composed of persons commanding the confidence of the various elected groups in the present Central Legislature formed under the 1919 Constitution of India has been described by the Secretary of State for India as one that would raise the unsolved constitutional issue and prejudge it in favour of the majority and against the minorities

Statement and Speech are Against Democracy

"The Working Committee are of the opinion that the rejection of this proposal unmistakably indicates that there is no willingness on the part of the British Government to part with any power and authority even for the immediate purpose of securing co-operation in the war efforts. The British Government would gather together and carry on with such dissentient groups and individuals as oppose the wishes of the majority of the people of India and without any co-ordination with the elected legislatures at the Centre or in the Provinces, rather than concede anything that would work towards the recognition of the rights of the people of India to rule themselves democratically. For these reasons the Working Committee have come to the conclusion that the statements referred to are wholly opposed not only to the principle of democracy as acclaimed by the British Government in the war but also to the best interests of India and they cannot be a party to accepting the proposals contained in the statement or advising the country to accept them.

"The Working Committee consider that these declarations and offers not only fall far short of the Congress demand, but would be impediments to the evolution of a free and united India; the Working Committee call upon the people to condemn the attitude adopted by the British Government by means of public meetings and otherwise, as also through their elected representatives in the provincial legislatures."—*A. P. & U. P.*

The Congress Working Committee has correctly analysed and stated the policy and intention of the British Government as clearly indicated in the Viceroy's statement and the Secretary of State's explanation thereof. As there has been no response on the part of the Government to the Congress request contained in the Poona resolution of the A.-I. C. C. of 24th July last, the Congress could not, consistently with its position, co-operate with the Government.

Mr. M. S. Aney, leader of the Congress Nationalist party, is reported to have expressed the view that, "even if no good was to come out of the Viceroy's statement it would be harmful not to respond to it," and "that a political party which had the solid backing of the majority of the nation, if represented on the Viceroy's Executive Council, was bound to exert some influence which might prove beneficial to the country even if it be only to a little extent."

That may be true.

But how can a party pledged to fight for the complete freedom of the country co-operate with the British Government in the hope of exerting "some influence" "which might prove beneficial to the country even if it be only to a little extent"? Co-operating for crumbs from the British Government's table and fighting the same government for winning full freedom cannot go together. The Congress cannot give up the struggle for freedom. It must choose between crumbs and combat. It has rightly chosen the latter.

Congress and the Present Political Situation

The Congress Working Committee has issued the following resolution to the press:

"The decision of the British Government to enforce their will on India in opposition to the will of the great majority of the people and regardless of consequences, has produced a situation of the utmost gravity. The rejection of the Congress proposals is proof of the British Government's determination to continue to hold India by the sword.

ARRESTS OF WORKERS

"In order to compass this end, they have been endeavouring to undermine the strength of the Congress by picking up and arresting hundreds of public workers, including the best workers of the Congress under the Defence of India Act which has no popular sanction whatever.

"IMPOSING A STRUGGLE"

"The desire of the Congress not to embarrass the British Government at a time of peril for them has been misunderstood and despised. They are imposing on the Congress a struggle to vindicate its position and to act for the preservation of the liberties and honour of the people.

"The Congress can have no thought but that of the

supreme good of the dumb and toiling millions of India and through them of the whole of submerged humanity.

A.-I. C. C. MEETING

"In view of the gravity of the situation, the Working Committee have decided to convene a meeting of the All-India Congress Committee on Sunday, September 15. The Working Committee call upon all the Congress organisations to carry on their activities with full vigour and in particular, to explain the Congress position and recent developments to the public. Satyagraha committees must see that those who have taken the pledge act in terms of this pledge and carry on the constructive and other activities of the Congress."

Gandhiji Says Viceregal Pronouncement "Deeply Distressing"

In response to the "News Chronicle's" request Mahatma Gandhi has cabled the following statement :

WARDHA, Aug 13

"Having retired from participation in Congress politics, I have refrained from expressing opinion on the recent Viceregal pronouncement. But pressure from friends in England and fellow-workers here demands response from me.

"The Viceregal pronouncement is deeply distressing It widens the gulf between India, as represented by the Congress, and England. Thinking India outside the Congress too has not welcomed the pronouncement. The Secretary of State's gloss soothes the ear, but does not dispel suspicion. Neither the pronouncement takes note of the smouldering discontent My own fear is that democracy is being wrecked. Britain cannot claim to stand for justice, if she fails to be just to India India's disease is too deep to yield to any make-believe or half-hearted measures.—*A. P.*

Sir Oliver Lodge Dead

Sir Oliver Lodge, F.R.S., the famous British scientist, died on the 22nd August last He was 89 at the time of his death.

He was Professor of Physics at the Liverpool University from 1881-1900; a Ramford Medalist of Royal Society, 1898; President of the Physical Society of London, 1899-1900; President of the Society of Psychical Research, 1901-1904 and 1932; President of the British Association, 1913-14; Albert Medalist of the Royal Society of Arts as Pioneer in Wireless Telegraphy, 1919; Principal of the University of Birmingham, 1900-1919, Faraday Medalist of Institute of Electrical Engineers, 1932; Inventor of Machinery for Dispelling Fog; prominent in Psychical Research with a profound faith in the ultimate unity of Science and Religion.

His well-known works are Man and the Universe, 1908; The Ether of Space, 1909; Raymond or Life and Death, 1916; Beyond Physics, 1930; Advancing Science, 1931; Past Years, An Autobiography, 1931; My Philosophy, 1938.

U. P. Hindu Sangathan Committee Supports Viceregal Statement Conditionally

CAWNPORE, Aug. 19.

The view that the Hindu Mahasabha should accept the Viceroy's offer subject to the condition that His Excellency is able to satisfy Mr. Savarkar on four points, namely,

(1) Time Limit for Dominion Status,
(2) Pakistan Scheme,
(3) Communal question and
(4) Viceroy's Council,

was expressed by the Committee of the U. P. Hindu Sangathan Committee held here during the week-end under the Presidentship of Sir Jwala Prasad Srivastava.

The conditions precedent to the acceptance of the offer state that the Dominion Status should be granted within a reasonable time after the war.

The two-nation theory of the Muslim League should not be countenanced and the Pakistan Scheme not tolerated.

Congress should not be recognised as competent to talk on behalf of Hindus, and the All-India Hindu Mahasabha alone is entitled to represent Hindus, and finally :

The number of nominees of the Hindu Mahasabha and the Muslim League to be appointed to the expanded Executive Council of the Governor-General should be in proportion to the numerical strength of the two communities.—*A. P.*

U. P. Hindus' Four Conditions

The kind of Dominion Status, foreshadowed in the speech of the Secretary of State for India explaining the Viceroy's statement, is not worth much. So, if the Hindus insist on having Dominion Status within a fixed period, it must be Dominion Status like that enjoyed by Canada, for example.

No Indian nationalist, to whatever community he may belong, can accept the false and untenable two-nation theory.

All Hindus, whether nationalist or not, and all Indian nationalists, whatever their religious persuasion, must condemn and reject the Pakistan scheme.

The Congress is no doubt not competent to speak for Hindus as Hindus, but it is competent to speak for its Hindu members and sympathisers. The All-India Hindu Mahasabha is undoubtedly the biggest and most representative Hindu organization.

The last condition is very important. Every member of the Hindu Mahasabha and all true nationalists should insist on its fulfilment.

Dominion Status of the kind enjoyed, for example, by Canada or Eire or South Africa, is undoubtedly valuable and would be worth having, though, for reasons explained in this *Review* more than once, it cannot be our final goal. The final goal is complete independence, such, for example, as the United States of America or Japan possesses. It would be easier for us to reach the goal of complete independence if we had Dominion Status of the kind referred to above than if we were doomed to rot in our present political status or no-status.

As the Congress represents all communities so far as they are component parts of the Indian nation as a whole, it is certainly entitled to speak for the Hindus, the Muslims, the Christians, and other communities so far as the *national* rights (and duties) of these communities as parts of the nation are concerned. It is the duty of the Congress to see that the members of all communities have equal civic and political rights and are treated as equal citizens by the State. The Congress has no right to accept on behalf of the members of any community any lower rights, privileges or status than those of the members of any other community. If it thinks it has such a right and acts on such a belief, as it appears to have done in nominally neither accepting nor rejecting but in reality accepting the so-called Communal "Award," it arrogates to itself a function which does not properly belong to it. The Hindu Mahasabha and the Congress Nationalist party have acted rightly in condemning the Congress attitude in this matter. It is the right and the duty of the Hindu Mahasabha to protect and safeguard the rights and interests of the Hindus in matters pertaining to their religion, their social institutions and customs and their culture and take all necessary steps for the removal of their grievances in all matters, including those of a political character. Muslim and other communal organizations have similar rights and duties in relation to their respective communities. But these rights and duties of all communal organizations and their exercise and performance of the same cannot deprive the Congress, which is India's most powerful, if not the sole national non-communal or all-communal organization, of the right to work for the protection and safeguarding of the interests and rights and the removal of the grievances of all communities and their members *regarded as Indian nationals.*

So long as India's constitution rests on a communal basis, as it does at present, the Hindu Mahasabha will be quite within its just rights to insist on a just proportional numercial representation of the Hindus in the Central Executive Council, in the Central Legislature, in Provincial Cabinets and Legislatures, and in all local bodies. But the constitution cannot be allowed to rest permanently on a communal basis—in fact, it ought never to have been placed on such a basis. It ought to have a democratic basis, and the sooner it has such a basis, the better. When it has such a basis, only the fittest must be the nation's functionaries and representatives at the Centre, in the Provinces and in all local bodies, irrespective of community, creed and caste.

C. W. C. on Government Ordinance on Volunteer Organizations

On the 23rd August last the Congress Working Committee concluded its six days' session at Wardha after passing the following resolution on the Governor-General's ordinance regarding private volunteer organizations :

"The Working Committee have considered the recent Ordinance of the Governor-General relating to volunteers. The Committee are not in a position to understand the real purpose underlying this Ordinance and consider it as too widely and vaguely worded and liable to abuse in its application. The time chosen for its promulgation and the terms thereof are such as to lend some justification to the interpretation that it has been issued to prevent and hamper the normal activities of Congress volunteers.

"The Working Committee fully agree that private armies organised for furthering political or communal objectives by intimidation or force are objectionable and should not be premitted but there is no analogy between such private armies and the training by drill exercise and otherwise of volunteers for peaceful national service. Congress resolutions and instructions issued in respect of its volunteers make it clear that these volunteers are organised for the constructive activities of the Congress for promoting communal harmony, for preserving order at times of meetings, conferences and the like, for teaching discipline and raising physical standards of fitness for service of the people.

"Such volunteers are pledged to non-violence and they were never intended nor are they expected to seek to enforce by intimidation or otherwise the political views of the Congress on others. They cannot be mistaken by dress or otherwise for the military or the police.

"The Working Committee trust that the Ordinance was not intended and will not be misused to suppress the lawful and peaceful work of such volunteers or to interfere with their distinctive dress, drill exercise and peaceful activities.

"The Committee, therefore, direct that the normal activities of the Congress Seva Dal and other Congress volunteers should be carried on and that all such volunteers should continue the national service which they are privileged to perform."—*A. P.*

May it not be that the Government felt that to ban the Khaksar movement alone might displease the Muslims or at least a powerful section of the Muslim community, while thinking at the same time that the Khaksars' activities in the Panjab could not be tolerated, and so in order to create in the public mind an impression of its impartiality it has banned all private volunteer organizations ? But should useful cereals and useless weeds all be uprooted ?

The real character of the Khaksar movement has been shown in an article in our last June number, in which extracts have been given from authoritative Khaksar publications in support of the writer's views.

Relief For Sufferers from Floods in Orissa

The terrible and unprecedented floods in the Vaitarani river in the district of Balasore in Orissa this year are known to the public.

The Speaker of the Orissa Assembly, Babu Mukunda Prasad Das, when wired to, replied from Balasore under date the 8th July, 1940, as follows :

"Sahu Servindia, Poona D. D.
Five thousand families rendered homeless.
People in extremely pitiable condition.
Flood rising again.
Speaker, Orissa."

This tells of the situation of the flood-stricken area in the district of Balasore.

An appeal has been made to the public to help the sufferers there. All help for the cause should be sent to the "*Secretary, Servants of India Society, Poona*, 4."

"*National Herald*" *Appears Without War News Headlines*

The National Herald has done right in publishing war news without headlines, as the U. P. Government in its wisdom ordered it to submit such headlines for official scrutiny before publication.

"*Basic Facts For Health Survey*"

We have received from the Publicity Department of the Corporation of Calcutta a copy of a very useful pamphlet entitled *Basic Facts for Heath Survey*. In this pamphlet figures have been collected with the object of helping the organisers of different Health Agencies in their work with data to study the situation and to develop a programme. As the problems of Calcutta cannot be isolated from the rest of Bengal, the Department has given the figures of the Province with a special emphasis on Calcutta. The pamphlet is being given free to the organisers and authorities of different Health Organisations and agencies in the city.

We hope to be able to make good use of it in future.

Government Explanation of Ordinance About Volunteer Organizations

In view of the Congress Working Committee's resolution on "the recent Ordinance of the Governor-General relating to volunteers," and "in order to remove any possible misapprehension," the Government of India has considered it "desirable to restate the position," "although in their opinion a study of the orders themselves, and of the *Communique* of August 6th which explained their intention leaves no room for doubt."

So they have issued a *Communique* in the course of which they say :

"No new Ordinance has been promulgated. The Orders were issued under the existing Rules framed under the Defence of India Act, as passed by the Legislature. The Orders are not directed against any particular Association, nor are they intended to interfere with the lawful activities of any organisation. They forbid certain easily recognisable forms of activity, namely, drilling of a military nature and the wearing of uniforms resembling military or official uniforms. In general terms these activities may be described as imitations of military methods. These methods are followed by the army and police for a definite object—that object is the use or display of disciplined force. Those who imitate military methods must be presumed to have similar objects in view. No Government (as is recognised by the Congress Working Committee) can tolerate the growth of non-official organisations which have such objects in view. Equally no body of persons which has *not* such objects in view can reasonably claim that such methods are necessary to its existence. This applies with even greater force to an organisation which is openly pledged to non-violence. Drilling of a military nature and the wearing of uniforms resembling military or official uniforms are no longer lawful activities. Any body of person, therefore, which desires to keep within the law and to lead a peaceful existence, must discard these activities. If it does so, it will not be affected by the Orders issued"—*A. P.*

The objects of the Congress Volunteer Organization and of drilling the volunteers have been clearly and convincingly stated in general terms in the Congress Working Committee's resolution. Not being connected with the Congress Volunteer Organization or with any other private body of volunteers we are not in a position to state any particular object of any of them specifically. But one lawful use and object of bodies of private volunteers is not inconceivable. The methods which, according to the Ordinance, must not be followed by private volunteer organizations, "are followed by the army and the police for a definite object—that object is the use or display of disciplined force." It is an admitted and notorious fact that in parts of India, for example in Sind and the N.-W. Frontier, "the army and the police" have not been able by "the use or display of disciplined force" to adequately protect the lives, liberties and properties of some sections of citizens. Hence there is obvious need of private volunteers whose object should be "the use or display of disciplined force" for lawful defence of life, liberty and property. If a government cannot protect the lives, liberties and properties of any section of its subjects, neither should it stand in the way of the subjects themselves undertaking that lawful task.

Death of Leon Trotsky

The renowned revolutionary Leon Trotsky is dead. His cowardly and brutal murder cannot but be condemned and deplored by all right-thinking men as highly reprehensible.

MEXICO CITY, Aug. 22.

M. Trotsky died in hospital at 19-35 on Wednesday evening, as a sequal to an attack with a hammer by an assassin, already reported

BLOW FROM POLITICAL ASSASSIN

While in ambulance on his way to hospital, Trotsky said that the assailant was "either a member of the Ogpu or a fascist."

Before losing consciousness in hospital he is quoted as saying, "I am close to death by a blow from political assassins. Please tell our friends that I am sure of victory of the Fourth International. Go forward."—*Reuter.*

It is an unpleasant coincidence that a hammer, which figures in the flag of the Reds the world over, was used to bring about the death of one of the greatest and most brilliant of them.

Trotsky on Indian Leaders and Masses

We do not in the least share the opinions expressed by M. Trotsky on India's political leaders in general or on Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in particular, as stated in Sjt. Chaman Lal's interview with that celebrated Russian revolutionary, printed elsewhere in this issue. Nor can the certificate given by him to the Indian masses be considered to possess much value, for he had no direct personal knowledge of them. It is not clear why his belief that he had seen a statement by Mahatma Gandhi that the latter would fight Hitler made him angry. As he was an enemy of fascists, he would therefore be naturally expected to welcome any increase in Hitler's enemies. Perhaps he was more hostile to Britain than to Hitler and therefore wanted Gandhiji to fight Britain instead of Hitler!

Sri Rajagopalachariar's "Sporting Offer"

WARDHAGANJ, Aug 22.

"Probably the reference is to an interview I gave to the Madras representative of the *Daily Herald*, said Mr. Rajagopalachariar when his attention was drawn to the interview of Lord Strabolgi, Leader of the Opposition in the House of Lords in course of which he (Strabolgi) mentions that the suggestion of Mr. Rajagopalachariar for a National Government with a Muslim Premier who will choose his own cabinet is worth a serious attention. Mr. Rajagopalachariar, however, refused to be drawn into any comment obviously in view of the recent developments.—*U. P.*

WARDHA, Aug. 23.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, ex-Premier, Madras, has made the following statement to the *Daily Herald*, London:

"In answer to Mr. Amery's difficulty as to minorities, I may make a sporting offer that if His Majesty's Government will agree to a provisional National Government being formed at once, I undertake to persuade my colleagues in the Congress to agree to the Muslim League being invited to nominate the Prime Minister and to let him form a National Government as he would consider best.

"If there is sincerity in the difficulty felt by His Majesty's Government it should be met by what I offer."—*A. P.*

The difficulty felt by the British Government, as stated by its representatives, is that as the different political parties in India cannot agree among themselves and that as some minorities object to Congress rule, political power cannot be transferred to Indians—not even to the most powerful of their organizations. The Congress is that powerful organization and the Muslim League has been the most vociferous and persistent among the proteges of the British Government to deny and object to the authority of the Congress. Now, if the Congress practically accepted the leadership of the Muslim League, the British Government's difficulty should vanish. Hence, Sri Rajagopalachariar's "sporting offer" may have been made to test the sincerity of the British feeling of the above-mentioned difficulty.

His offer may have been made also to test whether Mr. Jinnah really thinks that there are two nations in India or the Pakistan proposal was a mere bid for power somewhere—either over the whole of India or at least over some parts of it, and a contrivance to deprive a national organization like the Congress of influence over at least a part of India. Sri Rajagopalachariar says to Mr. Jinnah in effect: "The Congress does not want power—does not want to domineer over you. Take the reins of power in your own hands and choose your colleagues yourself." Mr. Jinnah and the Muslim League should not expect a fairer and better proposal or offer.

Whatever may have been Sri Rajagopalachariar's reasons for making the offer, we are against anybody making such offers for any communal 'appeasement.' Mahatma Gandhi once gave a blank cheque to the Muslim community. It was not accepted. That move on his part has ever since been resented by large numbers of Hindus. And Sri Rajagopalachariar's offer, too, cannot but be resented by large numbers of Hindus. Nobody denies that the Congress is still the most powerful and best

organized representative and national organization in the country. But Congress leaders must be aware that its Hindu sympathisers outside the ranks of its members has been decreasing and the membership of and sympathisers with the Hindu Mahasabha have been increasing, and that for good reasons. There have always been more Hindus outside the Congress fold than within it. It is bad for the Congress both in principle and in policy to go on antagonizing large bodies of Hindus, who already stand antagonized by the Congress policy of nominally neither accepting nor rejecting but really accepting the so-called communal award.

It should also be noted that Muslims who are not members of the Muslim League are becoming increasingly better organized and more vocal. If the whole Muslim community has to be appeased, it will not do to make a sporting offer of Prime Ministership to the Muslim League alone, but the vaster body of Muslims outside that league must also be approached.

In fact, the whole outlook of Indian political leaders should change and their stand should be definitely democratic and national.

The present constitution of India rests on a communal basis. This should never have been tolerated. It should have been fought from its very inception. It would be wrong to add to its communal character even in an informal manner. No Mussalman should be made the prime minister in an Indian national government because of his being a Mussalman. If the most public-spirited, democratic, 'national' and capable among Indian leaders be a Mussalman, let him be the prime minister by all means, but not otherwise. Nay more;—if his most public-spirited, democratic, 'national,' and capable colleagues be found in the Muslim community, let the personnel of the cabinet be also wholly Muslim, but not otherwise.

If the communal character of the constitution must be maintained for a definitely fixed brief period, the "National" Government should contain representatives of the principal communities in proportion to their numerical strength. The largest number of members should be taken from the Hindu, the majority community. The Muslim, the Sikh, the Christian and other communities should have numbers of representatives in proportion to their numerical strength.

But this is only so long as the constitution rests on a communal basis, and it should have such basis for the shortest possible period.

Sri Rajagopalachariar and other advocates of Muslim appeasement should always remember that the Muslim League cannot be appeased by any kind of bribe, direct or indirect, for its patron, Britain, can always make a higher bid for its allegiance.

"Raja Rammohun Roy and Progressive Movements in India"

For some years past Dr. J. K. Majumdar has been working hard with great devotion to find out and publish important official and non-official records relating to the life and work of Raja Rammohun Roy. His labours have already resulted in the publication of two volumes: *Letters and Documents Relating to the Life of Raja Rammohun Roy*, and *Raja Rammohun Roy and the Last Moghuls*. In the preparation of the first volume he had as his collaborator Rai Bahadur Ramāprasād Chanda, who contributed to it a valuable Introductory Memoir. These two volumes have received high encomiums from, among others, the late Mr. C. F. Andrews.

Dr. Majumdar is about to publish another volume, entitled *Raja Rammohun Roy and Progressive Movements in India*. It is a bulky volume of more than 650 pages of the size of *The Modern Review*. These *Movements* were religious, moral, social, literary, educational, political, economic, judicial and of some other kinds. With all of them the Raja was closely connected and many were initiated by him. They brought about the renaissance in India. The volume gives illuminating accounts of the movements and contains a selection from official and other contemporary records relating thereto.

The following extracts from Rammohun Roy's refutation of the objections raised by the Directors of the East India Company to the Bill introduced by the President of the Indian Board in Parliament for rendering Indians eligible to be appointed as Justices of the Peace and to sit on Grand Juries as well as Petit Juries, will be found interesting as having a bearing on some present-day problems in India and their causes :

> "It lies with every Government to establish and preserve a community of feeling, interest, and habitude, among the various classes of its subjects, by treating them all as one great family, without shewing an invidious preference to any particular tribe or sect, but giving fair and equal encouragement to the worthy and intelligent under whatever denomination they may be found. But by pursuing a contrary plan, for "community of feeling" will of course be substituted "religious jealousy"; for community of interest, a spirit of domination or "ascendency" on the one hand, of hatred and revenge on the other; and lastly, for "community of habitude" will be established a broad line of demarcation and separation even in conducting public business.

> "I am quite at a loss to conceive why the Court of Directors instead of endeavouring to conciliate the

affections of the millions of British subjects in India, should, on the contrary, pass laws calculated to stir up a spirit of religious intolerance, in a now harmonious though mixed community, and to revolt the feelings of the most numerous classes of it, particularly the intelligent among the rising generation,"

With a few changes these observations might be made appropriately with reference to the so-called communal "award" and much of the legislation in Bengal.

"While no such invidious distinction existed between different religious sects, the natives of India were disposed to place confidence in the disposition of the Government to act with justice and impartiality in protecting all classes of its subjects; they made no complaint on account of their exclusion from political power, and they were ever disposed to forget that their rulers were foreigners of a different country and religion from themselves. This fact however is now painfully obtruded on their attention by the daily operation of the laws themselves as established by the 7th Geo. IV. Cap. 37, s. 3, which has consequently excited more discontent among the intelligent part of the natives than even their total exclusion from the exercise of political rights, as fully proved by their petitions to Parliament on the subject."

Anti-Communal "Award" Day

Pandit Madan Mohun Malaviya and Mr. M. S. Aney had recommended that the 17th of August should be observed as a day of public protest against the so-called Communal "Award." Many very largely attended protest meetings were held on that day in Calcutta, at which the Communal Decision was condemned and its withdrawal demanded. Similar meetings were held in many other towns in Bengal. In Calcutta and in these other towns the meetings were attended by Congressmen also. In at least one town, Bankura, the meeting was attended by some prominent Mussalmans also, the resolution condemning the so-called "award" being carried unanimously.

It is a pity that the Anti-Communal "Award" day was not largely observed outside Bengal. Of all the sinister British imperialist moves aimed against Indian solidarity and nationalism the British Communal Decision is the most sinister. It has embittered communal relations, made cordial inter-communal co-operation even in non-political matters very difficult, if not impossible, and poisoned the whole national life of India. The Pakistan proposal is its direct ominous fruit. All India suffers from it, though Bengal is the worst sufferer. How Bengal Hindus have suffered from it so far as representation in the Legislature is concerned has been stated thus in *The Leader*:

They have a legitimate cause for grievance. The total number of seats in the Bengal Assembly is 250. Thirty-one of these are allotted to Europeans, Anglo-Indians and Indian Christians. Of the remaining 199 seats, 96·5 ought to have been allotted to Hindus and 102·5 to Muslims on the basis of the respective population of the two communities. Actually the Muslims are given, thanks to the "award," 119 seats, *i.e.*, 16 more seats than they are entitled to, and the number of Hindu seats is reduced correspondingly.

Sir N. N. Sircar rightly suggested last year in the course of a speech delivered by him that at the next elections not a single Hindu vote should be cast for a candidate unless he openly discarded the Congress formula "neither accept nor reject" and pledged himself to work for the reversal of the so-called "award."

Demand for Subhas Chandra Bose's Release

In public meetings held in Calcutta Sjt. Subhas Chandra Bose's immediate release has been repeatedly demanded. The Calcutta Corporation has passed a resolution demanding his immediate release. It is not a matter for surprise that the resolution was opposed by the European members. Followers of the Hindu Mahasabha, the Congress and the Muslim League enthusiastically supported the resolution.

In reply to a question in the House of Commons the Secretary of State for India stated some time ago that Sjt. Subhas Chandra Bose had been arrested and imprisoned because he had said that he would head a movement for the demolition or removal of the Holwell Monument. The Bengal Government has decided to remove that monument and the movement against it has been also recalled. Therefore, there cannot now be any honest and consistent ground for his further detention. By this we do not at all imply that the Bengal Government were justified in arresting him at all.

Along with Sjt. Subhas Chandra Bose, all others imprisoned in connection with the movement directed against the Holwell Monument should be released.

Imprisonment Under Defence of India Rules No Substitute For Adequate Defence Arrangements

Many persons have been arrested and imprisoned under the Defence of India rules or on the charge of offending in some way against the Defence of India Act, some without trial and others after trial. Among the persons imprisoned a large proportion consists of members of the Indian National Congress.

It is implied in these imprisonments that thereby the defence of India would be facilitated. But the fact is that even if all the members, including the leaders, of the Congress, were

imprisoned and in addition all others who are against such imprisonment were clapped into jail, India would remain as much without adequate means of real defence as now.

For the defence of British rule in India against local violent upheavals the present mercenary army may suffice. But for repelling the invasion of the country by any foreign power of the first rank a patriotic *citizen* army of millions of fighters on land, on the ocean and in the air with up-to-date equipment would be required.

The Late Maharaja of Mysore

The untimely death, at the comparatively early age of 56, of His Highness Maharaja Krishnaraja Wadiyar of Mysore has been a great loss to that State, to the Indian States in general and to British India as well. Alike in personal life and in the administration of his State he set an example which, if followed by other princes, would largely improve the material and moral condition of the Indian States and make the relations between the princes and the people of the States more cordial.

He led a simple life verging almost on austerity. The administration of the State improved vastly during his regime. Education made rapid strides. In promoting the higher education of women and in ameliorating the condition of the depressed classes Mysore has left British India behind. Her hydro-electric and other public works are examples for others to follow. Industrial development in the State has been so great that Mysoreans can now produce and obtain there most things required for civilized life. The Indian Institute of Science at Bangalore could not have become the research institute which it is today without the liberal help given to it by the Mysore Durbar.

The Liberals' Soberly Worded But Devastating Criticism of Viceregal Declaration

Among those who accepted the objective of Dominion Status (of course, of the Westminster Statute variety) without any mental reservation the most intellectual and politically best informed were the leading members of the National Liberal Federation of India. But they are not at all satisfied with the latest declaration of the Viceroy and its explanation by the Secretary of State for India. At an emergent meeting of the Council of the Federation under the presidentship of Dr. R. P. Paranjpye held at Allahabad on the 25th August last the following resolutions were passed after about seven hours' discussion :

"The Council of the National Liberal Federation of India has given careful consideration to the statement of H. E. the Viceroy of August 8 and the speech of Mr. Amery in the House of Commons on August 14 and is of the opinion that it should be clarified and modified in the manner suggested below in order to evoke whole-hearted response from the people in the prosecution of the war.

(*a*) "The statement of Mr. Amery in which he draws a distinction between the functions and the status of a dominion with reference to India has caused grave apprehension in the minds of the people of the country that what he called the British obligations in India may permanently stand in the way of India achieving the same freedom as the other Dominions enjoy. A clear assurance is, therefore, needed that the contemplated free and equal partnership of India is not subject to such qualifications.

(*b*) "The Council considers that a definite time-limit should be laid down within which India will attain Dominion Status as it feels that after the war danger is over, the various conditions in the declaration are capable of being put forward as excuses for delaying such attainment indefinitely.

(*c*) "While the Council is anxious to satisfy all reasonable claims and aspirations and remedy all genuine grievances of the country it cannot help feeling that the guarantees given in the declaration to the minorities are worded in such wide terms that they can be used to stop all political progress if their demands, even the most unreasonable, are not fully conceded. The Council, therefore, desires that it should be clearly stated that in the event of such a non-possumus attitude on the part of any minority or interest Government will carry out its promise to grant Dominion Status consistently with the principle of nationalism and democracy and the integrity of the country.

(*d*) "To enable India to put forth its best effort for the prosecution of the war and to reconcile the country to any sacrifices that may be necessary, the Council considers it essential that (I) the Defence portfolio should be entrusted to an Indian who commands the confidence of the people and (II) the Defence Forces of India should be organised on a fully national basis in particular the recruitment of non-Indian officers should henceforward be discontinued.

(*e*) "The new members of the Viceroy's Executive Council should be selected from the representatives of the various political parties in the country and that such new members should be in a majority on that Council.

"That as a matter of convention such an enlarged Executive Council should work as a Cabinet : that the Viceroy should be its constitutional head and that the British Government should not ordinarily interfere with any policy that has the support of such an Executive Council and the Central Legislature.

(*f*) "The acceptance of the principle of self-determination in the declaration is so hemmed in by regard for British obligations and guarantees to minorities and interests as to render it nugatory and the Council considers that if it is really intended to grant self-determination it should be done in a manner which will make it practically effective."—*A. P.*

As there is no officially approved exhaustive list of minorities and as India is inhabited by numerous castes and communities, some impossible demand of some of them dubbed as a

minority for the nonce may be brought forward by the authorities at their need any day to veto any national and democratic scheme of constitutional reform to which the Muslims and other at present recognized minorities may have given their assent.

Appeal to Hindus to Unite to Protect Their Rights

An appeal to the Hindus of Bengal to sink their differences and to unite in the matter of safeguarding the legitimate rights and interests of the community was made at a crowded meeting of the Hindu citizens of Calcutta held on the 26th August last under the presidentship of Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee under the auspices of the Bharat Sevasram Sangha.

> The meeting by a resolution asked the Hindus of Bengal to organise "Rakshidal" all over Bengal similar to those which had already been organised in some districts
>
> The meeting also asked the Hindus to co-operate with the different institutions working for Hindu Sangathan in order to start schools for physical training for members of the "Rakshidal," and to give facilities to every Hindu to learn the art of self-defence.
>
> By another resolution the meeting requested the Hindus to assist the Hindu Sangathanist Organisations and co-operate with them in setting up a net-work of unity centres all over Bengal for Hindus of all classes and creeds, such centres being intended for developing among the Hindus unity, fellowship and solidarity.

In addressing the meeting Sjt. N. K. Basu said that

> The Hindus of Bengal should realise that whenever any question arose relating to the rights and interests of the various communities the Muslims sank their differences and made a common cause with a view to establish and maintain their rights. But he regretted that the Hindus of Bengal could not sink their differences and make a common cause when any question concerning the rights and interests of the Hindu community arose. He was of the opinion that if the Hindus of Bengal could unite and come under a common platform and then made their demands no one could resist those demands. He asked the Hindus of Bengal to unite and organise. The speaker was of the opinion that in their task of bringing about unity among different sections of the Hindus they should make it a point to root out the evil of untouchability from the Hindu society. If they could not do that, they could not expect that classes belonging to the lower strata of the Hindu society would respond to their call.

The meeting was addressed also by Sjt. N. C. Chatterjee, Sjt. Sanat Kumar Ray Chaudhuri and Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, the president, who said among other things that "the Hindus should tell the world that they acquired strength not to oppress any other community but to resist those who made unjust attempts to encroach upon their rights."

The unification of Hindu society is highly desirable. For the attainment of that object the rooting out of untouchability is indispensably necessary. But that alone will not suffice. There should be unrestricted marriage between Hindu sub-castes and Hindu castes. Inter-provincial marriages among Hindus should also be permitted and promoted. If attention were confined to the province of Bengal alone, it would be found that "the Hindus of Bengal" included other Hindus besides the Bengali Hindus. Unity and cordiality with these Hindus from outside Bengal, many of whom speak Bengali and acquire the culture of Bengal, would be greatly promoted by inter-marriage with them wherever practicable.

Science and the Future of Indian Industry

On the 24th of August last Dr. S. S. Bhatnagar, Director, Board of Scientific and Industrial Research, delivered an interesting and instructive lecture on the subject of "Science and the Future of Indian Industry" at the Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture. Mr. G. L. Mehta presided and introduced the lecturer in appropriate terms. Mr. Mehta made some important observations at the end of the lecture also.

> Dr. Bhatnagar in his speech referred to the vast problem of unemployment and pointed out how science could be useful in the effort to solve it. He said that there was nothing wrong in having industrial research even before there was large scale industrial development because we could benefit by the experience and research of other countries. Despite geographical boundaries and national differences, the world was a closely knit unit in matters of scientific knowledge and we had ample opportunities of learning and profiting by the experiments and even failures in other countries. A proper liasion between industry and science was all the more important in India because India had fewer industries and there was considerable scope for expansion and advancement in different directions. Until now the powers-that-be had deprecated the abilities and neglected the vast resources of this country and their attitude to industrialisation had been apathetic. For instance, despite large forests sufficient high quality wood was not available in this country for industrial use and it was only recently that efforts were made to treat the wood in a proper way. Similar was the case with steel helmets and several other articles which were believed to be impossible of manufacture in India but were now proved to be completely within our competence and resources. The war was the turning point in India's industrialisation and fortunately there was a change visible in the whole outlook and policy of the Government towards India's efforts to industrialise itself and become economically self-reliant.
>
> Dr. Bhatnagar also dealt with the part which science can play in different industries such as sugar or coal and showed how scientists could not only undertake research but also show the best way for utilisation of raw materials, by-products and avoidance of waste. Both the industrialist and the technician had their respective roles to play in the future industrial scheme of India

and both of them were indispensable. If hitherto there had been a tendency on the part of many industrialists not to value the technicians at their proper worth, some of the scientists themselves lacked practical knowledge and the difficulties of the entrepreneur in India. Fortunately both were now learning to recognise each other's view-point, difficulties and needs and with a suitable active policy of the Government, there was no doubt that India had a hopeful industrial future.

Calcutta Corporation Accepts Special Committee's Report on Municipal Amendment Bill

The Corporation of Calcutta has accepted the recommendations of the special committee appointed by it to report on the proposed Calcutta Municipal Second Amendment Bill. The recommendations of the special committee along with the report on the Bill drawn up by Sjt. N. C. Chatterjee as per resolution of the Special Committee came up finally before the Corporation at its meeting on the 16th of August last.

The Special Committee has found, in all, more than 20 sections of the Bill acceptable, has given its qualified support to about 16 sections and has recommended the rejection of 20 sections of the Bill.

The proposed section in the Bill empowering Government to dissolve the Corporation has not been accepted, nor has the Committee accepted the proposal to invest the Chief Executive Officer with power to sanction estimates not exceeding Rs. 10,000.

The Committee does not accept the provision in the Bill empowering Government to annul the proceedings of the Corporation, its Committees and Sub-Committees. The Committee has also recommended the rejection of the clause that deals with the appointment of the C. E. O. by the Government and also the Clause that deals with the appointment of a Service Commission and the appointment and control of officers and servants of the Corporation. The Committee also does not recommend the acceptance of the Clause that deals with the consolidated rate due from the occupier It is pointed out that the Corporation will lose to the extent of ten lakhs of rupees if this Clause is accepted.

Sjt. N. C. Chatterjee's report on the Bill, printed in full in the *Calcutta Municipal Gazette*, is a very able production. Among other things it deals with the history of self-government in Calcutta, attempts at officialising the Corporation, introduction of democracy in it, the first Municipal Amendment Bill of 1939 and the Second Municipal Amendment Bill of 1940. He has given a succinct account of what the Corporation has achieved and has been trying to accomplish since its democratization in relation to primary education, maternity and child welfare work, public health, health publicity, baby clinics, milk kitchens, contributions to technical and educational institutions, free libraries, anti-malarial work and other social service work.

The Status of Bengali-speaking Citizens in Assam Province

The report of the Nowgong Conference of the Assam Citizens Association is before us. The foreword to it is a revealing and illuminating document. It is from the pen of Professor Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerjee, M.A., Ph.D., P.R.S., M.L.C., the well known historian and head of the department of history, Lucknow University.

The facts brought to the notice of the public in Dr. Mookerjee's Foreword and in the resolutions with the speeches thereupon show that the lot of the Bengalis in the province of Assam is worse even than that of the Bengalis in the province of Bihar. In the province of Bihar, which includes parts of geographical and linguistic Bengal which formerly formed parts of the province of Bengal, the Bengali-speaking citizens are a small minority. But in the province named Assam, which includes parts of geographical and linguistic Bengal that formerly formed parts of the province of Bengal, the Bengali-speaking citizens are by far the most numerous linguistic group. Yet they are discriminated against and practically treated as foreigners !

Dr. Mookerjee writes in his Foreword :

> In this truly wonderful linguistic world, as has been already stated, the Bengali-speaking population represents the largest linguistic group forming nearly 43 per cent of Assam's total population. The speakers of the Assamese language come next to the Bengalis, and form 21·6 per cent, though in 1901 Census the Assamese-speaking population was a little larger, being 22 per cent.

So the Bengali-speaking citizens of Assam are not only the largest linguistic group in Assam, but they are very nearly double the next largest group, namely, the Assamese-speaking citizens of Assam.

Dr. Mookerjee proceeds :

> On the basis of this linguistic fact it is difficult to understand what exactly is meant by the slogan "Assam for the Assamese." The term "Assamese" like the term Bihari or the Punjabi should have a territorial connotation. It should only mean the citizens or nationals of the State or province of Assam. As has already been indicated, the nationals of Assam are extremely divided by language . . .

With respect to the position of the Bengali-speaking citizens of Assam in the province of Assam Dr. Mookerjee writes, in part

> In Assam, however, the Bengalis of Assam or the Assamese-Bengalis or the Bengali-Assamese form a linguistic majority whose number is nearly double that of the Assamese-speaking Assamese. The great grievance of the Bengali-Assamese is that their language is

being sacrificed in the interests of the language of a minority. Not merely that : the very existence of their language is being ignored and it is denied even the protection which is granted to the language of a minority. An impression has been created that the scheme of the Government of Assam is to make out that the province of Assam is peopled by the Assamese-speaking population as forming the majority. The Bengali-Assamese apprehend, not without reason, that the Government is even pursuing a policy of exterminating Bengali as the predominant language of Assam so that it may steadily retreat before the advance of Assamese promoted by the entire resources of the State. Such a linguistic war is unheard of in history and has no parallel or precedent. It is bound, however, to be fruitless, because it is a war against truth and science.

We have no space in this issue to deal with the various other grievances of the Bengali-speaking citizens of the province called Assam.

All citizens of Assam, whatever their language, should cordially co-operate with one another on a footing of equal citizenship.

The Situation in Sind

KARACHI, Aug. 17.

More than ordinary importance is attached in political circles to the prolonged ministerial meeting being held for the past three days culminating in a Cabinet meeing following the visit of Sir Reginald Maxwell, Home Member, Government of India, to make a personal study of the situation in the province.

Besides the findings of Mr. Justice Weston on the causes of Sukkur riot which are at present kept secret, the question of the growing lawlessness and measures to check it are said to form the principal subjects of these prolonged deliberations Significance is attributed to the resignation of the Parliamentary Secretary, Mir Ghulamali, who in the course of a statement says that his resignation is due to the "failure of the Ministry to check the lawlessness prevailing in the province."—*A. P.*

Pandit Nehru on New Experiment in Aundh

BOMBAY, Aug. 18.

"The atmosphere of an Indian State is an oppressive one as a rule. It is difficult to breathe properly there or to function normally in any way. There was no such feeling of oppression, however, in Aundh. The Raja Saheb seemed to be the head of a big family and his son, the Prime Minister, functioned not as the Raja's son, but as a citizen chosen by people."

Thus writes Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, President of the All India States Peoples' Conference, in the course of an article to the *States People*, Bombay, under the caption "My Visit to Aundh."

Aundh is a small State whose ruler is known to the public for his princely donation to the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute of Poona for bringing out the critical edition of the Mahabharata and for his Surya-namaskār exercises. What he has done for self-rule in his small State can be done in larger States, too, provided there is wholeheartedness in the endeavour.

Panjab Adi-Dharmis Reckoned Non-Hindus : Hindu Mahasabha To Note

One of the causes of the decrease of the Hindu population of the Panjab as recorded in the Census of 1931 was that the Adi-Dharmis there were recorded as non-Hindus. All relevant facts relating to this subject are mentioned in a statement dated Lahore, August 21, 1940, issued by the President of the Panjab Provincial Depressed Classes League. The following extracts are made from that statement :

"The Punjab Ad-Dharm Mandil has petitioned the Punjab Government before the Census operation started in 1930 representing that the Depressed Classes should be permitted to return Ad-Dharm as their religion at the time of the Census as they were the aborigines of India and while the Hindus kept them at a respectable distance they did not believe in Hindu religion."

(Census of India 1931, Vol. XVII, Punjab, Part 1, page 289).

This demand of the Ad-Dharm Mandil was accepted and in consequence of this the population of the Hindus including Hindu Depressed Classes was decreased. This fact was also admitted by the Government.

"The Hindu population has decreased—a direct cause of the decrease is that over 4 lakhs of persons, belonging to the backward classes returned themselves as Ad-Dharmis."

(Census of India 1931, Vol. XVII, Punjab, Part 1, page 295).

The writer of the statement inquired of Khan Bahadur Sheikh Fazal-i-Ilahi, superintendent of the census operations in the Panjab, whether in the next census also the Adi-Dharmis would be counted as non-Hindu. He received the following reply :

Letter dated 13-8-40. From the Superintendent, Census Operations :—

I have the honour to say that Ad-Dharmis will be treated as non-Hindus and will not be included in the general total of Hindus at the ensuing Census as in 1931.

It is the bounden duty of the Hindu Mahasabha and the Arya Samaj to remove all the legitimate social grievances of the Adi-Dharmis and thereby persuade them to declare themselves as Hindus and to insist on their being enumerated as Hindus at the next census.

Pandit Nehru On Viceroy's Declaration

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said at a press conference held in Bombay on the 27th August last :

"The Viceroy's statement and Mr. Amery's speech have made two points crystal clear, namely, that the

British Government have no intention, whatever, of giving real power to the Indian people.

"This is obvious in the present," continued Pandit Nehru, "for the appointment of any number of Executive Councillors does not give power to the people. The Executive Council is not a Cabinet and is just a collection of heads of departments who advise the Viceroy and whose advice may be rejected. The Viceroy is the sole repository of power, responsible to none in India."

Dealing with the future, Pt. Nehru said :

"The glimpse of the future that is shown to us also does not promise us any kind of freedom. The conditions laid down are such that it is hardly possible for us to fulfil them."

Pt. Nehru concluded :

"We have seen the temper of the British Government. That demands only one kind of answer from us and I have no doubt that the A.-I. C. C. will give it. Under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi the Congress and the country will march ahead again along the hard path of suffering and sacrifice which leads to freedom."

May it be hoped that the British Government will yet have the wisdom and the consciousness of the limitation of its power, to choose the path of peace ?

Bengal Secondary Education Bill

By analyzing the constitutions of the proposed Secondary Education Board for Bengal, of its Executive Council and of the Committees to be formed according to the provisions of the Secondary Education Bill, many writers and speakers have correctly shown that in these bodies the Government view will generally prevail. But even if these bodies were not constituted in the way they have been done, with the object of making the Government all-powerful in the sphere of secondary education in Bengal, other provisions have been made in the Bill for the attainment of that object. In support of our opinion, we quote the two following sections of the Bill :

"45. The Provincial Government may, by order in writing, suspend the execution of any resolution or order of the Board, the Executive Council or any Committee constituted under this Act, and prohibit the doing of any act which purports to be done or to be intended to be done under this Act, if in the opinion of the Provincial Government such resolution, order or Act is in excess of the powers conferred by or under this Act upon the Board, the Executive Council or such Committee, as the case may be.

"46(i). If in the opinion of the Provincial Government the Board has shown its incompetence to perform, or persistently made default in the performance of, the duties imposed or exceeded or abused the powers conferred upon it by or under this Act, the Provincial Government may, by notification specifying the reasons therefor, remove the elected and appointed members of the Board and direct that the Board be reconstituted by a fresh election and appointment of members in accordance with the provisions of Section 4."

These sections show that if, in spite of all the precautions taken, the Government view does not prevail in any matter, the Board's, the Executive Council's and the Committees' proceedings threanent will be suspended and made null and void by the Provincial Government, and, if the worst comes to the worst, the Board may be removed and a fresh Board constituted.

So, the Board and its subordinate bodies will have to act with Damocles's sword suspended over their heads ! The Sadler Commission wanted an Autonomous Board to be constituted. And the Chief Minister who swears by the Sadler Commission has designed this kind of Indepedent Board !

The Provincial Government which is to have such irresistible power over secondary education in Bengal does not meet even one-fifth of the total cost of such education in the province. It does not, will not, cannot pay the piper, but must call the tune.

If the Government had been a purely foreign bureaucratic Government, it would have been highly undesirable to make it all-powerful in the field of education, for it has always looked askance at the progress of education in the country. At present, the Bengal Government practically means the Bengal Ministry with a preponderating Muslim element. The Muslim ministers depend, for their continuance in office, on the good graces of Muslim voters and of their European supporters. The Muslim community in Bengal is far more backward in education than the Hindus and has shown so little zeal and public spirit in the sphere of education that out of some 1400 high schools in the province it can claim credit for founding about a dozen or so, and with the exception of about fifty Government schools and some Christian missionary ones, the rest owe their existence to the Hindus. For political and economic reasons official and non-official Europeans do not favour the advancement of education. Hence their support of the Bill has no value.

The predominantly Muslim ministry, with such indigenous and foreign supporters at their back, are to control the destinies of secondary education in Bengal ! The managers, the committees, of the vast majority of the schools, which owe their existence mainly to the Hindus, are not to have any representatives in the Board. The teachers in these schools, too, are to be unrepresented there. Only the headmasters and headmistresses are to have some representation.

There are ample provision in the Bill for the "direction, supervision and control" of

secondary education, but none for its expansion and improvement—both of which are urgently needed. That secondary education is in a satisfactory condition in Bengal, no one asserts or can assert. But its defects are due not to absence of adequate control or supervision or direction, but to the utterly inadequate financial resources of the schools. The Bill proposes to place only 25 or at the most 26 lakhs of rupees in the hands of the Board. This is a ridiculously small amount for the improvement, if at all aimed at, of secondary education in Bengal. The Board expects to have some additional income from examination fees and the sale of text-books. But even this will not suffice for adequate grants to all schools.

On behalf of the Bengal Government and its Education Department publicity had been formerly given to views which go to show that in their opinion some 300 or 400 high schools are quite sufficient for the needs of the province in the place of four times that number now existing. That, if and when the Bill becomes an Act, the Board will give effect to these official views admits of no doubt. The Bill gives it ample power to limit the number of schools in Bengal, as the following portion of Clause 20 (2) of the Bill shows :

> "Provided that every secondary school which, on the date of the first meeting of the Board held under this Act, is recognised by the University of Calcutta for the purpose of presenting candidates for the matriculation examination of the said University, shall be approved and registered by the Executive Council for a period of two years from that date and shall, during the said period of two years, be recognized by the Executive Council for the purpose of presenting candidates for the said matriculation examination."

This means that at the end of these two years every recognized school will automatically lose its recognition and will have to apply for fresh recognition, without which it will not be entitled to present candidates for the matriculation examination, receive grants-in-aid, etc. The Regulations for recognition, etc., are to be framed by the Board. If the Bill had contained the Regulations, they could at least have been scrutinized and voted upon in the Legislature. But as they are not there, the Board will have the uncontrolled power to make them as communal, as obstructive to the spread of education, and generally of such an injurious character as it likes to make them. The only control will be in the hands of the Ministry. But that reminds one of the proverbial remedy being worse than the disease.

The Bill aims fatal blows at the Calcutta University. That body will cease to have the power to frame the syllabus for the matriculation examination or to select or get written or publish text-books for the matriculation examination, or to hold that examination. It will thus cease to have influence on the development of the intellect and character of boys and girls during any stage of the pre-matriculation period. Nor will it, by means of the text-books prescribed, written or published by it for matriculation candidates, be able in the least to influence the development and growth of the Bengali language and literature. The important functions of moulding the minds and characters of boys and girls of or under 15 or 16 generally and of influencing the development and growth of the Bengali language and literature will pass to hands unfit to exercise them because of their anti-national or non-national and anti-democratic or non-democratic character.

The loss to the Calcutta University will not be of a non-material character alone. It derives an income of many lakhs every year from the fees of matriculation candidates and the publication and sale of some of the text-books prescribed for them. There is no provision in the Bill for compensating the University for these losses.

When two years after the passage of the Bill the number of high schools decrease, the number of matriculates, too, will decrease substantially. That means that the number of candidates for all post-matriculation examinations of the University will fall enormously. Hence the University will have a very much reduced income from their fees.

Under the circumstances it will be impossible for the University to maintain its post-graduate teaching departments in their present condition. And, in fact, these will have much fewer students than now.

The private colleges will suffer enormously. But that is another story.

Clause 47 of the Bill, as reproduced below, deserves very close attention.

> "47. The Provincial Government may by notification exempt any secondary school or class of secondary schools, or any student or class of students in any secondary school, from the operation of all or any of the provisions of this Act, and the powers of the Board, of the Executive Council and of any Committee constituted under this Act shall be deemed to be limited in proportion to the extent of such notification."

If the provisions of the Bill are beneficial and meant to promote the cause of education, there is no reason why any class of schools or students or any school or student should be exempted from their operation. But if they are of a harmful and hampering character, there is no reason why only some schools or students

should be exempted. *In that case, all should be exempted!* Of course, it is not at all inconceivable that the provisions of the Bill would be unsuited to some schools or students owing to their peculiar character. In that case they should have been specified. The vague character of the section gives rise to the suspicion that the Bill (or Act) may be meant to be used in such a discriminatory way as to injure Hindu students and the schools meant mainly for them and founded and maintained mainly by Hindus.

Muslims are undoubtedly entitled to have the kind of education they like, provided they pay for it. They have no right to have that kind of education at the expense of the Hindus, who contribute more than 70 per cent. of the revenues of Bengal. Much is made of the fact that the Muslims form the numerical majority of the population of Bengal. But when the question is an educational one, due weight should be given to the fact that the Hindus are by far the majority of the literate and the educated population of Bengal.

Hindu Bengal and Christian Bengal and non-Muhammadan Bengal in general must be prepared to make a great constructive effort at great sacrifice for the educational future of their children, though the present duty of these sections of the population is to criticize the Bill, demand its withdrawal and secure it, if possible, by all legitimate means.

The present ministry have already passed many laws and intend to pass more, seriously affecting the material interests of the Hindus of Bengal. They are now attempting the task of dwarfing the intellectual stature and arresting the mental and moral growth of Hindu Bengal. They forget, that the Muslims of Bengal, too, have derived benefit from the educational efforts of the Hindus and that they, too, have advanced with the progress of their neighbours. All communities inhabiting the same extensive area rise or fall together.

Every community is entitled to equal or even surpass every other community in intellectual attainments and achievements. The right way to do it is to emulate the example of the most advanced communities in the world. The wrong way and the futile way is to try to overtake and leave behind others by handicapping them.

The Hindu mind cannot be killed. Let the Hindus rise to the occasion and prove it.

Condemnation of Secondary Education Bill

In Bengal members of the Hindu Mahasabha and Congressmen are raising their united voice of protest and condemnation against the Secondary Education Bill. Associations of teachers in Calcutta and in some mofussil towns have condemned it. Individual schools in district after district are denouncing its provisions and demanding its withdrawal.

"Government Inviting Congress To Start Civil Disobedience"

BOMBAY, Aug. 25.

"The Government is inviting the Congress to start Civil Disobedience and deliver the last blow it would fain have reserved for a better day—better for the British. It is a pity,"

Observes Mahatma Gandhi in the course of a note in the "Harijan" of the 25th August last, commenting on the imprisonment of Dr. Lohia.

Tagore's Tribute To Tulasidas

The 317th death anniversary of the great saint and Hindi poet Tulasidas was celebrated at Santiniketan on the 13th August last. Rabindranath Tagore observed in the course of his address on the greatest of Hindi poets and one of the greatest of India:

"The life-seed of the poems of Tulasidas, the greatest of all Hindi poets, is imbedded in no barren soil. It germinates eternally in the ever fertile soil of the soul of the common folk where imagination blooms in its pristine freshness and glory and the fruit of spiritual faith gradually ripens anl fills the granary of national culture."

Continuing the Poet said:

He has known only the glory of Tulasidas and had very little direct knowledge of his works. Yet he never fails to realise the greatness of the Poet whose genius has grown on the soil of India like a deep-rooted banyan tree under whose soft and soothing shade hundreds of parched souls find the solace of their life

"Tulasidas's *Ramcharit Manas* is not an example of old stuff repeated anew. It is the case of a new literary creation; an old episode here takes its re-birth in Tulasidas's Bhakti or spiritual faith. His greatness lies in the new vision and the new interpretation that he adds to Valmiki's Rama thereby carrying it deep into the souls of the common people This is the most original contribution of Tulasidas."

Concluding the Poet said:

"In Indian literature, a gradual change is clearly visible in the shape of a new influence from the literature of the west. I percieve that the change is irresistible. But in Hindi literature, I am sure, Tulasidas will never die. He is rooted deep in the very soil of the country—in the soul of the common folk. He is beyond the fashions of the day and beyond all transitory changes or influences. His genius will ever continue to brighten the face of our barren land and literature and will maintain its green fertility eternally."—*U. P.*

Molotov Affirms Soviet Neutrality

"True to her policy of peace and neutrality, the Soviet is not participating in the war," de-

clared M. Molotov, the Soviet Premier and Foreign Commissar, speaking at the opening of the seventh session of the Soviet Parliament on the first of August last.

Is Britain Really Preparing For A Showdown?

WASHINGTON, Aug. 10.

The first unfavourable reactions the British withdrawal from China have given place to hopeful speculation whether it means the end of British appeasement of Japan and whether the China decks are being cleared of isolated troops for a showdown if Japan insists on it.

It is recalled that Japan, long ago called foreign troops in Shanghai and North China hostages and the belief is growing that Britain has removed her hostages for such eventualities as the Japanese may force.

Well-informed sources here report receipt of information from high sources abroad that the Vichy Government has ordered resistance if the Japanese attack Indo-China. The French are known to have several submarines there and it is reported that steps are being taken to try to increase aerial and naval defences in Indo-China as soon as possible.—*Reuter.*

U. S. A.'s "Non-belligerent" Help to Britain

NEW YORK, Aug. 24.

The Washington correspondent of the *New York Times* says that in connection with the leasing of Atlantic bases to the United States one proposal, which is before the President and which has some backing in the Congress, is for the cancellation of the whole of the British Great War Debt in return for 99-year leases on about eighteen suitable sites for naval bases.—*Reuter.*

The leasing of these bases by Britain to the U. S. A. is in furtherance of the latter's preparations for a possible war—of course with Germany.

OGDENSBURG (New York State), Aug 18

President Roosevelt and Mr. Mackenzie King announced in a joint statement that they had agreed that "a permanent Joint Board of Defence should be set up at once by the two countries."

The statement says that the Board will begin immediate studies of "sea, land and air problems" and consider in broad sense the defence of the northern half of the Western Hemisphere.

Four or five representatives from each country, mostly from armed services, will comprise the Board.

After the announcement President Roosevelt left for Hyde Park New York.—*Reuter.*

Canada is in a state of war with Germany. By joining her in a defence scheme the U. S. A. has practically become a party to the war.

The Situation on the Continent of Europe

At the time of this writing (29th August). the situation in Rumania, Hungary and the Balkans generally, and the Italy-Greece tangle had not taken any decisive and definite turn. But clashes are apprehended.

Germany's Air Invasion of Britain

Day after day Germany has been sending aeroplanes to Britain in furtherance of her plan of invasion of that island, sometimes in large numbers, sometimes in small, and sometimes singly. According to the news received, though some damage has been done and some casualties inflicted, Germany has not succeeded in making any impression on the British people or affecting their morale. They are putting up a magnificent defence with equal skill and valour. Their R. F. A., in addition to defending Britain, has been delivering effective blows at German aerodromes, factories, oil depots and the like.

Fate of Countries Under the German Heel

Very little news is available of the condition of Poland, Denmark, Holland, Belgium and the part of France occupied by Germany. According to American sources famine conditions probably prevail in the first-named four countries. The July number of *Jewish Frontier* of America, just to hand, contains a terrible account of nine months' unremitting pogrom in Poland.

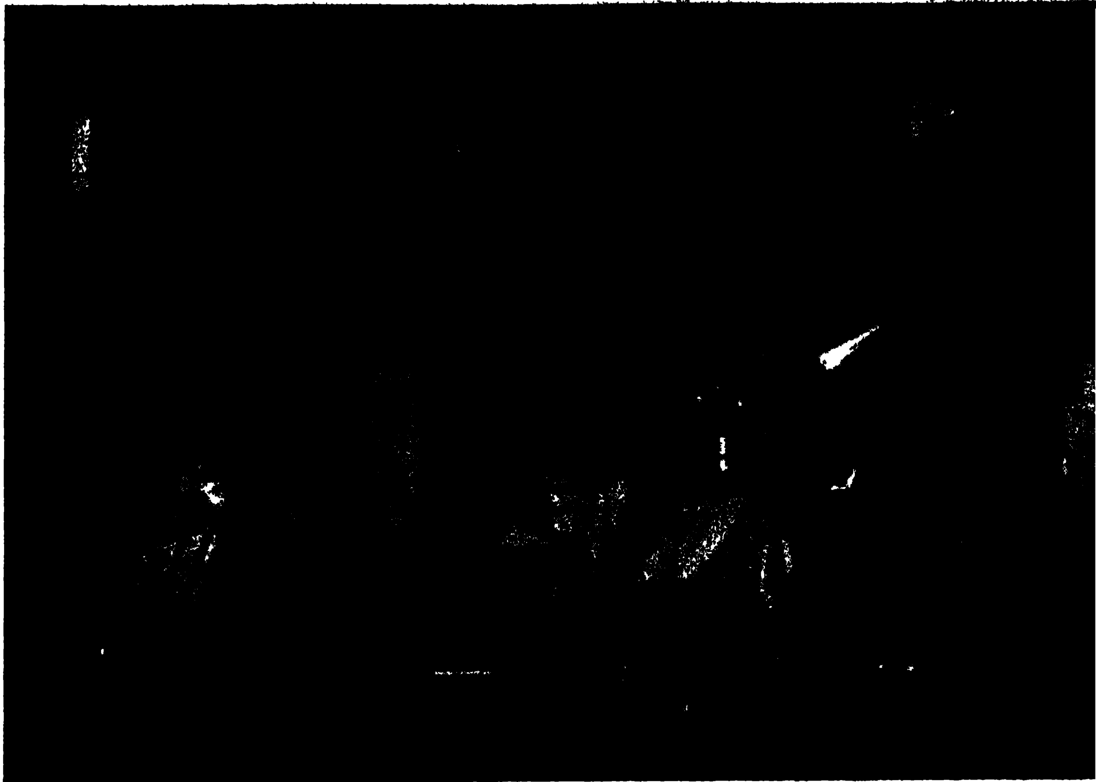
Evacuation of British Somaliland

The evacuation of British Samaliland by Britain, whatever the determining or compelling reasons, shows the unwisdom (and the inconsiderateness to the subject peoples) of keeping any part of a vast empire in a state of dependence on the ruling country which that country cannot defend under all circumstance and which that country has kept deprived of autonomy and self-defence. The Somalis will now have to submit to the yoke of a new stranger.

The evacuation of Samaliland and its practical surrender to Italy is perhaps the first example in the history of the British Empire of giving up territory to a rival empire in consequence of military reverses.

Somaliland has a strategic value. What is a loss to Britain is a gain to Italy, which the latter may use to its advantage in attacks on British territory lying at no great distance.

The people of India are not responsible for her defence. That gives rise to gloomy thoughts. But we should learn the lesson of resignation. Centuries ago, once upon a time, when the Romans left the Britons to their fate in order to go to the defence of their own country, the latter are said to have complained: "The barbarians (*viz.*, the Angles, Saxons and Jutes) drive us to the sea and the sea drives us to the barbarians."



Sir Maurice Gwyer (*standing*) reading his address
Left to right. Dr. Tagore, Mr Justice Henderson and Dr Amiya Chakravarti
[*Photo:* S. *Saha*

One can only hope that one's countrymen will not have to repeat that lament with other words substituted for the word "barbarians."

Unique Oxford Convocation at Santiniketan

The special convocation of Oxford University held at Santiniketan to confer on Rabindranath Tagore that university's degree of Doctor of Letters *honoris causa* was a function unique in character. Never in the long centuries of Oxford's history was a convocation of it held outside England to honour any individual of any race. Never before did the West honour the East in this way. Never were four languages—two ancient and two modern, two oriental and two occidental—Sanskrit and Latin and Bengali and English used to lend variety, dignity and charm to its proceedings. Appropriate Vedic verses were chanted in Sanskrit, an inspiring Bengali song composed for the occasion by the Poet was sung, the Poet was introduced and presented for receiving the degree in a sonorous Latin oration which noble words wedded to noble sentiments invested with due solemnity, the venerable āchārya of Visva-bharati was admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Letters in the Latin formula, the youngest but ancient Doctor of Oxford replied in the oldest living Aryan language, voicing his "faith in the perennial growth of civilization toward an ultimate purpose," and the eminent son of Oxford whom his Alma Mater had chosen to be the head of the delegation for the conferment of the Degree addressed the Poet-sage in a thoughtful, speech, in the presence of a select assemblagé of learned ladies and gentlemen. The impressive proceedings were brought to a close with the chanting in chorus of verses from the Atharva Veda as Sānti-Vāchana ("Peace Invocation").

Japan, Indo-China and China

It is said France will defend Indo-China if Japan tries to land troops there to attack Chinese territory contiguous to it. It is also said that in that case China will send troops to Indo-China to attack Japanese troops.

"Pandit Nehru Heads Procession of Volunteers in Uniform"

CAWNPORE, Aug. 11.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru who arrived here this morning was taken out in a procession this evening through the main streets of the city.

Pandit Nehru standing in an open car headed the procession and following immediately behind were a number of Seva Dal Volunteers in uniform carrying *lathis*.

Large crowds joined the procession *en route* to get a glimpse of Pandit Nehru and all traffic was brought to a standstill The processions terminated peacefully.

At Queen's Park, the proceedings began with the singing of the "Jhanda Prayer." Then followed a march-past of Seva Dal and Mazdoor Volunteers at which Pandit Nehru took the salute. About 950 Seva Dal Volunteers participated in the march-past which lasted fifteen minutes.

Uniform Scientific Terminology For Modern Indian Languages

At the fifth annual meeting of the Central Advisory Board of Education in India, held in Simla on the 6th and 7th May, 1940, the report of whose proceedings was received by us in August last, seventeen items of various degrees of importance were considered. Item (14) was "adoption of a uniform scientific terminology for regional languages in India." The basis of discussion was a note on the subject prepared by Mr. B. N. Seal, I.E.S., Deputy Director of Public Instruction, Bombay, at the request of the Government of Bombay. The main features of the scheme contained in that note are :

(*i*) That a common scientific terminology should be fixed for India as a whole;

(*ii*) That the question of an all-India scientific terminology should in the first instance, be referred to an authoritative all-India body;

(*iii*) That the main and common part of the scientific terminologies to be devised for the principal Indian languages should be borrowed extensively from the English terminology;

(*iv*) That every Indian language should have the following three main divisions in its scientific terminology, *viz.* :

(*a*) The main English terminology, which will practically be the common terminology for all-India,

(*b*) The terminology peculiar to the India language—a very small section,

(*c*) Sanskrit or Perso-Arabic terminology—comparatively small in number—adopted or coined, according as the language is Sanskritic or Dravidian or Urdu, Pushto or Sindhi;

(*v*) That standard terminologies should be fixed for the various scientific and humanistic subjects such as Mathematics, Anatomy, Physiology, Economics, Scientific Philosophy, Modern Logic, etc.;

(*vi*) That as soon as the tables of scientific terminology are settled, text books should be got written in the principal Indian languages for all grades of education and that all other terminology should be discouraged;

(*vii*) That it should be commended to the Provincial Governments that they should set up small representative committees of experts in their areas to take up the work of fixing and standardising the terminology under IV (*b*) above; and

(*viii*) That the Central Advisory Board of Education should set up permanent Board of Reference whose views must ultimately be accepted by all educational authorities and organisations.

While expressing itself in favour of uniformity in the matter of adopting scientific terminology for regional languages in India, the Board felt that the purpose in view could best be attained by following the English terminology. In order, however, that the question may be examined in detail the Board decided to appoint the Committee named below, with power to co-opt :

1. The Right Honourable Sir Akbar Hydari, LL.D., President of His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Executive Council, Hyderabad State (Deccan), *Chairman.*
2. The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir K. Ramunni Menon.
3. Mr. S. C. Tripathi, I.E.S., Director of Public Instruction, Orissa.
4. Mr W. H F. Armstrong, I.E.S., Director of Public Instruction, Punjab.
5. Dr. Sir Zia-ud-Din Ahmad
6. Pandit Amaranatha Jha, Vice-Chancellor, Allahabad University.
7. Dr. U. M. Daudpota, M.A., Ph.D., Director of Public Instruction, Sind.
8. The Educational Commissioner with the Government of India.

The Committee's report when submitted will be examined by the Board.

The Board has wisely given the committee the power to co-opt. For, so far as we can judge the committee does not appear to contain a superfluity of men of science and Indian letters. Bengal is entirely unrepresented in it, though that province is believed to possess a language and literature second to no other in India.

The Board seemed to be unware of the work of preparing a scientific terminology for the Bengali language already accomplished by a committee of experts appointed by the Calcutta University. Similar work has been done by the Bangiya Sāhitya Parishad (Bengali Literary Academy) of Calcutta, and the Nāgari Prachārini Sabhā of Benares.

Some of the proposals and recommendations in the Bombay note are clearly debatable.

HITLER *VERSUS* THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH

By Major D. GRAHAM POLE

A monthly review which has just suspended publication here gave as one of its two reasons for doing so, "the impossibility of commenting on the rapidly changing situation in a monthly periodical." In how much worse case is the present writer, when to aggravate an already time-lagged situation we are informed that the Air Mail to India has been suspended indefinitely! However, these articles serve the purpose of shewing what is being felt and thought here at the time of writing even if, after perhaps six or eight weeks upon the road, they are too much out of date to merit publication.

What does India think of the French collapse? The more one puzzles over the situation in Europe, the more one feels that only the very greatest minds—someone who could survey the whole of human experience—could do it justice. The literature of the last war, I suppose it is true to say, is concerned chiefly with the *circumstances* surrounding war. *All Quiet on the Western Front* was its best seller. The heart-ache and the brutality and the sordidness and the dreariness were its principal components. But the literature of the present war, surely, will be concerned with *men*. Mussolini, Hitler, Chamberlain, Quisling, Leopold, Petain, Roosevelt, Churchill. Could not any one of them be the central figure of a great tragic drama? (Or, shall we except Roosevelt and Churchill, and reserve them not for a tragic drama but for a great historic play about two men who never lost sight of their aims—and in the end achieved them?) By the time this reaches India, incidentally, there may be another figure in our gallery. De Valera in Ireland, who clings to the myth that he is preserving neutrality equally as between the Allies and the Nazis, and handicaps Ireland's defence thereby making staff talks with England impossible, will he too have become the stuff of a tragic drama? Has he learned nothing from Norway, Belgium and Holland? Or we may have added Franco in Spain, who under the guise of being a good Catholic has already delivered his cities and his countrymen over to the invaders—and who may, as a last distortion, rally both Republicans and Fascists in Spain in an attempt to "recover" Gibraltar. Recover it, so that German hegemony may put all but the last clamp on European freedom.

The French collapse, it is safe to say, will be debated for many years to come. Marshal Petain's declaration makes extraordinary reading. It is difficult to imagine a more disingenuous composition. The inaccuracies of the figures he gives, with regard to the divisions in France during the last war, have already been exposed. But it is the general point of view of the whole declaration which is the most damaging. That famous passage "...fewer friends, too few children, too few arms, too few allies. There is the cause of our defeat." It is rebutted by every General in history! But alas, and what is more to the present purpose, it is proof that Marshal Petain has been conquered not only by the Nazi hordes but *by their propaganda*. Could even Goebbels himself pen a better dirge for a defunct democracy? The Nazis know that the best way to disarm an enemy is to undermine his confidence in himself. They have ceratinly succeeded with the pathetic eighty-four year old Marshal.

France, in the hands of her present leaders, it is tragic to reflect, is the first great victory for the Nazis. All the other defeated countries, save only she, decided to carry on the struggle from abroad. Only France has surrendered. And, double triumph for the Nazis, it looks as if the new regime, uneasy in the consciousness that it has let down England, may seek to sow dissension against England. The first step has been to jam all broadcasts from England. It dare not let the French people know the truth about the negotiations with England prior to the French request for an armistice. In particular it could not explain why the French Fleet was not sent to English ports, as it could have been sent and as England had stipulated it should be sent, before any approach was made to the Nazis. Instead, the Petain Government would like to make out that it is England and not France that has failed in loyalty. England, says M. Prevoust, the French High Commissioner for Propaganda, at first showed understanding. But afterwards certain French Ministers intervened and in particular M. Mandel—again how like Nazi propaganda to blame it on a Jew—and as a result "Britain took a much less understanding and more imperative view of the situation." Well, we

will not be drawn into a quarrel with the French people, to please their present Government. We know that the Government of M. Reynaud, which dismissed nineteen Generals for incompetence, had a truer perception of the factors which contributed to France's defeat. We suspect that M. Mandel, one of the ablest of Ministers for the Colonies, if he urged the Government to retire to a colonial base and carry on the war from there, had good grounds for doing so. But we know that there is nothing to be gained by recriminations. The English people and the French people must stand together, if freedom is ever to return to Europe—and where is the use in criticising the present reactionary French Government, if that Government distorts criticism of itself into criticism of the unfortunate betrayed French people?

All the same, the French collapse is disturbing for a number of reasons. And the most disturbing of all is the way in which the rot began at the top. Panic set in with the flight of the well-to-do from Paris. But at Bordeaux, the Government were much less concerned with organising resistance to Hitler than with crushing those who still wanted to resist. All the talk about "honourable" terms—unreal in the event—was unreal from the beginning. A clique of politicians, centred round M. Laval, was determined on surrender. M. Laval is reputed to be an Anglo-phobe. It may be that his is the dangerous, psychological kind of hate and springs from that time when the English people recoiled in disgust from the Hoare-Laval Pact for the proposed partition of Abyssinia. Marshal Petain was their unhappy, unwitting tool. Sunk in his sorrow for France, religious in it, he served as a decoy to the French people while the politicians formed themselves into what the *Chicago Daily News* has described as "the puppet, Fascist, Hitler-dominated Government of France." (This newspaper, by the way, is published by Col. Knox, the Republican leader who has just joined President Roosevelt's Cabinet as Secretary for the Navy.)

But is there no lesson for us in all this? The politicians betrayed France because they had not the courage to face the alternative. They were too comfortable in their lives to be willing to become fugitives for France—as King Haakon has become a fugitive for Norway and Queen Wilhelmina a fugitive for the Netherlands. And are we quite certain, supposing the coming invasion were to go against us, that we also might not be tempted by the more comfortable way? I myself have no doubt that with our present Government, and our present Prime Minister, we would take the long view. But it is strange how the infection of defeatism picks on the most unlikely among us! Only last week ex-President Hoover made a speech which suggested that he thought it might be a good idea to keep a way open for negotiation with the Dictators just in case they won the War. (Though it is satisfactory to reflect that that speech, probably as much as anything, secured the nomination of Mr. Wilkie who is all out for sending support to the Allies.) And again only last week there came from America a rumour that Sir Samuel Hoare, the present Ambassador in Spain, had been asked by Mr. Chamberlain to sound General Franco as to the possibilities of making a peace with Hitler. It was denied here at once of course but such straws in the wind ought to remind us that there are in every country apprehensive men, who have much to lose, who may at any time consider that the time has come "to call off the war." And that the need of the moment, as indeed it is the need of the age, is to keep clearly before us what are the *principles* at stake in Europe today. In every country at war there are supporters of the other side. It has been truly said that the present war is really a gigantic civil war. And the question that is being fought out is whether the individual man, the private conscience, the family, the Church, the Press, the trade union, the small State, the less powerful State—in short any minority—has an equal right with every other to a peaceful existence—or whether might is the only right. It is amazing that any thinking person can support the contention that might is right. Amazing that its principal exponent, with his concentration camps and his poisoned misuse of propaganda, should appeal to any honest man. I don't believe he does! I think it is the deceitfulness of riches and the hope of preserving them which beguiles some "successful" men to the side of might. Just as on the other hand—as anyone who has any acquaintance with Fascist organisations in England can testify—"unsuccessful" men gravitate towards it in the hope of revenging themselves upon society. Black sheep have a trick of donning black shirts. It is this poison, lawlessness masquerading as strength, which has got to be expelled from the body politic.

When my last article was written, for the June issue, it seemed that Italy was on the eve of coming into the War. But as we know now, Italy was already at war. President Roosevelt, and every other statesman who still retains his freedom, has had a lot to say about the cowardice and wantonness of Italy's action. Indeed

it is probable that the wantonness of this intervention has never been excelled in history—and President Roosevelt has seen to it that the whole story of how he tried to avert Italian intervention, and how it could have been averted had Mussolini so willed, should be placed on record, chapter and verse, for the scorn of all who come after. But all the time that he was receiving these representations from America, Mussolini was already at war—already at war *in secret* and only waiting for France to appear mortally wounded before he would venture into the open. Italy did not declare war on France until June 10th. But nearly a month before that date, from about May 15th, she had been sending Italian divisions into Poland, to release German troops garrisoned there for battle on the Western Front.

When we look at the map of Europe, and see how much of it Germany has swallowed up, it seems as if the war must go on for ever, there is such a widespread occupation to be pushed back. But this war has not, in fact, solved the German dilemma to even the smallest extent. The ironies for race and raw materials still mock at her triumphs. The war is still an unending manoeuvre—with no certainty that she will come out stronger than she went in. Germany, on the battle-field, has made great play with the technique of the pincer-movement. But a pincer-movement is going on in Europe against *her*. Russia has established herself in the Baltic. This week Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia have set up puppet Governments to complete the work begun by the Russian armies of occupation. Russian tanks are massed along the Lithuanian-German frontier. And now the other side of the pincer is groping in the Balkans. Russia has reclaimed Bessarabia—and with it a powerful nuisance value on the Danube, Germany's vital trade route at all times, and her only life-line in time of blockade.

Russian intervention in the Balkans is, in fact, a most unwelcome jar to both Germany and Italy. Its timing will not escape them. Russia, obviously, seeing Germany triumphing in the west, has decided to put a brake on in the east. The effect on Axis prestige throughout the Balkans must be very damaging. Italy in the past has invited Rumania to accept her as a big brother and hurled defiance at the heathen Communist armies that might come down into her preserves. Well, they have come ... And Italy will remember that her tiresome Jugo-Slav neighbour has just resumed relations with Soviet Russia; that they are all Slavs together. And that Bulgaria, royalist or not, still looks to "old Grandfather Ivan." (Italy, a country without loyalties, has a lot to learn. It seems that a common alphabet, which Bulgaria has with Russia, is a more enduring bond than roylist alliances dictated by opportunism.) The Balkans in short are in an uproar. And the Axis, with a war and a blockade on their hands, are talking of a Balkan Munich. Swift are time's revenges... But what can such a "Munich" achieve? Italy is Rumania's friend and Germany is Hungary's and Bulgaria is Italy's. And Germany is the stronger partner in the Axis. And her friend Hungary wants to help herself to part of Rumania. And Italy's friend Bulgaria wants to help herself to part of Rumania—Italy's other friend! What a thieves' kitchen the Great Powers have made of the Balkans. In Jugo-Slavia, for instance, it is said that the Regency is pro-British, the Government is pro-German, the Army is pro-French and the people are pro-Russian. This sounds like a joke but it is a most terrible condemnation. And Jugo-Slavia's King, Alexander, was right when he tried to forge the Balkan States into a Union. And the heir to King Alexander's policy, be it noted, is Turkey. And Turkey, it is worth remembering is still looking to the day of Balkan independence—and Near East independence—and has *not* been invited to the Balkan Munich.

The Balkan Munich, if and when it comes off, will not of course have any regard for the Balkans. Its principlal object will be to preserve a temporary peace in the Balkans, so that Germany and Italy may continue to drain their resources to keep the German War going. And this brings us back to the blockade—and the question of just how effective a weapon it may prove in breaking down German resistance. The German night over Europe makes it very hard to obtain any real estimate of the havoc wrought by our blockade. The general opinion seems to be that blockade-cum-winter may be an overwhelming combination. And, that, of course, is the main reason why we anticipate an early attempt at invasion—anticipations which seem to be confirmed by the sudden increase in tempo of German air raids. These we have had over Great Britain on each of the last seven nights although the damage has been very slight.

Some evidence, however, has accumulated and perhaps it is worth giving it a moment's reflection. In the first place, it is said, the harvest all over Europe will be a poor one. The estimated falling-off in grain is from 25 to 50 per cent. In contrast with this, the Canadian wheat crop is said to be a bumper

one. (Quite apart from the fact that Britain, so long as she commands the seas, has all the world to draw on.) Germany has snatched temporary supplies from all the countries she has invaded. But not one of these countries is self-supporting, once she is cut off from her imports. In particular Germany is as far off as ever from obtaining oil seeds or oil-cake. Actually—and in that fact will originate an endless propaganda against Britain and her use of the blockade—it seems as if the invaded countries will be the worst sufferers. In Norway livestock has already had to be slaughtered. In Denmark the pig industry, it is said, is all but liquidated and at least one-third of the cattle destroyed. In Belgium, actual famine is prophesied in about two months' time. In Czecho-Slovakia the rye crop, the principal crop, is a failure. After bread and meat, fats are the most important—and fats, especially margarine, are dependent upon the import of oils. The R. A F. have already blown up vast quantities of whale oil stored in Germany. In Norway, the margarine industry is at a standstill. But it is not only hunger that results from blockade. I have said that the ironies of raw materials remain. And it is the case that the things which Germany has always needed most—petrol, oil, oil seeds and non-ferrous metals—still elude her. In not one of the countries that she has devastated are these produced As for Italy, the blockade must be throwing her whole economy out of gear. 80 per cent of her imports were *sea-borne* ... The Balkans are her only markets now. And Russia has appeared in the Balkans. She can, if she wishes, disrupt their economy. She has already stopped exporting food to Germany. The reason given was that the food was required to feed her armies in the Baltic. Will she become a competitor in the Balkan market too? She is engaged on a gigantic rearmament programme. The All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions has stated: "We require more metal, coal and oil, more aeroplanes, tanks, guns, shells, more locomotives, cars, machine tools and motor-cars and higher production in every branch of our national economy." What kind of a voracious *Grandfather* is watching the Balkans—watching the supplies going to his mortal enemies?

Italy perhaps is already beginning to guess that in the present world struggle the odds are against her. Being at bottom a Catholic instructed society, she may suspect that the whole weight of the universe, as someone has put it, is on the other side. What does she make of the strange armistice she has just concluded with France? Italy, of course, is to have the French Colonial Empire, and Germany the British Empire—or, alternatively, Germany may aim, rather, at the destruction of the British Fleet. Since, once that is gone, there is no power except herself to "police" Europe, no barrier to keep her out of the New World, where her agents are already so successfully intriguing. But by this armistice all that Italy has gained is an undertaking from the Bordeaux Government, an undertaking which that Government is in no position to enforce, that the Colonial Empire will be demilitarised. (Italy thought this an artful ruse whereby the French Empire would eventually fall into her lap. But it may turn out to be but the shadow of the substance which she will ever grasp.) And if she has not gained the *French* Empire, she is fast losing her *own*. The British Navy has cut it off from the sea—and in the air, the R. A. F. meet with little sustained opposition. Sooner or later the troops there will be marooned. To set a dismal crown on a dismal undertaking, Italy's pride and joy, Marshal Balbo, has crashed with his aeroplane in flames. And in that limpid Mediterranean Sea, a more suitable subject for Italian painters than for Italian warfare, submarines are so easily detected that nine have been lost in the first eighteen days she has already been at war. At home that Knight in Shining Blackmail, as the *Palestine Post* has called Mussolini, knows very well that we will never bomb Rome or Florence or Venice. But Allied 'planes have attacked Italy's industrial areas in the north. Genoa, Turin and Milan form a triangle in which are situated the most important manufactures. Already, a French radio report has stated, "the entire industrial centre of Turin has been completely destroyed." The whole triangle may soon be in like case.

War in the air, war at sea, war by blockade. All these methods are being waged by England. But, say the experts, these of themselves will not bring victory. There will have to be action on land also. That there is going to be land warfare may be taken as certain in view of the speech recently broadcast by the Secretary of State for War, Mr. Eden. (I often wonder how this staunch believer in collective security and the League of Nations cares for the post of War Minister.) When the time comes *as assuredly it will*, he has said, to carry the war against the enemy wherever he may be found, you can be certain that we shall do so. Indeed, we have already given the enemy proof that he is not to be left to the grim enjoyment of the continent by making several successful

reconnaisance raids on his coastline. This, by the way, was in the best English tradition. The Elizabethans used to delight in swooping down on enemy harbours and having a look round. But the question is, will the enemy attempt invasion first ?

It is to be hoped that invasion is attempted soon, and fails soon, so that, perhaps, Europe may be spared a winter of starvation. But if Hitler, like Napoleon can never find a suitable moment to begin; if the summer goes by without a material change in the war situation, then the harvest for Europe, the harvest of hate for Germany and, alas, for England also, may be terrible indeed. It is dismaying to think of another winter of German propaganda spreading its foul mists over the continent. For instance Mussert, the Quisling of Holland, has just been telling the Dutch that the English have been their enemy for three hunderd years. And if people can swallow that, they can swallow anything. (Who kept the founder of the Orange dynasty, William the Silent, afloat with supplies in his life and death struggle with the Spanish tyranny- if it was not Queen Elizabeth ?)

Mussert, by the way, says that he is going to free Holland from Jewish, French and British influence and from that of the Churches. It is really remarkable, in this present age, how the churches have been singled out by the Dictators for persecution. Who would have imagined, in this age of religious indifference, that they were really so powerful ? But they have become the symbol of individual freedom --and perhaps, on their walls, the doom of the Dictators is already written.

I know it has been the case in practically every country that has been overrun by the Nazi hordes for their rulers to say that never would they surrender but that they would fight on. In this country particularly I think that is true. An Englishman never knows when he is beaten. The might and resources of the free peoples of the British Commonwealth of Nations is now opposed—almost alone—against the hate and preparedness of Hitler. In spite of air raids night after night for the past week there is nothing here of the nature of panic, but simply a deep determined resolution that win we can and win we must to restore to the world everything that makes life worth living. Britain is proverbially slow in getting started but her preparedness gathers momentum as time passes. Every day sees our getting stronger, both relatively and actually. It is literally true that this island is a fortress, manned and fortified as never before, and it is only a question of time till we have the preparations not merely for the defence of this island but for the attack on Germany under which she will reel and collapse. Please Heaven that day may not be far distant so that at long last the dark hand of Nazi-dom may be lifted from Europe and men may again go about their daily avocations free to think, free to speak and free to live their own untrammelled lives with the dark shadow of the Gestapo only a horrible memory.

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116, Palace Chambers, Westminster,
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THE SOVIET CENSUS

By X.

The hundreds of thousands of census-takers, who on January 17, 1939 set out on their rounds in cities, villages, kishlaks and auls, met everywhere free and happy working people enjoying all the benefits of material and spiritual culture. The Soviet nations have descriptively termed the census of 1939 as the "great enumeration," great because it drew up an account of the most valuable capital, the people—workers, peasants and intellectuals.

The preceding census was taken 12 years ago in 1926. The statistics of the growth of the population of the U. S. S. R., of the Union republics, territories and regions, figures on the increase of inhabitants in Soviet cities are yet more vivid illustration of the triumphs of the upbuilding of Socialism.

The population of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on January 17, 1939 was 170,467,186. During the 1939 census, a count was taken in each locality both of the population actually present at the time and those permanently domiciled in that locality. Theoretically, the total number of persons registered as actually present in the various localities should coincide with the total number of the permanently domiciled throughout the country as a whole. In practice this has never been achieved in any population census. The extent to which the two counts tally serves as an index to the accuracy of the census. In the population census of 1939, the two figures showed a negligible discrepancy of only 0·06 per cent.

As compared with the returns of the U.S.S.R. census of December 17, 1926, the population of the Soviet Union increased by 23,439,271 persons, or by 15·9 per cent in 12 years.

Socialist industrialization of the U. S. S. R has brought about a considerable increase in the urban population. The 1926 census showed the urban population to be 26,314,114; it had grown to 55,909,908 at the time of the 1939 census, an increment of 112 per cent against 1926. The proportion of urban inhabitants rose from 17·9 per cent of the total population in 1926 to 32·8 per cent in 1939.

The results of the census, in so far as distribution of the population is concerned, eloquently speak of the changes which have taken place in the country. The urban population of the U. S. S. R. has more than doubled, having increased from 26 to 56 million and constitute 32·8 per cent of the entire population. This bears witness to the progress of our industries, the growth of the working class, and of the large number of people who have joined urban culture.

The cities themselves too have changed. The U. S. S. R. has 174 cities with a population of more than 50,000 including 82 cities numbering more than 100,000 and 11 cities with over 500,000 inhabitants. During the interim period between the two census, most of the Soviet cities have doubled their population, while in many cities the population has tripled and even quadrupled. The population in such towns as Murmansk, Prokopyevsk, Dzerzhinsk, Stalinabad have increased ten and fifteen fold, and in Stalinsk fortyfold. New cities have arisen—Magnitogorsk, Karaganda, Stalinogorsk and Komsomolsk which hitherto had never existed on the map. The following table shows the growth in population of the principal cities of the U. S. S. R.

Cities	Population in thousands	Population in thousands	1939 in % of 1926
Moscow	2,029	4 137	204
Leningrad	1 690	3 191	189
Kiev	514	846	165
Kharkov	417	833	200
Baku	453	810	179
Gorky	222	644	290
Odessa	421	604	144
Tashkent	324	585	181
Tbilisi	294	519	177
Rostov-on-Don	308	510	166
Dniepropetrovsk	237	501	211

The increase in the urban population of the U. S. S. R. during the last 12 years has been on account of the following causes:

Firstly, there was an organized enrolment of people from the villages to the cities for work in industry, construction, transport and other branches. The workers moved to the cities with their families. A total of 18·5 million people thus moved from the villages to the cities between 1926 and 1939.

Secondly, there was a natural increase in the urban population of approximately 5·3 millions.

How the natural increase of the population compares with that of pre-revolutionary times

is illustrated by the following table in which the figures for four cities are given :

	Birth-rate Percentage in ratio to Mortality rate
Moscow—	
1913	.. 130
1938	.. 195
Leningrad—	
1913	.. 124
1938	.. 169
Kharkov—	
1913	.. 131
1938	.. 217
Minsk—	
1913	.. 165
1938	.. 252

The ratio of births to deaths in 1938 eloquently testifies to the nature of population growth in the U. S. S. R.

Thirdly, as a result of Socialist industrialization, a number of settlements which were formerly rural localities grew, during the five-year plans into large industrial centres and became constituted as cities. The total population of urban settlements which in 1926 were rural localities, is now 9,800,000. Since the 1926 census included in the urban population four million people domiciled in points officially designated as rural localities, the increase in the urban population between 1926 and 1939 as a result of the incorporation of rural settlements into municipalities amounts to 5,800,000

Thus, the urban population of the U. S. S. R. has grown 2·1 times in 12 years. Output of industry, during this period has increased 6·7 times. These two indices reveal the tremendous growth in the labour efficiency of the urban population, an advance based on the Socialist industrialization of the U. S. S. R

The population of rural localities has likewise undergone a radical change in the past 12 years.

As a result of industrial growth, the total rural inhabitants have decreased from 82·1 to 67·2 per cent of the total population, although the number of persons in the countryside has decreased only by six million, who have entered into industrial occupations. Part of the rural population has moved into industrial centres, swelling the ranks of the working class. But the total population is constantly growing, and especially intensely in the national republics. Whilst the general increase of the population throughout the Soviet Union was 15·9 per cent, it was 25·6 per cent in the Turkmen S. S. R., 32·3 per cent in the Georgian S. S. R., 37·6 per cent in the Uzbek S. S. R., 38·7 per cent in the Azerbaijan S. S. R., 43·9 per cent in the Tajik S. S. R., 45·4 in the Armenian S. S. R., and 45·7 per cent in the Kirghiz S. S. R. These figures express briefly the success of the Leninist-Stalinist national policy, and are an index to the new life of formerly oppressed nations and of the great progress of all the peoples of the Land of the Soviets.

Though the rural population of the U. S. S. R. has decreased somewhat in these 12 years as a result of people moving to the cities, the production of marketable grain has grown 3·7 times, and the crop of cotton, almost five times. Thus is the tremendous extent to which the productive forces of the rural population of the U. S. S. R. has grown on the basis of Socialist methods in agriculture.

A comparison of the results of the censuses of 1939 and 1926 reveals the progress of Socialist industrialization in the Union republics and Autonomous republics of the U. S. S. R.

When studying the growth of the population in the separate republics, territories and regions of the U. S. S. R., one must bear in mind that these changes are due not only to the natural increase but also to the considerable shifting of the population in connection with the development of cities and new industrial districts.

The following Union republics show the greatest population increase as compared with 1926 :

Kirghiz S. S. R.—46 per cent.
Armenian S. S. R.—45 per cent.
Tajik S. S. R. 44 per cent.
Azerbaijan S. S. R. 39 per cent.
Uzbek S. S. R.—38 per cent.
Georgian S. S. R.—32 per cent.
Turkmen S. S. R.—26 per cent.

The following republics have a rate of growth below that of the general average for the country as a whole :

Byelorussian S. S. R.—12 per cent.
Ukrainian S. S. R.—7 per cent.
Kazakh S. S. R.—1 per cent.

The increase in the population of the R. S. F. S. R. is somewhat higher than the average for the U. S. S. R. with a particular growth in the East : the Ural, Siberia and the Far East. The population of Sverdlovsk Region increased 53 per cent; Novosibirsk, 53; Irkutsk, 49; Chita, 73; Buryat-Mongolian A. S. S. R., 39; Khabarovsk territory, 136; and Maritime Territory, 42 per cent.

Since 1926 the population of the Urals, Siberia and the Far East has increased by 5,924,000, a rise of 53 per cent. This increase is due to the rapid industrialization of the eastern regions of the U. S. S. R. and is considerably above the general U. S. S. R. increase. More than three million people moved to these regions from other sections of the country.

During the period under review the population of the Uzbek, Tajik, Turkmenian and Kirkhiz Soviet republics increased by 2,883,000 people, or 38 per cent. Approximately 1,700,000 people moved into these republics from other regions.

The population in other industrial centres of the U. S. S. R. likewise increased considerably. The population of Moscow more than doubled, that of Moscow Region increased 74 per cent; the Leningrad Region by 44 per cent; Gorky Region 28 per cent; Stalino Region in the Ukraine, 91 per cent; Voroshilovgrad Region in the Ukraine, 37 per cent; and Karaganda Region of the Kazakh Republic, 25 per cent. The population of the North European section has also grown. The population of Archangel Region has increased 25 per cent and in the Murmansk Region, nine times.

Simultaneously, there are also a number of regions where the population decreased as compared with 1926. In the R. S. F. S. R., the population of Kalinin Region consists of 92 per cent of that of 1926; Kursk Region, 90 per cent; Ryazan Region, 91 per cent; Penza Region, 82 per cent; and Smolensk Region, 89 per cent. In the Ukrainian Republic, the population of Poltava Region was 85 per cent of that of 1926; Vinnitsa Region, 93 per cent; in the Kazakh S. S. R., the population of Pavlodar Region was 68 per cent of 1926, and Kustanai Region, 77 per cent.

This decrease in the population of the regions just mentioned is explained by the movement of part of the population to industrial centres, particularly to the Eastern regions of the U. S. S. R.

The movement of the population within the R. S. F. S. R. being mutually balanced, had no bearing on the census results for the republic as a whole. The situation in the Ukrainian, Kazakh and Belorussian republics was different, however. During the past years there was a considerable movement of the population of the Ukrainian and Belorussian republics to the industrial centres of the R. S. F. S. R., particularly to the new industrial districts. Construction undertakings and new factories in the R. S. F. S. R. drew in not only the rural population of the Ukraine but also skilled workers from the Ukrainian enterprises, who played a big role in the successful construction and operation of the new Socialist factories and mills.

Movement of the population to industrial centres of the R. S. F. S. R., in particular to enterprises of the Ural-Kuznetsk Industrial Combine, also took place from the Kazakh S. S. R. It should be taken into account that the 1926 census showed a considerable number of nomads in the Kazakh S. S. R. Between 1926 and 1939 part of them moved into the neighbouring Union republics, particularly into Uzbekistan and Kirghizia.

There was a considerable increase in the population of the autonomous republics and autonomous regions. Between 1926 and 1939 the population of the autonomous republics of the R. S. F. S. R. increased 23 per cent, and that of the autonomous regions of the R. S. F. S. R., 58 per cent.

Changes in the population of the U.S.S.R. between the census of December 17, 1926, and last census, taken on January 17, 1939, classification according to sex, and distribution by urban and rural districts, are as follows :

	Total Population		
	Male	Female	Total
I. Census of Jan. 17, 1939	81,664,981	88,802,205	170,467,186
II. Census of Dec. 17, 1926	71,043,352	75,984,563	147,027,915
III. Population according to census of 1939 in percentages of 1926 census	115·0	116·9	115·9

	Urban population	Rural population
I. Census of Jan. 17, 1939	55,909,908	114,557,278
II. Census of Dec. 17, 1926	26,314 114	120,713 801
III. Population according to census of 1939 in percentages of 1926 census	212·5	94·9

	Per cent of total population	
	Urban	Rural
I. Census of Jan. 17, 1939	32·8	67·2
II. Census of Dec. 17, 1926	17·9	82·1
III. Population according to census of 1939 in percentages of 1926 census		



SHE CHOSE HER HUSBAND

A Short Story

By RAJSEKHAR BOSE (PARASURAM)

CHATTERJEA consulted the almanac. "The *ambubachi* (a holy period during the rains) ends at 9-57 p.m. You can't expect the rain to stop before then. It's too early yet," said he.

"H'm," murmured pleader Binode Babu. "But how does one get back home?"

"Think over that when the rain stops," remarked Bansalochan Babu, the host. "In the meantime, what about some dinner? Udo, go inside and tell them."

"*Khichuri* (a hotch-potch with rice and pulse) with *masur dal* and fried hilsa fish," suggested Chatterjea.

Binode dragged at his *takia* (a fat pillow), and mumbled as he lolled on it. "So far so good, but how can we kill the time? Tell us a story Chatterjea."

Chatterjea paused for reflection:—"Last year, at Monghyr, I fell into the clutches of a tigress......"

"Spare us Chatterjea! No more tiger-stories," exclaimed Binode Babu interrupting.

Chatterjea was somewhat pained. "What kind of story do you want then? Ghosts or snakes?"

"In the rains, tigers, snakes and ghosts are all out of season. Please tell us a sentimental yarn."

"I never tell yarns. Nothing but absolute fact."

"All right. Let's have an absolutely true love story."

"Good Lord, what next? Chatterjea to tell a love story?" remarked Nagen with a titter. "What's your age, Chatterjea? How many teeth have you got left?"

"Love is not a comestible, you mutt. Love does not live in the teeth but in the heart."

"Your heart has shrunken like a withered prune. What do you know of love? It's all out of your head by now. It's for the youth to tell about love. Am I right, Udo?" said Nagen.

"What do you mean by 'the youth'?" Why don't you call them 'young shrimps' in plain language? I have three score years behind me. Do you mean to suggest that Kedar Chatterjea does not know more about love than your wretched little whipper-snappers?"

"Now then! Why do you tease the old Brahmin?" protested Binode Babu. "Why don't you listen to his stories?"

Chartterjea explained: "Brahmins are the highest of castes. Take philosophy, take poetry, take the philosophy of love. All these came out of the brain of Brahmins. And of Brahmins, the highest are the Chatterjeas, as for instance, Bankim Chatterjea, Sarat Chatterjea..."

"A-n-d."

"And this Kedar Chatterjea. Why shouldn't I say so outright? For fear of you, eh?"

"Right O, let that pass, but please begin your yarn."

Chatterjea began: "It happened only last year. I fell in with a woman of bewitching beauty....."

"Why just now you said you fell in with a tigress," interrupted Nagen

"Silly ass! I met the tigress at Monghyr. The affair with the woman took place on the Punjab Mail, this side of Tundla. Anyhow, listen to the story."

"Last year, Charan Ghosh requested me to take his daughter to Tundla, where his son-in-law has got a job. It was a fine opportunity. I could travel second class at another man's expense, with a day at Benares on the way back. Anyhow, I safely escorted the girl to Tundla. On my return journey, I found the train at Tundla station was cramped, with not an inch to spare. A crowd of American globe-trotters had been occupying, from Agra, all the first and second class berths. The son-in-law, luckily enough, happened to be a railway doctor. He arranged matters with the guard and pushed me into a first class compartment, and off went the train.

"It was seven in the morning, and misty everywhere. Inside the carriage everything was hazy. I stood for some time completely befogged, till by degrees the inside of the compartment became visible. What I saw left me agape with wonder. On the opposite berth, a gigantic unshapely sahib lay with his eyes

closed and jaws open, mumbling gibberish all to himself. On the floor, in between the berths, was another sahib, dwarfish and stout, sleeping face to the floor. An empty bottle was rolling near his head. There was nobody lying on the near side berth, but costly bedding was spread on it, and a strange costume, may be of bear-skin, was on top. The train was moving at full speed and there was no escape. Sitting on something like a chair at the end of the berth, I began to pray to the goddess Durga under my breath. Dreadful seconds slowly passed out and nothing happened. The sahibs still lay sprawling and I found, by slow degrees, my courage coming back to me.

"Suddenly, the bath-room door flew open and a wonderful vision appeared. I have seen many mem sahibs from a distance, but never before at close quarters. The face resembled a Chinese *karamcha*,* the lips two ripe-red chillis; the arms as if carved out of marble. The neck was close-cropped, but near about the ears curled two locks of flaxen hair. She wore a towel † about two feet broad...."

"That's not a towel, Chatterjea. They call it a 'skirt'," exclaimed Binode Babu interrupting.

"I don't know your 'kat-phat' my boy," retorted Chatterjea, mimicking the word 'skirt.' "I saw distinctly. she wore a check towel such as we buy in our markets, only a bit short, and from it descended two legs like the trunks of the rose-coloured banana tree. I couldn't make out if she had stockings or not. I had read in Sanskrit books about a 'graceful body, straight as a stick.' Now, I saw with my own eyes, yes, a body like a stick. From head to breast and waist, it was all smooth and planed. There were no ups and downs; no curves anywhere. Not the 'swinging clinging creeper' as we read in Sanskrit poetry; she was just like the stick of an ignited rocket. A feeling of great reverence came over me. I touched my forehead and said, 'Salaam mem sahib'."

A smile flitted across her face. In between the ripe-red chillis, peeped a few young grains of maize. "*Ghuth* morning," she nodded.

Like a dancing nymph of Paradise she glided to the berth and took her seat, while I, in great embarrassment, left my seat and stood up.

"Sit down Babu, *daro math* (don't be afraid)," said the mem.

There stood the goddess with a gracious gesture in one hand, and a cigarette in the other. I was sure, I had won celestial favour, and who could harm me now? In my best mixture of Hindi and English I made my submission: "I intruded here because I got no seat, but of course, with the guard's permission. Mem sahib may be graciously pleased to excuse this presumption."

The mem sahib again assured me I was safe, so I dropped back into my seat, once more.

But there was no relief. The mem sat beside me, and began to scrutinise me with a fixed stare and half of a mouth.

This Kedar Chatterjea has been pursued by snakes, tigers have chased him, and ghosts frightened him, monkeys gnashed their teeth at him, police court pleaders have cross-examined him, but he was never in a worse plight than now. I am sixty years old. One cannot say that my complexion is light or medium. I had not shaved for six days; my face resembled a *kadam* ‡ flower—but shyness overcame all this and turned my face violet upto the ears. "What are you looking at mem sahib?" I blurted out, unable to stand her gaze.

The mem emitted a loud laugh. "*Kuch nehi* (nothing). No offence. Who are you, Babu?"

My pride was hurt. Was I a peep show or a beast at the zoo? With chest out and head erect I protested, "I Kedar Chatterjea. No zoo garden."

"Bengali?" said she with another loud laugh.

"Yes Sir. High caste Bengali Brahmin," I replied proudly. "See," I said taking out my sacred thread. "Who are you, madam?"

"Fie, fie. Chatterjea. You asked a lady for particulars about herself? That's not etiquette," remarked Binode Babu.

"Why shouldn't I? The lady sought my acquaintance. Why shouldn't I seek hers? The mem was not at all displeased. She told me her name was Joan Jilter, she came from America and had come here several times before and India was a wonderful land."

As we talked, I pointed to the sleeping sahibs and had the nerve to ask, "Who are they, please?"

The mem was very frank. "That chap is Timothy Topper," said she pointing her little finger towards the tall fellow on the berth. "Comes from California and wants to marry me. Worth a thousand million dollars. The fellow rolling on the ground is Christopher Columbus Blotto. Also wants to marry me. Also worth a thousand million dollars."

* An apple-coloured berry-like fruit of Bengal.

† Towel—a check towel is sometimes worn by women as a wrapper in Bengal, specially at bath.

‡ A round flower of Bengal, with white and prickly pollens.

"It was Columbus who discovered America," said I gravely.

"He was another man," answered the mem. "These fellows failed to discover anything, even though they were in America. The whole country has gone bone-dry; there is nothing to be had there but methylated spirits. So they have deserted their mother-country, and are roaming about the globe in search of the real stuff."

"I guess, they bona fide spiritualists," I hazarded.

"You bet," replied the mem.

At that moment, the tall sahib opened his eyes with a vicious glare, shook his fist at me and growled, "You-you—get out quick." The dwarfish fellow also began to menace me with his fists.

I gripped my walking-stick tight and began to bang it on the floor. The mem took the fur-slippers from her bed and patted the tall fellow on his cheeks with them, saying, "You pug, you pug." She kicked the dwarf saying, "You pig, you pig." Both went off to sleep again at once with their mouths agape. The lady placed a slipper on each of their chests, returned to her berth and said, "Don't be afraid, Babu."

But where was the promised safety? I had read in the Arabian Nights about a giant who travelled on and on with a princess on his head imprisoned in a chest. When the giant slept, the princess would place a stone on him, gather round every available prince and secure presents of rings. I was done for, I thought The mem before me is travelling on the shoulders of two such giants; now she will produce a string of ninety nine rings.

It happened just as I feared. I had on my finger a ring set with coral and bound with silver and copper wire. "How lovely!" she bleated suddenly as she noticed it. "Do let me see the ring, Babu."

Shaking with fear, I stretched out my hand, as if undergoing an operation for whitlow. Eagerly, the mem pulled off the ring, stuck it on her finger and murmured, "Beauchifuh!"

Haray Ram (good heavens)! This is the ring with which thrice a day I say my prayers Welladay! This *mlechchha* woman has defiled it. Tears welled to my eyes; but my curiosity was roused. "How many more rings have you got mem sahib?" I queried. "Ninety nine?"

The mem pulled out a portmanteau from beneath the berth, produced a strange box and opened it to show me. My eyes were dazzled, with tray after tray of jewels. There were necklaces in some, ear-drops in others, so on and so forth. There was a tray full of rings—altogether twenty to twentyfive. "Please take any one you like," said she holding it before me.

"What an idea," said I. "My ring cost only two and four. I make a present of it. Please keep it carefully. It's a very holy ring."

"You old dear!" said the mem. "But if I accept your present, you can't very well refuse mine." With this she stuck a ruby ring on my finger.

"Thank you mem sahib," said I. "I remain your slave. Forget me not......Don't you worry, old thing," said I mentally to my absent wife, "I keep this ring for *you*."

The train reached Etawa. "Tea Hoozoor," said Kelner's khansama as he came with tea, bread and butter. The mem sahib took the tray. Then she poked both the giant and the dwarf with my stick, "Get up Timmy. Get up Blotto." I could not hear what they said but they grunted like boars. I surmised they were not in a fit state to get up. The mem asked me, "Chatterjea, won't you have some tea? No objections I hope."

I was faced with a dilemma. The tea was made by a *Mlechchha* woman. So I could not take it as a Brahmin. But it was smelling wonderfully, and the weather was very cold. The *sastras* nowhere forbade one to take tea. Besides, if sitting on a big wooden plank as in a railway train, one takes a little tea, just as a medicine to ward off cold, there cannot be any contamination. "Madam Lakshmi," said I. "When with your own fair hands you offer me tea, why shouldn't I take it? But please, no toast."

A mouthful of tea opens the doors of the mind. As one sips indiscreet words escape one's lips. Like Aswatthama of the Mahabharata who danced with delight after a drink of rice-water thinking it to be milk, the timid Bengali tries to get the kick of spirits out of tea. Bankim Chatterjea did not know how to take tea properly. He would drink it only when he caught cold, with ginger and salt. But with this stimulus he could make one of his heroines say, "This helpless victim is my lord of life." Today, thanks to tea, there is a flood of new ideas in Bengal. Result:—Tea in every house: love everywhere. The poets of old needed all sorts of paraphernalia—shady groves—the harvest moon—the gentle zephyr—the mocking cuckoo....and then only could the shafts of Cupid fly. Now there is no such trouble. One wants only two cups, even though the handles be broken, a torn piece of oil-cloth, a table made

of packing-cases, a lad and lass on either side and in between....a steaming tea-pot. Thank the Lord, I was sixty then and so survived.

"Well mem sahib," I asked the lady. "I learn that both the *huzoors* rolling on the ground want to marry you. Who is the lucky one of your choice?"

"That's a problem," answered the mem. "I can't make up my mind. Sometimes I think Timmy would be suitable. He is tall and good-looking and adores me. But he goes off the deep end whenever he drinks. And this Blotto, although fat and short and a bit long in the tooth, is very complaisant and does what I tell him. Even a drop of liquor makes him weep I am in a nice fix; for they both pester me to marry them. However, I shall get a few hours to decide before the train reaches Howrah Why Chatterjea, why don't you say which I should marry?"

"Mem sahib," I suggested, "from the way you have described their character and conduct I am convinced that both are eligible The only difficulty is the unconscious state in which they are in...."

"That's nothing," answered the mem "Both will brighten up very soon."

"If you don't like anyone in particular, why don't you let your parents choose for you?" I hazarded.

"Haven't got such a thing as a parent I look after myself," replied the mem. "Look here Chatterjea, I leave the choice to you Watch them closely Let me have your opinion before you drop off at Mogulsarai. I thought, I would take a coin and toss for it. Now you are here, no need for that."

A most wonderful arrangement it was. I have on occasion selected many brides and bridegrooms for my friends and relations, but never had I been given a stranger task. Both were multi-millionaires; both drank like fishes One surpassed in height; the other in weight The only sign of education and intelligence they had shown as yet was grunting. "To hell with it," I decided, since the mem has no objection I shall name one at random. And if I understand that the mem will do as I say, I shall tell her, "*Ma Lakshmi* (sweet, my daughter) when you have been bold enough to crop your head, please finish the job. Take a broom-stick to your would-be-bride-grooms and beat them to blazes."

The mem and I talked on and on; now it was half-past nine. Next would come a small station, the train would stop and the sahibs and mem sahibs would go to the dining saloon for their *hazri*. Now I saw what I had not noticed before that the mem's lips had grown pale while sipping tea. I understood, the colour was not fast. She opened a small gold box, out came a small mirror, a red candle, and a packet of powder. She did repairs to her face by rubbing her lips with red candle and applying powder to her nose.

The train stopped. "Chatterjea," said the mem, "I am going off to my breakfast. Timmy and Blotto remain here. Keep an eye on them please. See that they don't fight when they wake. If you can't manage, pull the chain."

"Ah ha! What a simple task you have given me," I said to myself. The mem will return after half-an-hour when the train stops at Cawnpore. Meanwhile—I am left to my fate. I held my stick ready, and again began to call on Durga.

The tall sahib got up. He yawned, wiped his eyes and cracked his knuckles. Then he gave me one glare but said nothing Next he reeled into the bath-room.

Then the dwarfish fellow hopped up, and like a big frog squatted down on the seat by my side. I was about to shout for help; but before I could, he grabbed my hand, shook it and said, "I am Christopher Columbus Blotto."

"Salaam Huzoor," I said.

"I am worth a thousand million dollars. Every minute my income is..."

"I'm sure, huzoor is Lord of the world"

Blotto plugged a finger on my chest "Look here Babu," said he. "I shall tip you five rupees."

"Why huzoor?"

"You are to make Miss Joan accept me I've heard all your talks. That fellow Timothy Topper—is a downright waster. All his properties are mortgaged to me. He's a sot and a pauper and Miss Joan will die of broken heart if he marries her."

With this Blotto began to sob and sob There were some dregs left in a bottle. He gulped the stuff down and said, "Babu, do you believe in re-incarnation?"

"Of course, I do."

"I was a thirsty lark in my last life, while she was a beautiful kingfisher. We two.

The door of the bath-room creaked. Hurriedly Blotto showed me his five fingers, lay down on the bed and began to snore.

The tall sahib, whom the mem called Timmy, returned to his berth and sat tight on his seat. Then Blotto pretended to wake up yawned, gave me one imploring glance and entered the bath-room.

Now was Timmy's turn. As soon as Blotto disappeared, he came beside me and caught

hold of my hand. I forestalled him with a "Good morning Sir."

Timmy wrenched my hand fiercely.

"Oo-oo," I cried out in pain.

"I shall pound you to mincemeat," said Timmy.

"Yes sir," I babbled in fear.

"I shall crush you to a jelly."

"Yes sir."

"I must marry Miss Joan Jilter. I've heard everything. You're a dead man if you don't speak up for me."

"Yes sir."

"I'm rolling in money. Five hotels. Ten shipping concerns and twentyfive ham factories What has Blotto got? Only a bootlegging show and that too run with my money Blotto is a wretched little drunken waster, a-——"

Perhaps Blotto was eavesdropping all these Suddenly he rushed into the compartment, raised his fist for a blow as he said, "Who is wretched? Who is a drunkard? Who is a waster ???....."

Everybody knows that Hindi is par excellece the language for song and abuse. Hindi curses have a real kick in them. But if you want high explosive, listen please to European billingsgate, specially American. Every word, a bursting shell. "Deep down my ears, my heart doth shatter," as says the Vaishnava poet I don't know English well, so I did not follow all they said. But couldn't help relishing the flavour.

I found after all that the sahibs are weaker than us in one way. They can't put up a word-war so long. It wasn't two minutes before they came to blows I looked on spell-bound and didn't notice when the train stopped at Cawnpore.

The mem rushed into the compartment How can she stop this Gog and Magog battle? "Timmy dear," she exclaimed. "Don't Blotto darling! Don't. Please, please....Don't."

No effect at all. In wild dismay I left the carriage and rushed madly on.

The first and second classes were all empty. They were still eating in the saloon. To whom should I report? There—a sahib in white flannel trousers was loitering on the platform. In utter confusion I wailed, "Come sir, lady in much trouble."

The sahib blew a sharp whistle and ran along with me. The mem had seized my stick and was beating both the fellows impartially.

But who heeds her? The hurly burly still goes on.

"Hallow Joan," exclaimed the stranger sahib, "what's the matter?"

The mem hurriedly explained everything. The sahib tried to stop the Timmy-Blotto fight, but they both went for him. Then the fists of the new sahib came into action.

Father dear! What a punching they got! Timmy's head smashed hard against the door and down he reeled and saw the fourteen worlds dark. With a muffled moan of agony, Blotto fell flat under the berth All quiet on the western front.

After recovering her breath the mem introduced me to the new sahib. "This is the famous Bill Bounder. Useful boxer. And this is Mr. Chatterjea, a dear old friend of mine."

"Some beard," remarked the sahib, as he scrutinised my face.

"Never mind the beard," said the mem. "He is a very wise man."

"Ha-do-do," said the sahib, as he shook my hand affably. "Got very cold, hasn't it?"

A brain-wave flashed on me. "Look here, Miss Joan," I whispered to the mem, "why not get over your difficulty? Both Timmy and Blotto are down and out. Take my advice—please marry Bill sahib. A splendid man."

"Right ho," exclaimed the mem. "It didn't strike me before I say Bill, will you marry me?"

Rather," answered Bill, "who says I won't?"

"Radha Madhab (good heavens)!" I exclaimed to myself. "These sahibs are a shameless lot I told Bill, "Stop sahib, why go so fast? I'm the 'bridemaster' and am giving away the bride. Let me be satisfied about your genealogy and antecedents. Then only shall I give my consent."

"My grand-father was a cobbler," explained Bill. "My father too mended boots in his younger days."

"The prestige of your connections is none the less for that," said I. "What's your income?"

Bill made a rapid calculation. Then he replied, "Ten thousand a minute, six lacs an hour. But don't you worry. When my aunt dies my income will be a bit more than that. She has twentyfive enormous tanks full of salt water, swarming with whales."

"Not another word," said I. "I give my consent. Come along. I will betroth you in real Hindu style."

But where are the ceremonial requisites—paddy and green grass? "Cooly," I shouted to a fellow, craning my neck out of the window. "Tear up a few handful of grass. You will get your *buksheesh*."

I don't know how to bless in English. "If

you have no objection. I shall give my benediction in Bengali," said I.

"Right ho. Go ahead."

"Live long," I blessed them, placing a handful of grass on the head of the sahib. "You have wealth already, and you will have sons as well. I offer you my sweet Lakshmi. But look out, my boy, and don't drink hard. Otherwise, a Brahmin's curse will lie on you." The sahib shook my hand a second time, and crushed it cruelly.

"Mother Lakshmi," said I addressing the mem. "Let the vermilion * on your lips be everlasting. Don't give birth to heroes Let this item of the blessing be reserved for our own weak girls Don't be the source of trouble to the poor *kala admis*. Live a domestic life with some nice quiet children."

Suddenly, the mem raised her head and kissed my six day's growth of prickly beard.

"Fie, fie," exclaimed Binode Babu.

"Quite all right," said Chatterjea "It's just what's described in Bankim's Devi Choudhurani."

"Well Chatterjea. How did the ripe red chillis taste ?"

"Not at all pungent Look here, that's their custom. That's the way they show their respect. It's nothing to be ashamed of."

Then I saw the tall and dwarfish sahibs were going out of the train Their faces were ashy pale. Two porters were taking out their luggage.

The train moved on. Bill and Joan caught hold of each other's hands and began to dance a jig, while I looked on aghast

"Chatterjea," said Joan, "don't sit there so glum on such a happy day Come and join our dance."

"I have a touch of rheumatism in my waist," I explained. "The doctor has told me not to dance."

"Then you give us a song and we shall do the dancing."

What could I do ? I had caught a Tartar. I hummed a hymn of Ramprasad's. We carried on like this for the whole journey, till we came to Mogulsarai. The mem said that they would be married as soon as they reached Calcutta. I was to see them three days later at the Grand Hotel without fail. Then, after handshaking in plenty, invitations galore, I got down and boarded the train for Benares. The next day I left for Calcutta.

"Well Chatterjea," said Binode Babu, "has your wife heard all about this ?"

"Why not ? She is a devoted wife and is fifty now. She is not one of those silly young wives to take offence at a little thing like that. I told her everything the moment I reached home."

"What did Mrs. Chatterjea say when she heard your story ?"

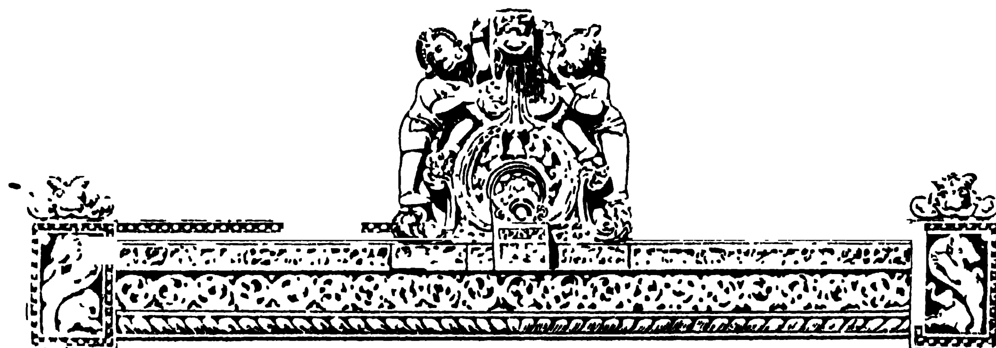
"She called in an Oriya barbar at once and ordered, 'Give the old man a good clean shave, hurry up ! The *Mlechchha* woman has made his face untouchable. Then she snatched away the ruby ring, washed it with Ganges water and quietly put it on her own finger'."

"How did you relish the *Boubhat* dinner (reception at the bridegroom's house) ?"

"No more of this painful story ! I went to the Grand Hotel and found that they were not there. A khansama told me that the wench had decamped the day after the marriage, and the sahib had gone off to look for her."

[Translated (with author's consent) by Charulal Mukherjea, M A , B.L , and revised by Mr O M. Martin, I C.S]

* Vermilion mark is the Hindu symbol of marriage and married state



THE PROPOSED BANK ACT

By AJIT ROY, A.B.I. (London)

[Section XI of the proposed Bank Act was elaborately dealt with in the March issue of *The Modern Review*. As proposed therein, I like to criticise Section VII of the said Bill in this article.]

It goes without saying that the intention underlying Section VII of the proposed Bank Act is good, as it is meant to check the unwarranted ramifications which some modern Banks are spreading without any reference to the preliminary expenses and the growing recurring expenditure to be incurred until they acquire a revenue earning capacity. The report of the Central Banking Enquiry Committee that some Banks were found to absorb not only all their paid-up share capital but also a good portion of the deposits in running their concern is not untrue. Everything must be done to subdue this craze for such ramifications, but we very much doubt if the proposed section, if incorporated into the Act in toto, will put a healthy check in this direction without curbing the genuine banking need and development of the country.

The Section under review runs :

"Notwithstanding anything contained in Section 103 of the Indian Companies Act, no Company shall do Banking business unless it has a paid-up capital and reserve of at least one lakh of rupees, or if it does banking business at any of the places hereinafter mentioned, an amount in respect of each such place of not less than (*a*) five lakhs of Rupees at Bombay and Calcutta, (*b*) two lakhs of rupees at other places with a population of over one lakh, to be included in a list to be notified by the Reserve Bank of India and (*c*) twenty lakhs if it operates outside the State or the Province in which it has its principal office of business; provided that no banking Company shall be required to have a minimum capital of more than twenty lakhs of rupees."

An initial paid-up capital and reserve of one lakh of rupees is prescribed for banking institutions, whish is too much for this poor country where capital is so shy. Moreover, there are small places where a bank can work successfully with a less strong capital structure So the statutory requirement of rupees fifty thousand as fixed by the Indian Company's Act, if raised to rupees one lakh, will unnecessarily curtail the banking development of the country.

Again a uniform quota of share capital is prescribed for all the banks for opening new branches irrespective of their individual strength, varying establishment and preliminary charges, reserve fund and revenue income which are not taken into account. A big bank like the Central Bank of India Ltd., may require a capital of rupees five lakhs for opening a branch in a presidency town to meet the preliminary expenses and establishment costs until it comes to revenue earning capacity. Smaller banks will never require such a huge amount of paid-up capital at their back for opening individual branches. In case this section is incorporated into the new Act, banks like the big five of Bengal * which started with a low share capital and are striding towards eminence will be things of the past; and enterprise, tact and business acumen required for establishing such concerns will be stifled to death. I do not know whether any of the above banks had so much strength of share capital while opening their Calcutta branches and yet they are growing splendidly and carrying the day with them.

Similar reasoning may be applied in the case of opening branches in the large towns with a paid-up capital of rupees two lakhs allocated for each branch on a population basis. Not only will a small bank be able to maintain a branch at any of those places with a lower capital but a big bank with a heavy establishment charge may on the other hand require a bigger capital structure to open a branch in such places to meet its huge expenses until it becomes self-supporting. The main thing which to our mind the proposed section should try to check is that branch expenses do not invade the share capital or eat into the deposits of any bank; and according to our contention, as raised share capital does not presuppose more profit or strength, the criterion of branch banking should be gauged by the revenue earning capacity of a bank. A big bank with a large share capital and huge deposits and heavy establishment charges doing unit banking may also face ruin owing to its bad policy and procedure, but a far smaller bank with no such huge capital and deposits and with some branches run judiciously,

* Messrs. Nath Bank, Ltd., Bengal Central Bank, Ltd., Comilla Union Bank, Ltd., Comilla Banking Corporation, Ltd., The Bhawanipur Banking Corporation, Ltd.

may gloriously carry on with a margin between income and expenditure and yet may spend something for opening other branches. This is the lesson of history, past and present, and we cannot close our eyes to them. The allurement of enhancing profit at the expense of liquidity will be however checked by Section XI of the proposed Act as mentioned in Para 12 of the explanatory memorandum attached thereto.

If our above contention is right, a portion of the net revenue of a bank should be allocated for branch expenses for each year. Supposing that the proportion is fixed at one tenth of the net revenue, a small bank earning the humble revenue of rupees fifty thousand a year is entitled to spend rupees five thousand in branch expenses the next year and, provided that all its other branches are self-supporting, may easily open a new branch in a town with a population of over one lakh, with the preliminary expenditure and other liabilities which it may incur in the first year covered by that sum. History is replete with instances of success of such banks, and we do not find the reason why their growth should be checked so long as they are in good financial position—be it in a small scale.

So this provision for uniform quota of paid-up capital if incorporated into this Act will hinder the small banks to an immeasurable extent and also give unjustified preferential treatment to bigger banks without an eye on their profit earning capacity. On the contrary, in the case of manipulated share capital this will encourage the opening of new branches on an illusory basis. Moreover, in this age of democracy this clause will only impart a touch of plutocracy allowing big banks with vast capital to open as many branches as they like, and debarring small ones from further business expansion irrespective of their revenue position. Such a consequence will not only prevent the smaller banks from establishing healthy business links by opening new branches in places of importance and business advantage, but will also deprive them of the many advantages consequent on branch banking in the shape of mobilisation of fund and earning of revenue.

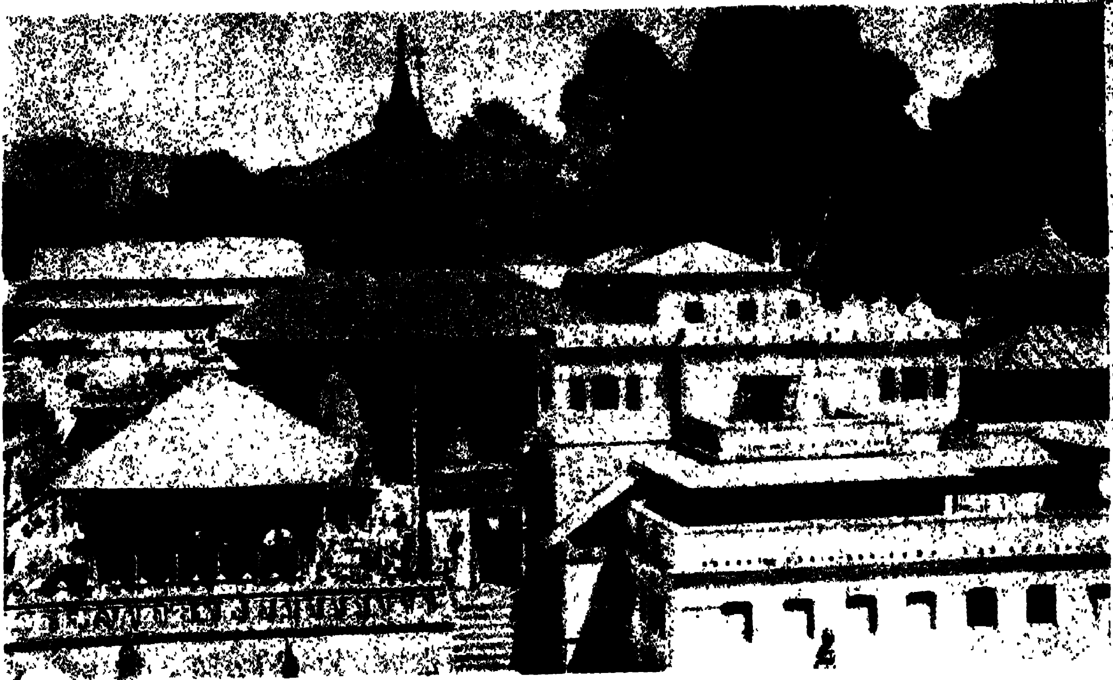
To our mind, branch banking outside the province or the State should also be regulated by the criterion of revenue earning capacity of a bank; and as some safeguard is necessary for preventing unsound banks from spreading over a wide area, a capital and reserve of rupees ten lakhs only is sufficient for the purpose.

We invite the attention of the Reserve Bank of India to the above suggestions for a possible improvement of this section.

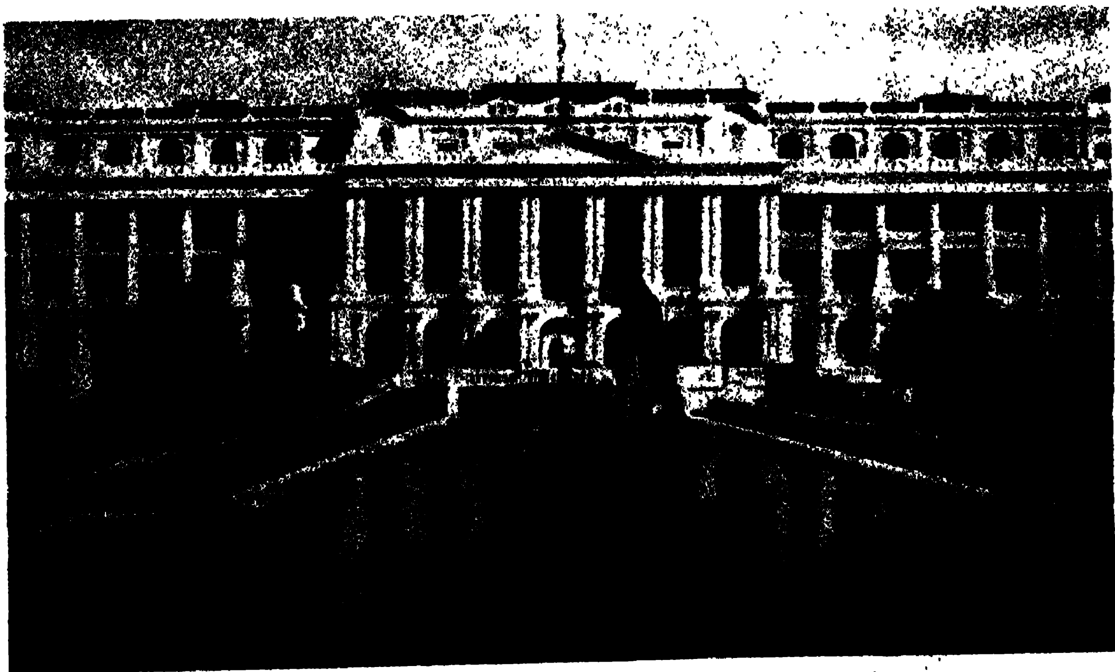
Regarding small banks, we request the Reserve Bank to see that the clause providing for a share capital of fifty thousand rupees for opening branches in smaller places in moffusil area be annulled from the section. But as these small banks in the moffusil area are the only institutions providing rural credit there, every attempt should be made to make them easy sailing. On that score it should be considered whether Section XI regarding the minimum percentage of liquid assets may be modified in their case in view of the fact that they have their time liabilities in excess of their demand liabilities and consequently require less percentage of liquid assets to meet their day to day demand.

While we are for the consolidating of the banking structure of the country, it is our case that while a strict eye should be kept on the proficiency of a bank, nothing should be done to curtail rural credit or the banking development of the country by putting unnecessary checks.

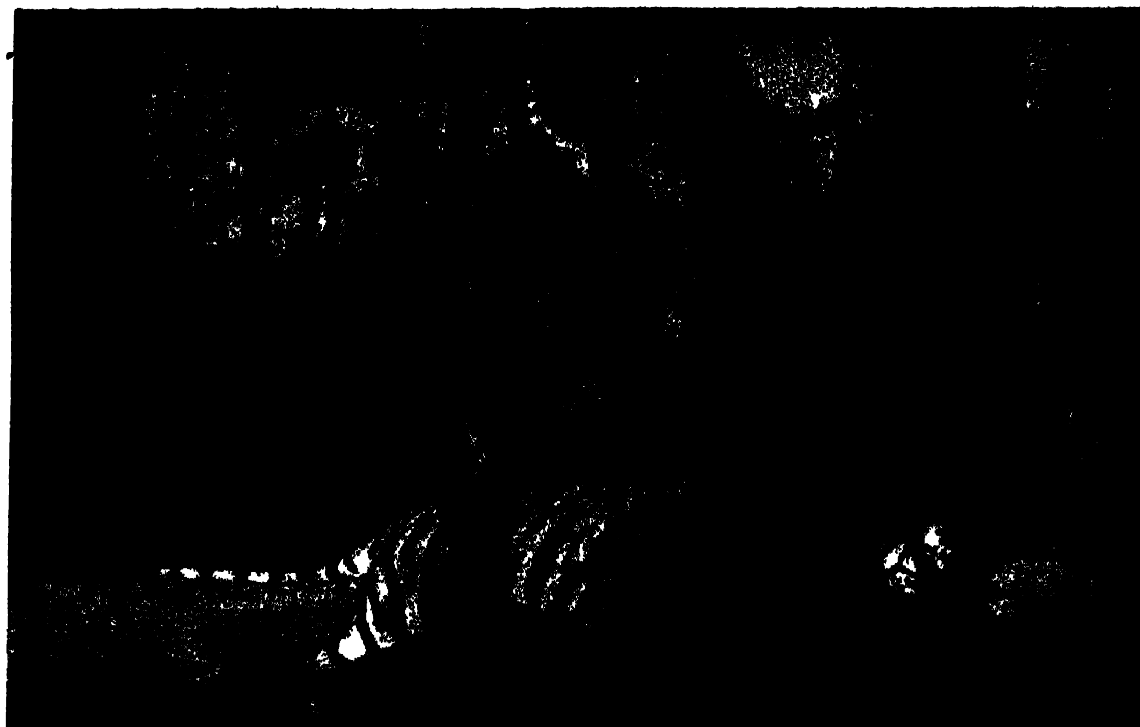




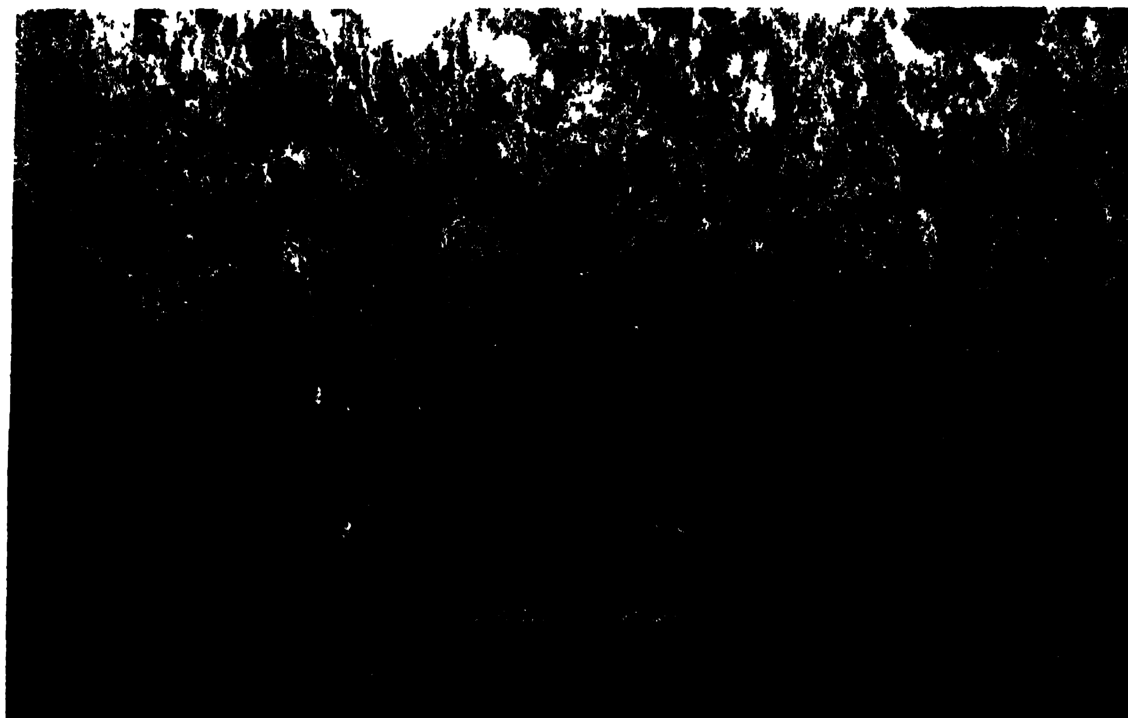
The holiest of the holy. The temple precincts of Pashupatinath



Singha Darbar. Facade of the Maharaja's official residence [*Photo : Balkrishna*



The Maharaja



The Maharaja with his Shikar trophies [*Photo : Balkrishna*



Bathing ghat on the Bagmati, near the temple of Pashupatinath

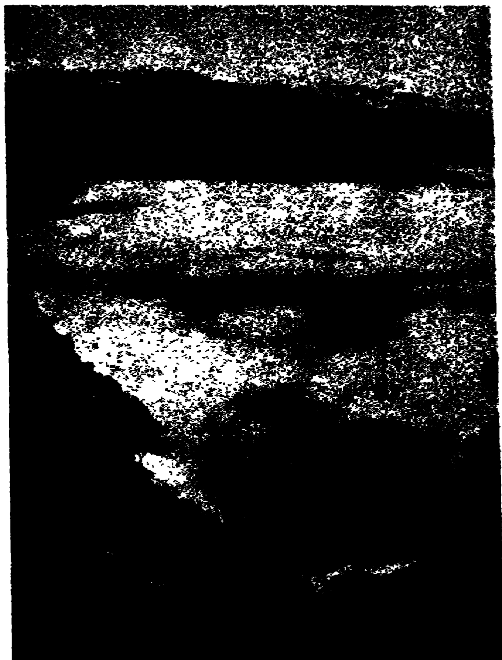
A village

[Photo: S. K. R. C.]

The temple of Mahabodh at Patan. This was copied from the famous Mahabodhi Temple at Buddha Gaya [*Photo :* *S. K. R. C.*



The temple of Swambhunath, a Buddhist temple [*Photo :* *Balkrishna*



Snow range [*Photo :* *S. K. R. C.*

NEPAL AND HER RULER

By SIVA NARAYANA SEN,

Keeper, Nepal Museum.

MAN is affected by the action of his natural environment. This environment acts on him and transforms him by means of the forces of soil and climate. Heredity undoubtedly forms one of the factors in human evolution, but all the others are derived from the habitat. These exercise their power both on individuals and communities, and, though not efficacious agents in somatic transformation, are equally the determinants of political and moral ideas and realizations—the very basis of history.

There is no human group, no human society, without a territorial basis.

For very many centuries the power of man has been joined to that of nature and has extended over the greater part of the earth. By his intelligence the domestic animals have been tamed and broken in. By his labours marshes have been drained, rivers embanked and provided with locks, forests cleared, moorlands cultivated. The entire face of the earth bears today the imprint of man's power, which, although subordinate to that of nature, has often done more than she, or, at least, has so marvellously seconded her that it is by man's aid that she has developed to her full extent. And undoubtedly there is here no question of man's independence of natural conditions. In a sense he is more subject to them than any other living being by the very reason of his ubiquity. Is he not the only living being who lives and multiplies wherever life is possible ? Most animals, far from being able to multiply everywhere, are bounded by and confined to certain climates, and even to particular countries.



Photo : Major Balkrishna
H. H. the Maharaja and Field-Marshal Mannerheim (Finland) with the tiger he bagged

Human character as expressed in civilisation is one of the most interesting things which require explanation The only way to explain it is to ascertain the effect of each of many co-operating factors. Such factors as race, religion, institutions, and the influence of men of genius must be considered on the one hand, and geographical location, topography, soil, climate, and similar physical conditions on the other.

The races of the earth are like trees. Each according to its kind brings forth the fruit known as civilisation. Climate is the most important factor in determining the status of civilisation.

That is why it has been thought fit that in order to understand Nepal, the only independent Hindu Kingdom in the world, her geography should be studied first.

Men are inclined, when dealing with a country foreign to their own, to judge it by their own standards—specially the Westerners and those Westernised. One must drop this habit. A dispassionate scientific study is necessary to appreciate a thing and one must be respectful in order to acquire a true knowledge.

Nepal, sublimely picturesque with its wild ravines and rugged mountains, emerges from the plains of India. The Himalayan range, where it touches on the champaign country, is almost everywhere girt with a peculiar belt or border, called the Terai. This term is applied to a plain about twenty miles broad, upon which the waters from the higher regions are poured down in such profusion that the river-beds are unable to contain them. They accordingly overflow, and convert the ground

into a species of swamp, which, acted on by the burning rays of a tropical sun, throws up an excessively rank vegetation, whereby the earth is choked rather than covered. The soil is concealed beneath a mass of dark and dismal foliage, while long grass and prickly shrubs shoot up so densely and so close as to form an almost impenetrable barrier. It is still more awfully guarded by the pestilential vapours exhaling from those dark recesses, which make



Photo: Prof. S. K. Roy Chowdhury
Outlet of the river Bagmati. Kathmandu was a lake; a divine being is believed to have caused this outlet to be cut in order to drain the lake and build up the city

it at certain seasons a region of death. Beneath these melancholy shades, too, the elephant, the tiger, and other wild animals, prowl unmolested.

In emerging from this dark and deadly plain, and beginning to ascend the lower mountain-stages, the visitor enjoys a much more pleasing scene. He passes now through smiling and fruitful valleys, overhung by the most romantic steeps, and covered to a great extent with the noblest forests. Amid trees similar to those which spread their majestic foliage on the banks of the Ganges, various species of the more hardy oak and pine begin to appear. The prospects obtained from commanding points in these regions, consisting in a foreground of smiling and cultured vales, hills behind crowned with natural plantations, steeper and loftier ranges beyond, and in the distance the snow-clad tops of the highest mountain chain, form a combination of the most sublime and enchanting scenery.

The Himalaya, as it ascends above the picturesque slopes which diversify its lower border, assumes a much bolder and severe aspect. The lofty ridge, the deep valley, the dashing torrent, produce a resemblance to the most elevated portions of the Scottish Highlands. Generally speaking, the character of this mountain chain is rugged and stern; its ridges rise behind each other in awful array; but they enclose no rural scenes, nor present any gentle undulations. Their steep sides, sometimes wooded, sometimes presenting vast faces of naked rock, dip down abruptly, forming dark chasms and ravines, at the bottom of which there is only room for the torrent to force its way through rude fragments fallen from the cliffs above. A laborious task is imposed on the traveller, who has successively to climb and descend this series of lofty terraces, along rough and narrow paths that often skirt the most tremendous precipices. The expedients, too, provided for the passage of the rivers which dash through these gloomy hollows, are of the most slender and imperfect description.

So irregular is the surface of this territory that great difficulty occurs in finding a level space on which to build towns.

In consequence of this peculiar structure, these lofty regions of the Himalaya present a tranquil grandeur, and a picturesque view, even though at times they are rugged, gloomy, and monotonous. A spot, raised almost to an immeasurable height above the plain beneath, proves only the base, whence seven or eight successive ranges rise towards heaven, and terminates at length in a line of snowy pinnacles.

The Himalayan region is divided, in respect to vegetation, into three zones or belts, the first rising to the height of 5000 feet. The general temperature is here lowered, as usual, in proportion to the elevation, yet without the disappearance, to the extent that might be expected, of tropical plants. The Southern exposure, the intense force of the sun's rays during the hot season, and the tropical rains falling in undiminished abundance, enable these to attain almost equal maturity to the upper part of the central plain. In Nepal, and other favourable situations, rice as a summer, and wheat as a winter crop, form the regular course of cultivation. In the colder season, on elevated peaks, the plants of Europe and other temperate climates, are seen springing contiguously

to those of the tropic. Snow is scarcely ever observed on this lower stage of the mountain territory.

The second belt is considered as reaching to the height of 9,000 feet. Snow here falls constantly in winter, often to a great depth, but melts in early spring. Although the vegetation becomes more and more that of the temperate zone, yet the causes already stated enable tropical plants to climb beyond their natural height, and to mingle with those of a very different clime. In sheltered well-watered



Photo S K Roy Choudhury
A pine forest in Nepal

valleys, crops of rice are still successfully raised, while wheat grows on the heights above. But though the herbaceous plants are able to mount thus high, it is otherwise with trees, exposed to every vicissitude of the seasons. The palms and other Indian species are seen no longer, and the foliage appears exclusively European.

The third and most elevated belt reaches from the border of the latter to the summit of the Himalaya. The climate here is that of the more northern part of Europe and America, terminating in the perpetual snows of the arctic world.

The independent Kingdom of Nepal is included in the southern ranges of the Himalayas, beyond the northern boundary of British India. It lies with an inclination from north-west to south-east, and is comprised within the north latitudes 26° 25′ and 30° 17′, and lengthwise, between east latitudes 80° 6′ and 88° 14′ Its greatest length is about 512 miles, its breadth varies from 70 to 150 miles, and it has a total area of about 54,000 square miles. A desolate and uninhabited tract divides it from Tibet on the North; the Kali or Sarda river bounds it on the west, and on the south-west and south, the British districts of Pilibhit, Kheri, Baharaich, Gonda, Busti, Gorakhpur, Champaran, Muzaffarpur, Darbhanga, Bhagalpur, and Purnia constitute a boundary line which runs at varying distances from the foot of the Himalayas, sometimes to within thirty miles of it. On the east, Nepal is bounded by the Mechi river, the Singatha ridge, and the hill principality of Sikkim.

The capital of the Kingdom is in the centre of a valley, situated almost at the middle of the country, lying at an altitude of about 4,100 feet above sea-level, girt on every side by gigantic mountain ranges. Behind the rampart of these formidable heights lives the main body of the population, the valley itself being thickly



Photo : Major Balkrishna
Old City gate of Patan
(1934 earthquake has demolished it)

peopled, within the compass of the four most important cities of the land, which were once the theatre of many historical episodes from time immemorial.

Such is the place where the Hindus hav preserved their independence and are living

according to the dictates of the *Shastras* promulgated by the Indian *Rishis*. Ancient Indian life can still be witnessed here.

Of Nepal, it may perhaps be said, more truly than of many other countries, that through the centuries, time and again her destiny has rested in the hands of one man.

The present man at the helm of the Nepalese affairs is His Highness Maharaja Joodha Shumshere Jung Bahadur Rana, who is entitled to a place among the great pioneers of progress in the world. His administration is



Photo: Major Balkrishna
Natural springs in Nepal

characterised all through by striking innovations and he is laying the foundation upon which the future Nepal would be able to establish herself more firmly and more gloriously.

He came to power in the year 1933 on the first of September. During his administration of barely eight years the confines of man's knowledge have been widened and great advances have been made in the realms of culture and progress in Nepal. He is a character full of politeness, courage, national pride and understanding; a genius full of vision and far-sight; an administrator strict yet compassionate; a man simple amidst traditional gorgeousness; a patriot well-intentioned and selfless; a virtual dictator, who has been protecting his people as a father protects his children, and a sportsman of unique distinction.

The exhibition of an instinctive and unstudied magnanimity have won the hearts of the people as rapidly as his great abilities and herculean toil have secured for him undying renown. This extraordinary faculty of intense and continuous exertion, both of mind and body, has been his distinguishing characteristic through life.

Everyone who enters his presence is awed by the indescribable influence of his superior mind. As a man he is marked by integrity, humanity and intelligence to an uncommon degree.

Men of genius radiate their influence beyond the confines of their own immediate surroundings. In so doing they come into clash with conventional and traditional ideas and thoughts. Their angle of vision is fresh, they strike out new paths and create unfamiliar language to suit their new concepts of life. What appears simple, proper and natural to them is at first regarded by the public as complex, unjustifiable and out of the ordinary. Maharaja Joodha could not escape being thus temporarily misunderstood.

For the sake of Nepal and Hindu culture and civilisation, let it be hoped that the Maharaja will continue, both by means of precept and example, to inspire his countrymen to work for their progressive enlightened evolution. His past contribution to national well-being in this respect has been important. Both in his life and works there is a good deal to help the movements of reform and progress. He has tried to awaken his countrymen to a sense of their duty by appealing to their sense of justice and communal interest.

His patriotic work has not been confined to the mere advocacy of social reform. He has endeavoured to do as much for the industrial regeneration of the Kingdom of Nepal. In the early dawn of his administration, the Maharaja realised that the real welfare of man is founded upon economic stability. It was quite plain to him that it was hopeless to expect financial freedom in a country where more than ninety per cent of the inhabitants depended solely upon the soil for their support; where the agricultural methods and implements were primitive and wasteful; and where the insufficiency or superabundance of rain ruined one out of every fourth or fifth harvest. He, therefore, decided to do everything in his power to improve agricultural conditions, and foster industries with a view to making his people prosperous. Not satisfied with this, he never has lost an opportunity to counsel his countrymen to establish a sounder economic equilibrium in Nepal by relieving the soil of undue pressure, revivifying decadent trades, and establishing new crafts on a modern basis, thereby improving the material status of the average Nepalese and adding to his comfort and well-being.

Parade and administration have not made



Elephants crossing a river



Elephants assembled for Shikar



Maharaja and his Shikar party [Photo: Balkrishna











A typical village [*Photo : S K R. C*



Snow range as seen from Kathmandu [*Photo . S N Sen*



Stone roofed village-huts. Note the loose slabs used for keeping the stone tiles in position

him a narrow specialist. His culture is wide. Combined in him in a very high degree are the realism of the man of action, the sensitiveness of the artist, and the imagination of the creative dreamer.

The Hindu world will, I trust, earnestly join with me in wishing His Highness a long life, sound health, and many more happy returns of the auspicious occasion of his Accession Anniversary.

HINDU AMERICA

By O. C. GANGOLY

THAT some phases of Central American culture, civilization and art have curious affinities and analogies with East Asiatic and Indian forms, particularly in the monuments of Maya civilization, (chiefly represented in the ancient sites of Mexico and Central America) have been known to and debated by scholars and archaeologists. But the problems offered by the relics and monuments of Maya culture, have not been investigated by Indian scholars from the Indian point of view. Elliot, Smith, Hewitt, Squier, Morton, Tod, Pococke, Mackenzie and others have claimed that the sources of Maya culture have to be sought for in India. It is believed that Indian races, Indian tribes, Indian culture, Indian religious rites and image-worship filtered through Malava Peninsula, Indonesia and Polynesia across the Pacific islands to Central America. In a very interesting and stimulating book,* recently published, Mr. Chaman Lal has recalled these theories, and has attempted to put forward new materials to prove the Indian origins of the culture and civilization which were established in America before the discovery of Columbus. If the Indian origins could be satisfactorily proved, the claim of Columbus as the first discoverer of America has to be set at naught in favour of a forgotten Indian sea-farer who must have crossed over the Pacific to plant the seeds of Indian culture on American soil.

The principal value of Mr. Chaman Lal's patriotic pleadings in favour of a "Hindu America" consists of a series of photographs, depicting types (men, women and children) representing modern representatives and survivals of the ancient Maya race, which bear surprising and curious resemblances to ethnic types very well known in India. Professor Rama Mena, Curator of the National Museum of Mexico, has also insisted on these peculiar resemblances: "The human types are like those of India." The Curator also relies on Indian affinities in architectural and artistic monuments of Old Maya culture:

> "Their perfection in design, the irreproachable technique of their reliefs, the sumptuous head-dress and ostentatious buildings on high, the system of construction, all speak of India and the Orient."

Mr. Chaman Lal has laid emphasis on the cults of Sun-worship, Snake-worship, and other religious rites (*e.g.*, Chadak-puja Festival), current in Aztec culture (which is the direct descendant from the earlier Maya culture), as important links between original Indian prototypes and their Colonial (?) analogies in Central America. He has also relied on social habits and customs as another series of evidence to establish Indian origins of Maya civilization. Fortunately, he has not insisted on fanciful etymological resemblances in names such as Aztec=(Rishi) Astik, Yucatan=Yogo-sthana, Guatemala=Gautamalaya, though he believes that the "Mayas" and "Nahuas" were emigrants of the Magha and Nahusha tribes from India. In some cases the authorities he has



Serpent-Bird from the relief in the 'Temple of the Foliated Cross,' Palenque (Fig 1)

* *Hindu America*, by Chaman Lal, 1940, published by New Book Co., Hornby Road, Bombay.



Chichen Itza. Quetzalcoatl-Kukulkan, Toltec period (Fig. 2)

cited in support of his statements are conjectural speculations made at a time when the history of Indian antiquities and cults was far from being placed on solid scientific evidence. Recent researches in the fields of Indology have fairly fixed the chronology and evolution of Indian culture from Vedic to Pauranic times. And the time has arrived to examine the claims of Maya culture to derive its sources from Indian prototypes. Unfortunately, Mr. Chaman Lal was not himself equipped with scientific knowledge of Indian antiquities and culture, when he began to study the very interesting records of Maya civilization. It is to be hoped that he will acquaint himself with the results of the latest researches in the fields of Indian cults, Indian iconology, Indian sculpture and Indian architecture, and make intensive and comparative studies of the Indian prototypes with their so-called parallels in Maya and Central American culture. The earliest Maya monuments cannot be precisely dated, but the Old Maya Empire of the Archaic Period is said to cover a period of a century (94 B.C. to 104 A.D.). The Middle Period covers another century (104 A.D. to 202 A.D.) while the Great Period which marks the climax of Maya culture is said to cover a century and a half (202 to 340 A.D.). The New Empire which the Aztecs overran and absorbed began from 340 A.D. In this state of chronology it is not possible to claim that, when the first Indian emigrants are supposed to have landed in America, Indian iconography and cult-worships had developed definite forms and symbols which could have been bodily transported from India to this trans-Pacific colony in America. No doubt the basic sources of Indian cult-worships and iconography can be traced to earliest Vedic ideas, but their formulations and developments belong to periods later than the Christian era. The cult-images of Indra and other deities are no doubt referred to in Panini. The Indra festival is referred to in early Tamil literature. But a full-fledged iconography belongs to much later time. Dr. Coomaraswamy has sought to



Maya Maize-God from Copan, British Honduras (Fig. 3)

trace the history of the Iconography of Indra (*Eastern Art*, Vol. I, No. 1, July, 1928), but it

has not been possible to push its history in actual remains before the Buddhist Period. The Indian cults, symbols, images, and temple-architecture do not appear to have been transplanted to Indonesian and Greater Indian regions very much earlier than the third century A.D. by which time Maya culture had already attained its zenith.

The above remarks are not all intended to discount or contradict the theories of the Indian origins of Maya civilization but to point out the very difficult and complicated nature of the problems involved.

Mr. Chaman Lal has cited several interesting iconic symbols and images with Indian affinities, but others equally interesting and bristling with problems could be cited to support his thesis. By the courtesy of the Editor of *The Modern Review*, I am able to cite here three significant items reproduced in line drawings.

The First item (Fig. 1) represents a Serpent-Bird, the Maya version of the Indian Garuda. It cannot be claimed that this particular example closely follows the Indian model. But there are other versions which render the figure with a human head with a long nose.

The Second item (Fig. 2) representing the God Kukulkan appears to recall the representations of the Indian Kirtimukha (Gorgon-Face) of which a detailed evolution has been cited in my monograph ("Kirtimukha: The Evolution of an Indian Architectural Ornament," *Rupam*, No. 1, January, 1920).

The Third and the most significant item (Fig. 3) is the figure of the Maya Maize-God from Copan (British Honduras). In the attitudinized gestures (*mudras*) of the two hands, the image undoubtedly recalls the *Varadā* (gift-bestowing) and *Abhaya* (the Reassuring) gestures of typical Indian images.

Other analogies and similarities both in iconic and plastic treatment of ornaments and decorative motifs could be cited as Indian parallels to Maya types.

Scholars and critics have given the palm to Maya sculptors on a comparative appraisal of the works of Indian and Maya Plastic Art. We will cite here the opinion of Roger Fry:

> "At times Maya sculpture has a certain similarity to Indian religious sculptural reliefs, particularly in the use of flat surfaces entirely incrustated with ornaments in low relief; but on the whole the comparison is all in favour of the higher aesthetic sensibility of the Maya artists, where co-ordination of even the most complicated forms compares favourably with the incoherent luxuriance of most Indian work." (*Burlington Magazine*, November, 1918).

Very few students of Maya monuments have noticed the close analogy of decorative motifs and style with the Malaya-Javanese systems of ornamentaiton, though their affinities with early Chinese sculpture have been noticed by several scholars.

There are any number of competent and fully equipped Indian scholars, today, qualified to examine the problems of the origin of Maya civilization in a scientific spirit, and it is hoped that Mr. Chaman Lal's stimulating volume will inspire them to undertake full and adequate researches for the solution of the many interesting and curious problems which beset the remnants and relics of Maya culture and Early Central American civilization. The task can only be handled and accomplished in a thoroughly scientific spirit free from patriotic or political prejudices.

THE POETIC FACULTY

By Professor C. S. BAGI

> The millions are awake enough for physical labour; but only one in a million is awake enough for effective intellectual exertion, one only in a hundred million for a poetic or divine life.—Thoreau.

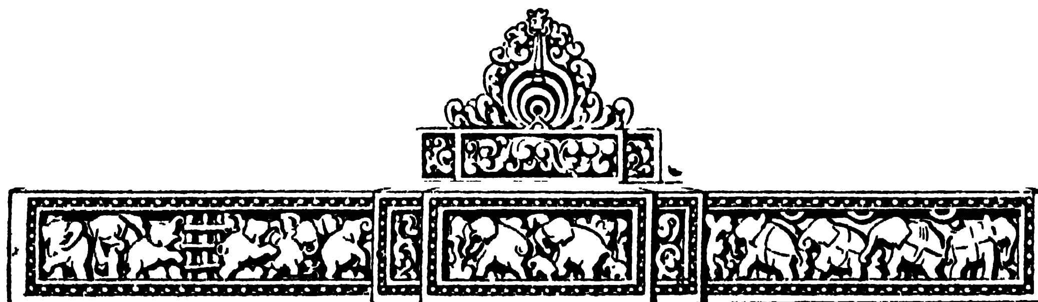
Every moment of our life we are acted upon by countless forces from within and without. The dress we wear and the food we eat, the things we say and the acts we do are not all determined by conscious thinking. Even thoughts which seem deliberate consist to a considerable extent of parts where deliberation is wanting.

Let us take a few instances. There is no work which tasks our mental powers more severely than verse-making. To most of us it is a slow and laborious process like tunnelling where every act means strenuous exertion. A single trial would convince those who think otherwise. Yet from the time of Valmiki to our own day expert opinion has often described

verse as a spontaneous and unpremeditated art in which words flow unbidden from the poet's soul. Valmiki did not *compose* the Ramayana. The epic formed itself in his mind as a part of the organic processes which kept him alive. It was spontaneous like anger and laughter. Blake had not to strain a single muscle of his mind when he wrote his songs. His part in their composition was no more responsible than that of a scribe who writes at another's dictation. "I dare not pretend," he says, "to be any other than the secretary—the authors are in Eternity." But the strangest case of all is that of Coleridge who composed a whole poem in a dream and had simply to transcribe it word for word when he woke up. The now famous "Kubla Khan" is but a fragment which Coleridge could recollect from his quickly dissolving dream.

Now what can we say about all these cases of poetic efflorescence ? The incredulous would have us believe that Valmiki, Blake and Coleridge were great poets capable of great fraud. But this cheap view can hardly stand the light of reason. In fact it raises even greater difficulties than those it seeks to explain. Why should Valmiki deceive us? What did Blake and Coleridge expect to gain by pretence? In the light of what we know of these poets it is safer by far to take their veracity for granted than trust the intelligence of villifiers. The right view of the matter seems to be that our knowledge of the mental and material worlds is hardly sufficient yet to frame a just hypothesis about such unfamiliar phenomena. The processes which preceded the composition of "Kubla Khan," like the sudden illumination that forced the Maid of Orleans to give up sheep-tending for soldiering, or like the mute passions that have led Mankind through successive stages of its material welfare—are phenomena that elude the inquirer's question and make him feel profoundly humble by their power and mystery. But one thing is certain. Our soul has depths yet unplumbed by the explorer's plummet. It also stretches upwards to heights, the mere contemplation of which would frighten us out of our wits. In fact it is the one organ through which we are one with Everything, with All, with God. We are not only the five known elements, but also the thousand that are unknown and the countless that can never be known during life.

No wonder, therefore, if influences rain upon us on all sides; and of them none more powerfully than those which come from beyond the range of our conscious faculties. Blake was perhaps too self-denying when he refused to claim the authorship of his songs. But he was essentially true when he fathered them on Eternity. What he wrote was a cosmic product in the fashioning of which every known and unknown factor took part. Perhaps the sun's rays were as much responsible for the songs as the last night's fog and the indigestion of the week before. In terms of the Ultimate Reality all things have but one source: that is Eternity. The insufficiency of our sense organs and faculties gives a false appearance to Reality. What is One appears Many and much does not appear at all. Like the self-luminous inhabitants of the deepest seas we are apt to think that the sphere of light which radiates from us comprises the whole Universe and nothing exists beyond. Suddenly one fine morning we reach the sun-lit surface. The horizon widens. We see further ahead than the radius of our light, and are lost in wonder at our sudden deliverance from the prison of narrow selfhood. Even so in the course of his soul's adventures the poet very often alights upon a veritable wonderland. A cloud lifts and a flood of inner radiation illumines the very springs of his poetic faculty. What was before a laborious and uncertain process of fancy-hunting now becomes a delightful pastime of stringing together the handy riches of his teeming soul. Generally, intervals of such self-illumination are periods of sharpened mental resources. The whole mind works with full vigour and is capable of feats which our conscious powers alone could never accomplish. This also explains why a sense of domination by a power other than himself possesses the poet as it does him who has entered the holy of holies.



BUDDHIST MONACHISM AND THE CHINESE PILGRIMS

[*With special reference to the Vinaya Laws*]

By Miss DURGA BHAGVAT

In the records of the Chinese pilgrims the last phase of Indian Buddhism becomes visible. Barring I-Ising[1] the last traveller who visited India in the seventh century of the Christian Era, both Fa Hian and Huen Isang or Yuan Chang were Mahāyanists. The records of Fa Hian are neither very important from the ecclesiastical point of view, nor are they a very great contribution to Indian history as are the records of the famous Huen Isang.

A more interesting and more detailed description of India than Huen Isang's cannot be obtained. The book of the last traveller is the most worthless from the historical point of view, and it is the best book as far as the Vinaya is concerned. What Huen Isang contributed to history, I-Ising contributes to the Vinaya. The object of the travels of these men, however, is invariably the same, *viz.*, the collection of the authentic precepts of the Vinaya.

The records of the Chinese travellers, cover a period over three hundred years. Instead of dividing this period into three sections according to the arrival of each of the travellers, I have, here, for the sake of convenience, and to maintain the sequence of argument, analysed the records in various sections.

The Position of the Buddhists

(a) That the Buddhists were losing fast their hold upon the nation was an obvious fact. Most of the genuine principles of the Buddha were falling into oblivion. The Buddha, the ideal Samana, the hero of the Sakyas, was deformed into a strange divinity who instead of being worshipped by the observance of his principles was worshipped with gorgeous ceremonials. The actual facts in his life were mingled with unbelievable and mysterious legends which abound in the records of the Chinese monks, as for example, Kukāli, the bhikkhuni, the supposed follower of Devadatta and the slanderer of the Tathāgata is said to have fallen into a ditch and gone alive to hell. Ditches like these were shown to the travellers.[2] Similarly ridiculously, mysterious accounts about the shadow of the Tathāgata are given.[3] The pious faith of the people thus gradually reduced the personality of the Buddha to a legendary myth and here lies the source of the pious fiction stated by Huen Isang that 'all without exception honoured the law of Buddha.' The Māra is also not censured vehemently as in the Pitakas. He is called Devamāra and opposed reverently.[4] Not only that but other practices quite contrary to the doctrine of Buddhism also manifested themselves in the Sangha. As for example of Saiva image of god Mahākāla, carved in wood, was worshipped in the big monasteries.[5] The Nagas (snakes) also were worshipped. This clearly shows how Jainism was gradually getting mixed with Buddhism.

The Hinayāna Buddhism especially was fast disappearing. The extent of the Hināyana Buddhism was becoming limited. In the days of Fa Hian, the Hinayāna monasteries existed chiefly in Gandhara,[6] at some places in Madhyadesha,[7] Jetavana, Champā, Kapilavastu, Kosambi, Pataliputra,[8] Kanani.[9] In the time of Huen Isang the conditions became more deplorable. He tells us that there were eighteen Buddhist schools, each claiming pre-eminence, and 'the Mahāyāna and Hinayāna were content to live apart.'[10] Huen Isang being an avowed Mahāyānist fails to give us an adequate information of either the correct or faulty side of the other party; and treats it in haste. The Hīnayāna territory he traversed was the same as his predecessor did.

In the days of the last traveller matters have taken the worst possible turn. A very despondent note is struck in these words: 'The teaching of the Buddha is becoming less prevalent in the world from day to day.'[11] The Arya Sthavira Nikāya, the Theravada School,

1. He belonged to the Mulasarvastivadin school of Hinayana. Takakusu: *I-Ising*, p. xxii.
2. Beal: *Records of the Western World, II*, p. 9.
3. *Ibid*, I, p. 94-95.
4. *Ibid*, II, p. 157, also Takakusu, *I-Ising*, p. 5.
5. *Ibid*, p. 39.
6. Legge: *Travels of Fa Hian*, p. 3.
7. *Ibid*, p. 28.
8. *Ibid*, p. 96.
9. *Ibid*, p. 54.
10. Beal: *Records of the Western World, I*, p. 81.
11. Takakusu. *I-Ising*, p. 52.

were in South India, Magadha, and Ceylon. A few belonging to this school, were in Lata and Sindhu. There were branches of it in Eastern India and was lately introduced into the islands of the Southern sea.[12]

The Working of the Sangha

(b) The references to the actual working of the Sangha, also, are extremely scanty. The descriptions of the buildings of the monasteries are frequent, and show a contrast to the simple idea of building in the Vinaya Pitaka, as for example, Huen Isang says that Sanghārāmas were constructed with extraordinary skill; and describes a Sanghārāma in the following words: "A three-storied tower is erected at each of the four angles. The beams and the projecting heads are carved with great skill in different shapes. The doors, windows, low walls are painted profanely. The monks' cells are ornamental on the inside and plain on the outside. In the very middle of the building is a hall high and wide. There are various storied chambers and turrets of different height and shape without any fixed rule.'[13]

As far as the actual working of the monasteries is concerned, the broad principles of the Vinaya were not over-looked. The most striking change that occurred in the life of the Sangha was the love of gorgeousness and ceremonials. The Bodhi-worship, image processions, the visits to the Gandha-kutī (temple) are described at length and with great lucidity several times in the records of the Chinese Monks. Even the simple ecclesiastical ceremonies of Uposatha, Pavārana, etc., were accompanied by 'storied carriages images in sedan chairs, drums, and other music resounding in the air, banners and canopies hoisted high in regular order, flattering and covering the sun."[14]

With established monasteries and an inclination towards luxury, the spirit of autocracy gradually crept in the Sangha. Formerly, the Sangha knew no other servants from outside excepting the Arāmikas, while now, the Sangha engaged servants, both domestics, as cooks, pages,[15] etc., and tillers.[16] The venerable priests and those who studied the three Pitakas had the privilege of having the best rooms in the Sanghārāma as well as attendants.[17]

The most praiseworthy life of the priest in the monasteries is described by I-Ising in the following words:

> "As cultivation by the priests themselves is prohibited by the great Sage, they suffer their taxable lands to be cultivated by others freely, and avoiding worldly affairs, and free from the faults of destroying lives by ploughing and watering fields."[18]

The exact observance of the precepts however was not universal, but followed only in certain monasteries as Tamralipti, Nalanda, etc.[19]

Some new posts were created in the offices of the Sangha, *e.g.*, the Pānīyāvarika (officer in charge of drinks), Bhājana-vārika (officer in charge of utensils), Upadhīvara (a steward), Parishada-vārika (officer in charge of the groves) and Muda-sayanāsasara-vārika (officer in charge of lodgings temporarily not in use).[20]

The admission into the Sangha was made simpler than what we have seen in the Vinaya Pitaka; the long list of 'qualifications' is absent here. Only a formal inquiry was made whether the candidate had committed any offence like matricide, patricide, etc.,[21] the sāmanera then, was provided with the due priestly requisites.[22] The practical rules as to cleanliness and refraining from injury to living beings are in essence similar to those to be found in the Vinaya Pitakam. The traditional precepts (dasa-sikkhapadani) in the Vinaya are, however, ten in number, and twelve as they are given by I-Ising. The particulars for the guidance of the novices, which differ from the original sikkhapadas, can be divided into two classes, *viz.*,

(1) The precepts which are to be suggested or found elsewhere in the Vinaya Pitaka, and

(2) Which are not found in our Vinaya, but were changes brought in lately.

(1) To the first group belong the following rules:

(*a*) One must distinguish between legal and illegal robes.[23]
(*b*) One must not sleep without garments.
(*c*) One must not eat too much food.[24]
(*d*) One must not throw filth upon the green grass.[25]
(*e*) One must not eat food left from a meal.[26]
(*f*) One must not dig the ground.[27]
(*g*) One must not refuse offered food.
(*h*) One must not injure growing sprouts.

12. *Ibid*, p. xxiii.
13. Beal: *Records of the Western World I*, p. 74.
14. Takakusu: *I-Ising*, p. 88, also pp. 45-47.
15. *Ibid*, p. 38.
16. *Ibid*, p. 61.
17. Takakusu: *I-Ising*, p. 6.
18. *Ibid*, p. 62.
19. *Ibid*, p. 62.
20. Kern: *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 83.
21. Takakusu: *I-Ising*, p. 95.
22. *Ibid*, p. 96.
23. Nissaggiya Pacittiya, 1-10.
24. Pacittiya, 34, 35, 36.
25. Pacittiya, 11 and 20.
26. Pacittiya, 38.
27. Pacittiya, 9.

(2) The second group includes the rest of the rules, *viz.*,

(*a*) One must not touch fire.

(*b*) One must not recklessly climb up a high tree.[28]

Another striking thing that comes to our notice is that every monastery had a register of the names of the members. The entry of a name was made after the pabbajjā ceremony and henceforward the name of that person was cancelled from the state register, it being the tradition of the Sangha in ancient India that the inmates were universally governed by the laws of the Sangha.[29]

The Upasampadā was duly conferred on the Sāmanera, with the ritual as of old.[30] The relations between the teacher and the pupil also were maintained in the orthodox manner.[31] About the period of Parivasa (probation) Huen-Isang has a remark that it was durable for four years,[31] instead of four months as is clearly given in the Mahāvagga.[32] The requisites of a bhikkhu were formerly eight in all (Atthaparikkhāra). Now the number was made thirteen, though the idea of possession remained unchanged. These are :

(1) The traditional set of three robes, (2) Nishidana, a mat for sitting or lying on, (3) Nivasana, an undergarment, (4) A second Nivasana, (5) Sankakshika, a side covering cloth, (6) Prati-Sankakshika, (7) Kaya pronkhana, a towel, (8) Mukha pronkhana, a towel for wiping face, (9) Keshapratigraha, a piece of cloth to receive hair when one shaves, (10) Kandu pratikkhandana, itching cloth and (11) Bheshajaparishkharachivara, a cloth kept for defraying the cost of medicine.[33]

BHIKKHUNI SANGHA

It is evident from the records of I-Ising that the Bhikkhuni Sangha was not paid much attention to. The general opinion about the Bhikknuni Sangha is expressed thus : 'The benefit and supply to the female members of the Order are very small, and monasteries of many a place have no special supply of food for them. This being the case, there will be no way of living if they do not work for their maintenance, and if they do so, they often act against the Vinaya teaching and disobey the noble will of the Buddha.'[34]

28. All these rules are found in Takakusu's *I-Ising*, p. 97.

29. Takakusu : *I-Ising*, pp. 63, 66, 99.

30. *Ibid*, p. 99.

31. *Ibid*, p. 116, footnote.

31. Beal : *Records of the Western World, II*, p. 35. This is perhaps due to the influence of the story of the Magandiya Paribbajaka in the Majjhima Nikaya (I, p. 512) who undergoes a voluntary Parivasa for four years.

32. Mahavagga, I, 27.

33. Takakusu : *I-Ising*, pp. 54-55.

34. *Ibid*, p. 80.

Another slight change in the tradition of the Sangha was in the visits paid by the monks and nuns to one another's quarters. As we have already seen in the previous chapter, the nuns had to go to the apartments of the bhikkhus in a group, after having announced their purpose. This tradition was perfectly observed by bhikkhunis in the times of I-Ising. The Vinaya forbade monks to visit the apartments of the nuns, unless they went to exhort the sick nun; but it seems monks could enter the formerly forbidden area after 'having made an inquiry.'[35]

VASSA

But no other ecclesiastical tradition was so completely forsaken as that of the Vassa. In the time of Huen-Isang the object of the Vassa was completely misinterpreted, the word remained intact but funny notions came to be attached to it, and it lost its original significance.[36] Every year on the day of entering the Vassa, religious laymen from different countries went to a sacred place for the purpose of making religious offerings to the faithful.[37] Even this much observance as regards the Vassa fell into oblivion in the time of I-Ising. It is said:

"Even if he (a bhikkhu) have not observed the Varsha, let him not be degraded. If we read and examine the teaching of the Buddha, there is no authority in it (for this custom)."[38]

This is a sound proof of how the word of Buddha and the law of the Vinaya came to be misinterpreted in course of time.

The Uposatha ceremony of confessions also was reduced to a pompous ceremonial feast, where the laymen entertained the priesthood with sumptuous dishes. The confession only formed a very insignificant and conventional item of the whole proceedings.[39] It was only in the ideal monasteries of Tāmralipti that

"On the four Upavasatha days of every month, a great multitude of priests, all having assembled there late in the afternoon from several monasteries, listened to the reading of monastic rites."[40]

The Pavāranā also has the same story to tell.

THE PRECEPTS OF THE VINAYA

(c) The condition of the Vinaya had become most lamentable. The Vinaya suffered from all the misfortunes, *viz.*, non-observance, partial observance, misinterpretation and lack

35. Takakusu : *I-Ising*, p. 63.

36. Beal : *Records of the Western World*, I, p. 73.

37. Beal : *Records of the Western World*, II, p. 115.

38. Takakusu : *I-Ising*, p. 21.

39. Takakusu : *I-Ising*, p. 35, footnote.

40. *Ibid*, p. 63.

of faith. First of all there were a number of schools, each of which had a separate version of the Vinaya and all these schools claimed legitimacy for their own precepts and customs.[41] The tampering with the Vinaya did not stop with this much breaking and splitting, but individual teachers took liberty to train the pupils in the Vinaya in their own way and to the the pupil the word of the teacher became the law. There were teachers who were 'grossly offending against the Vinaya rules.' There were others who said that 'usage of the world, even if against the Buddha's discipline does not involve any guilt.'[42]

From the time of Fa-Hian only, the precepts of the Vinaya owing to their intricate nature and bulk were suffering from negligence.[43]

Degeneration was complete at the time of I-Ising. Says I-Ising :

> "The books of Vinaya were gradually enlarged, but became obscure, so that their perusal is the test of a whole life.
>
> "A peculiar method has been adopted by teachers and pupils. They discourse on paragraphs, separating them into smaller and smaller sections; they treat of the articles concerning the offences by dividing them sentence by sentence.
>
> "For the labour in this method an effort is required as great as that of forming a mountain, and the gain is as difficult to acquire as the procuring of pearls from the vast ocean.
>
> "As when a river has overflowed and its water has been swept into a deep well, a thirsty man wishing to drink the pure water of the well could only procure it by endangering his life, so it is difficult to gain a knowledge of the Vinaya after it has been handed down by many men. Such is not the case when we simply examine the Vinaya texts themselves."[44]

Some observed one single rule of Pārajika and said that they were free from sin and did not care for a detailed study of the Vinaya rules, and paid no heed how they swallowed, ate, dressed and behaved.[45]

With this disregard for the precepts originated various trifling doctrinal differences between different schools, such as, whether the bhikkhus, when they lodge together, were to be in separate rooms,[46] or to be separated by partitions made by ropes; whether the robes of the bhikkhus should have wide or narrow borders and narrow flaps; how they should put on the Sanghāti [47] and so on. The relaxation in tne observance of the laws went to such an extent that a bhikkhu was even allowed to try to gain profits on behalf of the Sangha,[48] which is not in keeping with the original spirit of the Vinaya, and clearly shows how the Sangha was gradually growing more wordly in its outlook.

Despite these deviations from the law, one aspect of the Vinaya which was thoroughly kept in view and observed most faithfully was that the Sangha was still aware of its judicial responsibility; and in this respect the laws of the Sangha even now ran parallel to the laws of the State, in as much as he bhikkhus maintained their privilege of making legal investigations and pronouncing judgement thereon. The cases, however, were disposed off quickly, as it appears from the records of I-Ising. Says, the famous traveller :

> "In deciding cases of grave or slight offences, a few lines suffice. In explaining the expedients for settling cases, one does not require even half a day."[49]

Theoretically, the laws of Pātimokkha were maintained in all the aspects and divisions.

41. *Ibid*, p. 13.
42. *Ibid*, p. 53.
43. Legge : *Travels of Fa-Hian*, p. 23.
44. Takakusu : *I-Ising*, p. 16.
45. *Ibid*, p. 51.
46. Takakusu : *I-Ising*, pp. 6-7.
47. Beal : *Records of the Western World*, I, p. 76.
48. Takakusu : *I-Ising*, p. 61.
49. Takakusu : *I-Ising*, p. 16.



RATIONALISATION IN GENERAL

Does It Affect a Non-industrial Country like India ?

By S. M. CHAKRAVARTY, A.M.I.P.E.

Introduction

The term "Rationalisation" was originally used by the psychologists. In Psychology "Rationalisation" means the mental process of discovering logical reasons, after the event, for actions which were actually dictated by instincts or subconscious motives. In the industrial and economic sphere, the term has recently been adopted to represent a movement which aims at maximum efficiency by eliminating waste of material and effort.

In Western countries, "Rationalisation" has been partially applied for more than 50 years, especially in agricultural and extractive industries. In the last quarter of the 19th century, Mr. F. W. Taylor of America started the pioneering work of "Rationalisation" in manufacturing industries and this was the first systematic attempt at scientific management in industry. Job analysis, time study and motion study are the outcome of his experiments. He carried out a close examination of material as well as the angle of cut, method of grinding and other factors bearing on the efficiency of cutting tools and this led to the evolution of High Speed Steel. Functional foremanship, care and maintenance of belting, planning, mnemonic classifications, etc., are also his contributions to industry. As a result of his efforts, the earning capacity of the worker increased by 30 to 60 per cent and his efficiency to an even greater extent. Yet, the workers looked upon the movement as a menace to their interest, the employers were impatient for results, and the supervisors were ruthless and exacting in their demands from the workers. The whole temper of the time was against such an approach to the question and notwithstanding its beneficial effects, the movement did not gain the appreciation and popularity it deserved.

Effect of the Great War

It was, however, left for the aftermath of the great world war to bring home to the governments, industrialists, economists and labour leaders the full significance of scientific management in industrial and economic spheres. As a consequence of the war, trade and industry were entirely dislocated and every industrial country had to face the menacing problem of providing useful occupation and a reasonable standard of living for its population. Every such country had to make frantic efforts to regain its position in the competitive world market, and to achieve that object the only alternative to drastic wage cut and unemployment, was to reduce the cost of production by scientific management.

Post-War Activities of Industrial Countries

After the war, Germany made a magnificent effort to re-organise her entire industrial and economic life and for the first time introduced the term " Die Rationaliezerung " in the industrial field. The German Government established a Board of National Efficiency (Reichskuratorium fur Wirtschaftlichkiet) under which over 6,000 highly paid men freely gave their services to guide and inspire the German industrialists towards national reconstruction.

Under the stimulus of Mr. Hoover's Secretaryship of the Department of Commerce and through the ceaseless efforts of Mr. F. W. Taylor, America made very valuable contributions towards the new experiment.

Prominent French engineers "le Chetelier" and "de Framinville" interested themselves in the new venture and formed the Association "l' Organisation Scientifique du Travail" subsequently known as "l' Organisation Rationnel du Travail". Almost contemporaneously, other European countries like Sweden, Czechoslovakia, Switzerland and Italy followed the methods of Mr. Taylor under the more generic name of "Scientific Management".

Japan took full advantage of the preoccupation of the European nations during the war time. She also benefited herself by the post-war developments in industrial organisation, which she adopted in modified forms to suit her peculiar conditions and requirements and thus consolidated her position as an industrial country.

In Great Britain, the new movement captured the imagination of prominent industrialists like Lord Melchet and economists like Sir Josiah Stamp, Prof. Bowley and other dis-

tinguished personages. A number of institutions, associations, commissions, committees and journals, both Government and private, sprang up with the object of bringing about the desired changes in the industrial and economic life. Actual achievement of Great Britain is revealed in coal marketing, cotton corporation, amalgamation of railways, unification of chemical industries and partial rationalisation of motor car and machine tool industries.

But, nevertheless, Great Britain could not keep pace with her industrial colleagues in the new movement. At Milan the cost of a unit of electricity in 1927 was 51·7 % of its cost in 1913 whereas at Cardiff the cost of a ton of coal was 116·7% of its pre-war cost. War disturbances, financial fluctuations and uncertainty of exchange value were partially responsible for the loss of ascendancy of Great Britain as the "Workshop of the World". That was not all. Being the oldest industrial country, the deadweight of obsolete investment, equipment and above all her love of individualism and industrial tradition both of workers and employers acted against her progress in rationalisation. Newly developing industrial countries were not handicapped with these difficulties and were free to take full advantage of the new technique of manufacture, organisation and control. Thus, they were able to discount to a great extent the advantage of position, climate and proximity to natural resources, such as iron and coal, enjoyed by Great Britain. Her lack of enthusiasm for the new orientation of industrial psychology is manifest from the fact that in 1926, less than 1,000 students in Great Britain were receiving instructions of the university standard in scientific management against 16,000 in Germany and 80,000 in U. S. A. It is, therefore, no wonder that her cautious and conservative attitude towards the change made her lose some of her ground in old established industries, in spite of her highly skilled body of labour, geographical position and reputation for integrity and high quality of products. In new industries however, such as artificial silk, electric, radio and chemical products, where there was no obsolete investment or tradition, Great Britain showed initiative and flexibility and held her own against competitors.

The Term "Rationalisation" Formally Adopted and Defined by the World Economic Conference

After the war, all the industrial countries were more or less influenced by the new movement and were feeling their way out of the chaos, towards greater security of economic life. The tendency displayed itself in a variety of forms, names and degrees. In spite of the apparent identity of purpose, there was considerable difference of opinion regarding the scope and significance of the movement in different countries and between different institutions and individuals of the same country. In 1927, the League of Nations at Geneva called the "World Economic Conference" in which the employers, employed and the economists of all the countries were represented by their eminent leaders. In course of their deliberations, the Conference adopted the term "Rationalisation" in order to embrace all the activities of different countries and organisations, designed to secure industrial efficiency and economic stability. They defined "Rationalisation" as "the method of technique and of organisation designed to secure the minimum of waste of either effort or material" and also laid down the general principle and scope of its application.

Scope

The scope of rationalisation is as wide as the economic sphere itself. It implies the application of all previous experience, and results of experiments and discoveries of exact sciences to the fullest extent in all economic activities. Exact sciences, such as Botany Physics, Chemistry, Biology, Mathematics and Astronomy impinge upon economic life in a series of applied sciences like Agriculture, Mineralogy, Engineering, Industrial Chemistry and Metallurgy, Meteorology, Statistics, and so on. Research in exact sciences is constantly proceeding and the ever-increasing knowledge in this field is a great potential resource to increase the human command over materials and processes on which Industry and Trade depend.

A second group of science, such as Physiology, Psychology, Biology and Biochemistry, deal with the man himself. Their applied forms are Industrial Hygiene, Industrial Psychology, Sociology and Medicine. Progress in this group has not yet been sufficient to provide infallible guidance in all the varieties of social action. They, however, through the intellectual technique of the scientist, help human judgment to remain uninfluenced by emotional and personal considerations. Satistical conceptions and graphic representations of a series of facts, provided by the experimental sciences, serve as valuable guides in the correct appreciation of the forces and tendencies where human beings are involved.

The new approach to industrial and economic enterprise admits the limitations of individual experience. Its success depends on the readiness to exchange knowledge with others, which was prevented before, due to the ruthless competitive theory in industry and commerce. It advocates scientific approach to every problem as opposed to the rule of thumb and intellectual humility as opposed to personal forcefulness or ego.

Rationalisation in Practice

In Agriculture, both intensive and extensive farming is the order of the day. Mechanised implements play an extremely important part specially in extensive farming. In the choice of implements, amongst other factors, the size of the farm and the conditions obtaining there receive very careful consideration. Laboratories and experimental farms are established to carry out exhaustive experiments and research on scientific cultivation. Fertilisers, rotation of crops and other measures to improve the productivity of the land are mostly results of discoveries recorded in those laboratories and farms. Methods of grading, packing, preservation and economic and efficient marketing have all become subjects of specialised scientific study.

In *Extractive* industries, introduction of mechanical devices is resulting in the saving of time and labour and a considerable increase of outturn per capita. Progressive refinement and accurate grading of products are receivenig constant attention. Quantitative and qualitative advancement in output is being closely followed by efficient organisation of marketing. Economic advantages gained through such measures of rationalisation have directly benefited the workers by ensuring increased wages and a better status in life. Ways and means are being constantly devised, in order to eliminate the risks and inconveniences involved in these hazardous occupations.

Manufacturing indusrties form the background of economic activities of industral countries and are the main sources of their wealth and power. Naturally, therefore, rationalisation has its widest application in this sphere.

It is no longer possible for the manufacturer to produce an article to his own liking and at any cost and then to find out a market for it. The first requisite to successfully direct a modern industry is the knowledge of the market, *i.e.*, a knowledge in advance of the actual demands or requirements of the consumers. Thoroughly competent and specially trained staff are engaged to study all available statistics and information, changing fashions and habits of consumers, competitors in the market and their resources, seasonal fluctuations in demands, buying capacity of consumers and so on. Such a study enables them to make a fairly accurate forecast and apprise the manufacturer of advance as to what he should make, in what quantities, in what designs and at what cost. The manufacturer then proceeds to draw up his manufacturing programme.

The next step is production planning where the programme is analysed and laid down in minute details. Wide practical experience combined with technical knowledge of a high order is necessary to ensure a satisfactory plan which leaves nothing to uncertainty or chances. Improved and most suitable machinery, tools and equipments are selected with a view to facilitate and cheapen production. The lay-out of shops are drawn up to eliminate unnecessary travel and handling of materials and parts. Sequence of operations are laid down and synchronised to a carefully prepared time-table. Materials, processes and products are simplified and standarised in order to ensure accuracy and interchangeability in the products.

The question of cost is a matter of vital importance and demands very careful scrutiny in advance. With reference to the detailed plan, the probable cost at every step is ascertained under different headings, such as direct and indirect, or material, labour, overhead, etc. All such items of expenditure are collated to arrive at the final cost before the production starts. Budgetary control, which is an essential feature of modern industry, implies reconciling of actual costs with predetermined figures.

In actual production, all the activities are directed and co-ordinated to carry out the programme strictly in accordance with the detailed operations and time-table of the production plan and within the cost figures stipulated in advance. Progress Department is entrusted with the responsibility to see that the production plan is strictly adhered to. Variation at any stage is detected and remedied with the co-operation of the production side before the dislocation can extend to other stages. Variations in cost figures are carefully studied by Costs and Accounts Department. The contributing causes of such variations are traced to their origin and remedied there.

Scientific methods are adopted in the organisation of labour. Special care is taken to select the most suitable man for a particular job.

When selected, they are given the necessary training to perform their duties in the most efficient manner. Time study and motion study are made to ascertain what can reasonably be expected from an individual worker. Now-a-days the importance of the labour force in an industry is fully recognised. Those who are to control the workers have to be keen and sympathetic students of human nature. Spread of education and the growing consciousness of their rights amongst the workers, have made it a delicate problem to deal with labour. They can no longer be expected to respond simply to a strident call of authority. Efforts are made to obtain their willing co-operation. Premises and individual work-places are so arranged as to eliminate risks, discomforts and inconveniences to the workers. Other amenities for their physical and mental well-being are provided through various welfare schemes. Wage systems are carefully designed to act as incentives to workers by allowing them the legitimate share of the profits accruing to the industry through their labour. All such efforts make for contentment amongst the workers and a happy industrial relationship.

An important aspect of Rationalisation in manufacturing industry is Amalgamation. A number of firms in a single industry are linked up and have a common programme. Thus, they can restrict output, maintain or raise price level, close inefficient firms and have the advantage of combined buying and selling, etc.

In *Distributive* activities, there has always been a considerable amount of waste. Study of the actual demand of the consumer, national advertising, branding and packing of proprietory goods, scientific display, means of prompt and efficient delivery, combination of retail and manufacturing activities and thereby elimination of unnecessary middlemen are the lines of development in this field.

The advantages of scientific approach to distribution are revealed in large departmental stores in comparison with small retailers. Concentration of management and publicity, statistical control and the convenience it can offer to the purchaser are the salient features of this type of organisation. Multiplication of unnecessary and inefficient middlemen means waste which ultimately affects customers or the community at large. Scientific study of the market forms the basis of distributive efforts. The habits, tendencies, motives, fashions and all other relevant factors that influence the demand of commodities and services are thoroughly analysed. In the light of the experience gained, efforts are made to stimulate demands and to cater for them in the most efficient manner.

In Banking, scientific methods are adopted in accounts, cash payments, credit transactions, correspondence and records, etc., human effort is reduced by mechanical devices and efficient and systematic organisation. Bankers' estimates of the credit risk are refined by scientific study not only of the past records but of the future potentialities of business.

In the *Money Market* as a whole, the science of business forecasting modifies and controls to some extent the fluctuations that were at one time considered as inflictions of nature. Wider use of statistical materials, control of currency and credit facilities can considerably modify the incidence and severity of the trade cycle and unemployment.

Rationalisation can also be applied with advantage in the actual purchase and use of food, clothing and other necessaries of life. Even an individual consumer—a householder—a housewife can achieve improvement in health, comfort and convenience and eliminate waste and discomforts in daily life by introduction and systematic handling of mechanical appliances.

Advantages & Drawbacks

Rationalisation, if properly carried out, should benefit all classes—it should benefit the consumer in lower prices, the workers in increased wages, more leisure and an opportunity for better culture and social status, the employer in greater profit and security and the community as a whole in a higher standard of living. The advantages of mechanical appliances and scientific processes are easily appreciated in financial terms, but where rationalisation encounters human habits, traditions and interest, the result is very difficult to assess. Yet, human factor is the kernel of the whole movement.

In the actual application of "Rationalisation" there are many difficulties to be overcome. The results produced in countries where "Rationalisation" was applied were not up to the expectations. On the other hand, acute unemployment followed on the wake of the experiment. This was at first believed to be a temporary phase. It was expected that increased demand following cheaper production and growth of new machine tool and other industries would, in course of time, absorb the labour force released due to the introduction of machanical appliances and improved methods. But, subsequent events belied that expectation. Investigations by the Brookings Institution of

Washington, the Yale University and similar investigations in Germany and Great Britain showed that members of the unemployed are likely to remain permanently so and provision must be made to mitigate this aspect of "Rationalisation". The problem is quite perplexing. The industrial leaders and economists are, therefore, hard put to the task of "Planned Economy" both on a national and international basis, in order to counteract the evil of unemployment.

Rationalisation calls for a new type of executive who would be able to unite hitherto conflicting interests of the employer, employed and the consumer and direct them towards a common goal. Such executives, in addition to their administrative skill, must possess imagination, broadness of social outlook and moral calibre. Unless they are alive to the social and ethical aspects of their responsibility, rationalisation tends to become an instrument of oppression in the hands of the employer. Considerable difficulty is therefore experienced in selecting and training the executives who will prove worthy of the task. It is also difficult to persuade the workers to take an objective view of the new order of things, specially, when they are paid by the hour or week and have only a short-period assurance of income. Standardisation carried to excess may narrow the choice of consumers and may also lead to fixity of prices at a higher level and thus benefit the capital and management at the cost of the consumer.

Last, though not the least, is the difficulty of securing that national and international co-operation and solidarity which is the essential condition for the success of rationalisation in the widest sense.

The International Labour Office, in its 1931 report on "Unemployment" and on "Social Aspect of Rationalisation", published a wealth of information on the subject, based on thorough investigations into the workings of rationalisation in all the countries concerned.

The drawbacks as mentioned above are not inherent or unavoidable in rationalisation. In most cases they are the results of haphazard, fragmentary and hurried application of rationalisations. There is enough evidence to show that rationalisation is a move in the right direction. It is neither possible nor desirable to set back the clock of progress. Wisdom lies in rationalising "Rationalisation" and not in abandoning it. The greatest problem is to educate all classes about their obligation towards "Rationalisation." The state, the employers and the labour leaders should all co-operate to free rationalisation from all possible prejudice and abuse, in order to obtain the best results out of it.

Rationalisation and India

India is mainly an argicultural country. The disparity in exchange value of agricultural produce throughout the world, when compared to that of manufactured goods, places an agricultural country at a great economic disadvantage. In addition to this handicap, there has been no effort in Inida to introduce improved methods in her main occupation, *viz.*, agriculture. There is nothing to compensate for the natural loss of fertility to the land. Failure of crops due to preventible causes brings in its train famine and starvation year after year in one part of the country or another. We have been content to leave things where they were hundreds of years back. We hear the dynamic West talk of the "Unchanging East" with reference to India. We resent such criticism, but have not been able to do much to improve our lot.

Along with the improvement of our agriculture, we will require manufacturing industries on a large scale to find a living for our vast population. Agriculture alone is not sufficient to provide occupation for half of our employable hands. The most astounding feature of economic life in India is the colossal waste of human energy. Manufacturing industry is the mainspring of wealth and power in the modern world. For our very existence as a civilised race, it is imperative that we should endeavour to establish manufacturing industry throughout the country. It will be a tremendous task, as we will have to face the competition of well organised industrial countries who are far ahead of us in this direction. To offset our difficulties, we have so many definite advantages over our competitors. We can learn from their experience and avoid the mistakes from which they suffered. We are not handicapped with obsolete investment, equipment and tradition and can take full advantage of the most modern equipment, method of management and control. The existing standard of living of our labour forces should also prove an advantage in our favour. But our success will depend on an well-informed and scientific approach to the problem and herein lies the importance of "Rationalisation" to India. Rationalisation primarily implies an attitude which recognizes the possibility of achieving efficiency in economic enterprise by taking advantage of the most recent thoughts and discoveries. If we approach our task in that spirit, we stand a reasonable chance of success. Social

reform, sanitation, education and culture cannot make much progress amongst a people who are constantly faced with dire poverty and starvation. A great deal is heard about the failure of our educational system to solve the "unemployment problem." "Unemployment problem" is an imported misnomer in our country, as in India the problem of employment has never been properly tackled. Here the majority of the able-bodied people have always remained idle or half employed. It is difficult to understand, how can any system of education by itself solve such a problem, if unaccompanied by simultaneous development of agriculture and industry, the only sources of employment for the mass of population in any country. Agriculture and industry have to provide the field and create the atmosphere to ensure success of educational institutions in imparting vocational training. Those, who have the cause of the country at heart and are favourably placed in life to translate their desire into action, can render the best service by a rational approach to the organisation of industry and reorganisation of agriculture in India. It is the rational approach and not slavish imitation of the methods which have succeeded in other countries, under different conditions. None the less, in order to make a judicious selection of a line of action, it is essential that the history of progress made by other countries in similar undertakings should be thoroughly studied and digested.

NUMBER OF HINDUS NOT PROPERLY RECORDED AT THE LAST CENSUS OF 1931

By JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA

At the time of the last Census, the Hindus boycotted the Census and as a consequence their strength was not properly recorded. Their relative percentage with reference to the Muhammadans has gone down. The inaccuracies in the Bengal Census Report of 1931 have been pointed out from time to time in the Notes of *The Modern Review*; and in the pages of the *Sankhyā*, the Journal of the Indian Statistical Institute, (September, 1937).

Drs. A. L. Bowley and D. H. Robertson, who came over to India a few years ago at the invitation of the British Government to organise statistical research, in their *A Scheme for an Economic Census of India* have given the following results of their enquiry at pp. 22-23 :—

Results of the Madras and Punjab Samples on 100 and 200 villages respectively. The whole of the Madras Presidency less the Ganjam and Vizagapatam agencies was the subject of sampling. 1 village out of 396 being selected In the Punjab four Central Districts were chosen and 1 village out of 28 or 29 were selected.

	Madras		Punjab	
	Sample	Census	Sample	Census
	(Per 1,000 persons)			
Hindus	925	900	165	119
Sikhs			399	372
Muslims			410	456
Christians			17	14

It will be observed that the proportion of the Hindus have increased in both the provinces in the Sample Surveys. In the Punjab, every community has increased in the sample surveys excepting the Muhammadans. Even allowing for the difference in time, and for other factors, the large decrease in the case of the Hindus is highly significant.

THE BENGAL SECONDARY EDUCATION BILL, 1940

By Dr. PRAMATHANATH BANERJEA
M.A., D.SC., Barrister-at-Law, M.L.A.

The aims and purposes of a legislative measure are set forth in the Statement of Objects and Reasons which is appended to a Bill. The first sentence in the Statement of Objects and Reasons appended to the Secondary Education Bill, 1940, runs thus: "Secondary Education in Bengal is at present uncontrolled." This statement is evidently incorrect, and therefore the authors of the Bill consider it wise to modify it in the second sentence which is in these words:

> "There is no authority with power to regulate development according to a planned scheme or to insist upon certain standards being maintained."

In the previous Bills intended to be introduced on the subject 'dual control' used to be urged as the chief defect of the prevailing system of Secondary Education in Bengal. But this ground was found to be untenable, and a new ground has had to be discovered. 'Planning' has now become a fashionable term everywhere, and it has come to the rescue of the framers of the present Bill. But has any plan been prepared for improving or expanding Secondary Education? And has any method been contemplated for raising the standards? Nothing of the sort. Indeed, the true intentions of the authors have come out in the following words:

> "Expansion in an unplanned manner has been *rapid*......The development of Secondary Education cannot be allowed to drift indefinitely upon *dangerous currents* aimless and *uncontrolled*."

The words italicised by me give the reader a full and correct idea of the scope of the Bill. The spread of education has been rapid, and the Government thinks that the time has come to check it. The term 'dangerous currents' evidently refers to the political awakening which has come in the wake of education, and the Government now desires to put back the hands of the clock. The third italicised word is significant, for 'control' is the be-all and end-all of this Bill.

And what is the method of control? The authority of the Sadler Commission has been invoked in favour of the establishment of control. But what the Commission aimed at was, not control, but expansion and improvement. Theirs was a comprehensive scheme, while the present measure is an extremely limited one in respect of ideas and ideals. The Commission suggested the formation of an autonomous body as free as possible from Government control, while the present Bill seeks to place Secondary Education under the absolute control of the Government.

This much about the Objects and Reasons. I come now to the provisions of the Bill. Clause 3 of the Bill provides that the Provincial Government will constitute a Board for the regulation and control of Secondary Education. Under Clause 4 the Board will consist of 50 members, of whom 11 will be *ex-officio*, 14 will be nominated by the Provincial Government, and the remaining members will be elected by the Calcutta University, the Dacca University, the Headmasters and Headmistresses of high schools and *madrasas*, the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the Bengal Legislative Council, and the Board of Anglo-Indian and European Education. Seats will be reserved for Caste Hindus, Scheduled Castes Hindus, Muslims, Europeans, Anglo-Indians, and Women. There will be no representation on this body of the Managing Committees of schools or of donors who have helped to build up the structure of Secondary Education in the province. The Board thus composed will fail to command the confidence of the people of Bengal. Being largely an official-ridden body it will have no independence, and its communal character will be prejudicial to the interests of education.

The chief functions of the Board will be to arrange for the supervision of secondary schools, to determine the conditions to be fulfilled by secondary schools for recognition for preparing and presenting candidates for examinations, and subject to the previous sanction of the Provincial Government, to institute and control examinations other than the Matriculation Examination and to determine the conditions to be fulfilled by secondary schools which are in receipt of grants-in-aid. The Board will have power to make regulations, provided that every regulation shall require the previous sanction of the Provincial Government.

The duties of the Board will thus be mainly those of rule-making and general supervision,

The actual administration of affairs will be in the hands of an Executive Council. This body will consist of 14 members, 8 of whom will be Government officers or Government nominees. The members will be appointed on a communal basis. The Council will include the Director of Public Instruction, the Assistant Director in charge of Muslim Education, the Deputy Directress in charge of Women's Education, and two inspectors of schools. The remaining 6 members will be elected by the Board, 3 of whom will be Hindus, 2 Muslims, and 1 a Scheduled Castes member. The composition of the Council will thus be extremely unsatisfactory. Government officers have generally a narrow range of vision, and they can never be independent. The Council will thus become entirely subservient to the Government and it will be devoid of foresight and breadth of outlook. Its activities are sure to be guided by communal considerations

The Executive Council will have power (*a*) to grant or refuse approval to Secondary Schools, and to withdraw approval, (*b*) to distribute grants-in-aid, (*c*) to recognise secondary schools for presenting candidates for examinations, (*d*) to grant permission to candidates to appear at the Matriculation Examination, (*e*) to determine the use in schools of text-books recommended by the Publications Committee, and (*f*) to publish text-books and other publications recommended by the Publications Committee.

These are very extensive powers, and it is certain that they will not be properly and efficiently exercised by an Executive Council the constitution of which is so defective. The Calcutta University will be deprived of its right to recognise schools and to admit candidates to the Matriculation Examination. It will be denied even the power to allow private candidates to appear at the examination held by itself. The University will be prevented from framing the syllabuses and prescribing the text-books. The right given to it to continue to hold the Matriculation Examination will thus be meaningless. The result of such a revolutionary change will be to place the educational interests of the Province in a perilous state, while a death-blow will be aimed at the University of Calcutta.

The Bill provides that (*a*) a school which is not approved by the Executive Council shall not be eligible for any grant-in-aid, and (*b*) a student of a school which is not approved shall not be entitled to any scholarship or stipend. Another important provision is that every secondary school which is now recognised by the Calcutta University shall remain recognised by the Board for the period of only two years, after which it will not be entitled to present candidates to the Matriculation Examination unless in the meantime it can secure recognition from the Board. There are over 1400 secondary schools in Bengal, and it is difficult to imagine how all these schools can be properly inspected for the purpose of recognition within the short period of two years. Even if it be found practicable to inspect the schools, it will be impossible for the Executive Council to consider carefully the reports of the inspectors in respect of such a large number of schools. It is likely, therefore, that as a result of the passing of the Bill a large number of schools will cease to exist.

The executive authority of the Board and the Executive Council will be vested in a President who will be appointed by the Provincial Government, and whose term of office, salary and allowances will be determined by that Government. Naturally, such a person will look to the Government for guidance and assistance in the performance of his duties, and it will not be possible for him to show any independence.

There will be three separate Committees for Girls' Education and for the education of Muslims and the Scheduled Castes. All these Committees will be constituted on a communal basis and each of them will contain a large official element.

Two other Committees deserve special mention. These will be the Publications Committee and the Matriculation Syllabus Committee The competence and character of these Committees can be easily judged by a glance at their composition. The former will consist of (*a*) the President of the Board, (*b*) the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, (*c*) the Vice-Chancellor of the Dacca University, (*d*) the Deputy Directress of Public Instruction, (*e*) the Assistant Director of Public Instruction for Muslim Education, (*f*) one inspector of schools, and (*g*) three persons to be elected by the Board, of whom one shall be a Muslim, one a Caste Hindu, and one a Scheduled Castes Hindu. Thus this Committee will contain a preponderantly large official and nominated element and will be constituted on a communal basis.

The duty of this Publications Committee will be to recommend to the Executive Council publications for use as text-books in secondary schools and also to arrange for the preparation of text-books. The preparation and selection of text-books are of the greatest importance from the point of view of education and culture, and it is surprising that such responsible functions are to be entrusted to a body constituted

in the manner described above. Thus the foundations of education will be undermined.

The Matriculation Syllabus Committee will consists of (*a*) the President, (*b* & *c*) the Vice-Chancellors of the Calcutta and Dacca Universities, (*d*) three persons to be elected by the Syndicate of the Calcutta University, of whom one will be a Muslim and two will be Hindus, (*e*) one person to be elected by the Executive Council of the Dacca University, (*f*) one inspector and one inspectress of schools of whom one shall be a Muslim and one a Hindu and (*g*) two Head Masters of secondary schools, one of whom will be a Muslim and one a Hindu Thus the official and nominated element will be at least equal to, and may be larger than, the non-official element. Here, again, the basis of the constitution of the Committee will be communal.

It is provided in the Bill that the Provincial Government will pay a sum of Rs. 25 lakhs to the Board of Secondary Education. This is the sum which is at present expended on secondary education. But if real improvement is to be secured in secondary education, a much larger sum will be needed. But there is no provision for it in the Bill. The Provincial Government may, at their discretion, make further payments; but for this purpose the Board will have to rely entirely on the mercy of a reactionary administration. A lakh of rupees will be provided for the maintenance of the Board and its officers. If instead of creating an expensive machinery for controlling secondary education, this sum be spent in giving aid to private schools, it will go some way towards improving quite a number of such schools.

Very large powers are vested by the Bill in the Provincial Government. The Provincial Government may make rules to carry out the purposes of the Bill, and such rules may extend to every sphere of the activities of the Board of Secondary Education. It will be the duty of the Board to furnish the Provincial Government with reports, returns, statements and such other information as it may require. The Provincial Government will have power to cause the office of the Board and any secondary school to be inspected. It will also have power to suspend the execution of any resolution or order of the Board or of the Executive Council or of any Committee, if the Provincial Government considers such resolution or order to be in excess of its powers. The Provincial Government will have the right to exempt any secondary school and any student in any secondary school from the operation of any provision of the Bill. Lastly, the Provincial Government will have power to remove the elected as well as the appointed members of the Board and direct that the Board be reconstituted by a fresh election and appointment of members, if in the opinion of the Provincial Government the Board has shown its incompetence to perform, or persistently made default in the performance of, its duties.

It is thus clear that the Board of Secondary Education provided for in the Bill will not be an autonomous body in any sense of the term. It will be a body which will work under the absolute control of the Provincial Government and be entirely subservient to it in the discharge of all its functions. Government control will be exercised in two ways,—from within and from without,—so that the Board will not have the slightest degree of independence.

The supporters of the measure suggest that the transference of the control of Secondary Education from the University to a separate Board is likely to prove useful for the advancement of education. But experience gained from the working of the existing Boards of Secondary Education belies this suggestion. The Dacca Board of Secondary and Intermediate Education was condemned by two Government officers a few years ago. The working of the Board of Secondary Education in the United Provinces has also been found to be unsatisfactory. Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmed, formerly Vice-Chancellor of the Aligarh University, brought many serious charges against this body, including those of inefficiency and the lowering of standards.

If the improvement of secondary education be the real object of the Government, this can be attained without creating the costly paraphernalia of a separate Board with its council and committees and a large staff of officers. The School Committee of the Calcutta University may be developed into a Board of Secondary Education by making it independent of the Syndicate and increasing its representative character, and by placing it in possession of substantial funds.

Three things are essential for the improvement of education. In the first place, larger sums of money ought to be spent in aiding the private schools so that they may be able to appoint more efficient teachers by offering them higher salaries. Secondly, the teachers in Government schools should be appointed on the sole ground of competence. Thirdly, only those persons should be appointed as inspectors who possess a love for their work and a sense of devotion to duty and have fully mastered the science and art of education. Creed or colour should not be taken into consideration

in appointing teachers and inspectors. But mere improvement will not do. There is still a great scope for the expansion of secondary education, and for this purpose large funds will be needed. Let the Government supply these funds, and the shortcomings of the present system of Secondary Education will have been overcome without radical changes in the system of control being needed.

The Bill is so bad in respect both of its principles and of its details that it cannot be improved by any amount of effort on the part of any person or body of persons. Its most objectionable features may be summarised thus :

(*i*) The academic point of view has been entirely ignored in framing the Bill. There is no provision for the expansion and improvement of Secondary Education. On the other hand, there is abundant reason to fear that, if passed, it will not only severely check the spread of Secondary Education, but will strike at the very roots of the educational structure of the province. The recommendations of the Sadler Commission are fundamentally different from the provisions of the Bill.

(*ii*) It seeks to bring Secondary Education under the absolute control of the Provincial Government which is a short-sighted and communally-minded body.

(*iii*) It seeks to introduce communal representation on the Secondary Education Board and all its subordinate bodies. It is extremely unwise and undesirable to introduce communalism in the sacred sphere of education.

(*iv*) There being no adequate representation of non-government educational interests, private initiative and the financial support of generous persons will cease. It should not be forgotton that the existing system of secondary education has been built up mostly by private effort and the generosity of individual donors with the assistance and encouragement of the Calcutta University.

(*v*) It seeks to create three bodies in place of two for the control of education; thus a dyarchy is sought to be replaced by a triarchy.

(*vi*) It seeks to reduce the control of the Calcutta University over secondary education to the smallest possible extent, and is designed to cripple the University seriously both from the academic and the financial standpoint.

The question now is, Does the public of Bengal want this Bill ? The Hon. Mr. Fazlul Huq answered this question the other day in the affirmative. He said that it was only a few professional politicians who objected to it. This statement is wholly incorrect, and it is surprising that it should have enamated from a person holding the position of the Chief Minister as well as that of the Education Minister of the province. It is to be hoped that he will now bestow his serious attention on the matter and revise his opinion. The Bill is a political, and not an educational, measure. Its publication has given rise to great dissatisfaction throughout the province. If it is passed into law, it will foster intrigue, encourage narrowness of outlook, and greatly accentuate communal discord and bitterness in Bengal. It may even lead to serious trouble. At a time when all the communities inhabiting Bengal ought to put their heads together and devise measures for the defence of the province from foreign aggression and internal disorder, it is not proper to introduce a Bill which is of such a controversial character and fraught with the most disastrous consequences to the future of the province. I, therefore, trust that good sense will prevail even at the eleventh hour, and the Bill will be dropped.



WHAT IS THIS PARTITION PLAN?

By V. B. KULKARNI

"The demand for partitioning India into two political entities with separate national interests staggers the imagination and makes it impossible even to guess the next step in our movement."

—Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri

AT A TIME when Europe is in the grip of a colossal conflict, which threatens to encompass the rest of the world, any discussion at this juncture of the territorial redistribution of India is obviously inopportune. But, as a section of the Muslim League leadership is obsessed with the two-nations theory, unmindful of the gravity of the world situation, it is necessary that the scheme should be subjected to a careful analysis.

The term Pakistan, which has evoked such strong passions in the country, is supposed to have originated in the poetic imagination of Sir Mohamed Iqbal. Whatever its exact origin, it is certain that the idea is at least two decades old, for, Prof. Keith, referring to the political situation in the country in 1919, following the Montford Reforms, says:

"Among the Muslims also there was propagated a wild but not negligible scheme for the creation of a Muslim state based on Afghanistan and embracing all those North-Western areas where the faith is strong."

But the saner elements in the country were firmly opposed to such an unpatriotic move, and it was earnestly hoped that never again would the agitation raise its head to the serious detriment of national solidarity. Unfortunately, however, the Lahore resolution of the Muslim League has revived the question in all its intensity.

The term Pakistan, meaning the "land of the pure and clean," was originally applied to five areas in North-Western India, namely, the Punjab, the N.-W. Frontier, Kashmir, Sind and Baluchistan. While the central idea of the 'Muslim State' has remained fundamentally the same, several alternative schemes have since been put forward, all calculated to accord with the principle 'heads I win, tails you lose.'

It is undeniable that a very large section of Muslim opinion in the country holds the separation movement with the utmost repugnance, but it must also be conceded that the question cannot be dismissed as the deliberate attempt of a few to bolster up strange emotions and blind prejudices in their co-religionists. For, the two-nations theory has grown from an idea into an issue. What is the reason?

The extremism of the Muslim League represents the reaction to the unsatisfactory constitutional developments in the country. Even after the assumption of the direct control of India by the Crown in 1858, the British Government did not know its own mind as to the ultimate political objective of this country. Its policy represented a curious combination of paternal rule with self-rule by instalments. Having declared, as in August 1917, that India's political goal was Dominion Status, there should have been no prevarication but an earnestness on the part of the Government to loyally implement its promise. Unfortunately, nothing of the kind has been done even to the present day.

The sense of frustration caused in the public mind by the halting progress made in the field of political reforms was further strengthened by the introduction for the first time of communal representation in the Act of 1909. In themselves, statutory safeguards to the minorities are unexceptionable, but minorities like communal Muslims become blatantly assertive, setting no limits to their ambitions, when the tempo of political reforms does not keep pace with the popular demand. Communalism can only listen to the argument of accomplished facts and not to hypothetical benefits. Appeals to national sentiment have, therefore, little effect upon those who stand to gain by the present arrangement. In their view, a bird in the hand is worth two in the bush. In short, there can be no freedom from communalism without political freedom.

It will thus be seen that the Muslim League is fully cognisant of the advantages that accrue from its present attitude. It does not serve its purpose to admit that communal representation is a mere expedient and at best a necessary evil. Pledged solely to the advancement of Muslim interests, the League refuses to set a limit to its ambitions. Since the introduction of the Morley-Minto Reforms the Muslims have gone from strength to strength in the matter of statutory safeguards and yet Muslim communalism has betrayed not a sign of appeasement.

It is difficult to know what exactly is the grouse of the Muslim League. It has consis-

tently evaded to place its cards on the table. Obviously, it is no longer content with an increased quota of representation to the Muslims in the Legislatures and the Services. It seeks the recognition of the Muslim minority as an equal in all matters with the majority community. The equality claimed is not as between one Indian and another, but as between the Hindus and Muslims, keeping intact all the paraphernalia of communalism, such as separate electorates, weightage, etc. Presumably, the League's complaint is against the numerical superiority of the Hindus, which surely is not their fault. However, having realised the futility of the manoeuvre for reducing the majority community to the position of statutory equality with the Muslims, the League has now embarked upon the most amazing project of subdividing India. The Pakistan agitation, therefore, represents the acme of the insatiable ambitions of Muslim communalism.

Let us now examine the scheme itself. Mr. M. A. Jinnah, who, by a strange fatality, has now become the most ardent champion of the two-nations theory, in his presidential address to the Muslim League at Lahore on 23rd March 1940, said :

> "Mussalmans are a nation according to any definition of a nation, and they must have their homelands, their territory and their state."

It is difficult to know what definition the League President had in view when he affirmed in all seriousness that the Muslims are a "nation." Islam is neither a nation nor a race, but a religion, and an Indian remains an Indian, owing allegiance to his motherland, whether he belongs to this or any other faith. Indeed, as Prof. Keith says, five-sixths of the Muslims of India are the descedants of converted Hindus.

Commenting on Mr. Jinnah's curious theory, an Anglo-Indian paper writes thus :

> "Ethnically there is no justification for regarding Hindus and Muslims in India as two separate nations. Religion or numerical strength in itself does not make a nation. What racial affinity is there between a Muslim from the Konkan and a Muslim from the Punjab? Racial divisions exist in India—and on a large scale—but these ethnic cleavages, as the most cursory examination demonstrates, do not run along religious boundaries. There is no more a Muslim nation in India than there is a Hindu nation."

Having assumed with facility that the Hindus and Muslims are two distinct nations, the League proceeds to argue that the only solution to the minorities problem lies in subdividing the country. But it conveniently forgets that the new State will have to cherish in its bosom the most numerous, influential and powerful minorities. The following table shows the area and the comparative numerical strength of the Hindus and Muslims in the Muslim majority provinces :

Province	Area in sq. miles	Population	Hindus	Muslims
Bengal	82,955	51,087,338	21,570,407	27,497,624
Punjab	105,020	24,018,639	6,328,588	13,332,460
N.-W. F. Province	36,356	4,684,364	142,977	2,227,303
Sind	46,378	3,887,070	1,015,225	2,830,800
Total	270,709	83,677,411	29,057,197	45,888,187

Apart from the fact that the Hindus by themselves are numerous enough, together with the Sikhs and backward minorities they number 33,614,967 in the above four Provinces. On the other hand, the total Muslim population in the seven Hindu Provinces is 19,782,583, —a figure far less than the numerical strength of the non-Muslim minorities in the Provinces where the Muslims predominate. Moreover, in a Provnice like the Punjab, described by its Premier as the sword-arm of India, the position of the minorities is impregnable. The Sikhs, who, incidentally, number 3,064,144, in this Province, the Jats, the Rajputs and the Dogras are among the most important fighting classes enlisted in the Indian Army. In particular, the Sikhs, who are predominantly Jats by race, are as a class the most numerous to be recruited in the Army. Such is the value attached to their soldierly qualities by the Government that they have been assigned a place of importance not only in their own Province, but in India, which has no relation to their actual numbers. The leaders of the Hindu and Sikh communities in the Punjab have already declared their hostility to the partition plan. The dominance of these facts is inescapable. If the League does not want the Muslims to make common cause with the majority community in the governance of the country, on what grounds of justice does it solicit the co-operation of the non-Muslim minorities in the new State it seeks to create? The fact is that the partition plan instead of solving the minorities problem will only accentuate it.

It is wrong to exaggerate the Hindu-Muslim problem. The Hindus and Muslims have lived together for nearly ten centuries, and recorded history does not bear testimony to the fact that they sought separation from one another even during the palmy days of Muslim rule. At no time has this necessity been felt. The Muslims have never suffered encroachment to their political, religious and cultural growth. Indeed, by a vigorous propagation of their faith and other causes, they have

steadily increased their numbers to the present formidable figure of about 78 millions.

Moreover, the natural tendency among the Hindu and Muslim masses is to live in peace with their neighbours, for, religious distinction, apart, their lives are indissolubly linked together. We have, for example, the testimony of the Bengal Census Report of 1931 to the cordiality that prevails in rural Bengal. It says that in the country districts the Muslim is ordinarily tolerant enough unless communal consciousness is excited by the preachings of itinerant Moulvis and Mullahs. In many parts of the Province the Muslim peasant, we are told, is tolerant of Hindu practices and joins to some extent in Hindu worship. These happy conditions prevail in all other parts of the country. As Mahatma Gandhi says:

> "There is no disunity among the Hindu and Muslim masses. The disunity is at the surface, and this counts so much, since those who are at the surface are the people who represent the political mind of India."

Unfortunately, the League, which claims to be the sole representative of the Muslims of India, has not chosen to strengthen the existing bonds of cordiality between the two great communities. On the other hand, its unrestrained partition propaganda is calculated to inspire illiterate Muslims with an emotional enthusiasm to repeat the Hijrat of the Khilafat agitation days with its attendant tragedy. I do not suggest that Pakistan scheme envisages any mass emigrations, but the danger of such a misconstruction is implicit in the idea itself.

Further, it is wrong for any one community to claim proprietory rights over a Province simply because it professes a particular faith and is so many millions strong. Every community makes its own distinctive contribution to the many-sided growth of the Province it inhabits. Indeed, life would become intolerable if there is no mutual co-operation among the sister communities. For example, the pre-eminence attained by Bengal in educational matters is largely due to the contribution of the Bengali Hindus both with their purse and intellect. Credit is also due to them for whatever economic progress that has been achieved by the Province. Similarly, the Punjabi Hindu is noted for his banking, commercial and industrial enterprise. It has been calculated that about five million Muslim artisans in this Province are largely dependent upon non-Muslims for their livelihood. Communal inter-dependence is thus complete and irreyocable. The partition plan is, therefore, a challenge to the existing order of things and is bound to cause profound disquiet in the minds of the minorities whose withdrawal of support may end in putting out of action the economic and financial system in these Provinces.

Another doubtful factor about the Pakistan scheme is as regards its financial stability. It is extremely doubtful whether the new State will be able to balance its budgets, for, as is well known, the N.-W. Frontier Province and Sind are being heavily subsidised from the Central revenues. Informed opinion is very sceptical on the financial implications of the partition scheme. An Anglo-Indian journal comments thus:

> "The North-Western Muslim State, it has been calculated by the supporters of this idea, would have a revenue of 22 to 26 crores on the present basis of taxation. No parallel estimate of expenditure is prepared."

Referring to the Defence problem the paper observes that

> "The Muslim State would not only be heir to almost the whole of the most vulnerable land frontiers of India, but would simultaneously acquire a vast new border.... Whatever meretricious advantages partition may seem to offer in the way of social isolation or cultural autonomy, it certainly is not the path of political or economic self-reliance."

It will thus be seen that judged by any standard, the partition plan has nothing in its favour to commend it. The Muslim League is the only party which demands partition and not all its members favour the plan. The attitude of the Premiers of the Punjab and Bengal is well known. All other Muslim parties are opposed to the partition of the country. Referring to the subject Maulana Abul Kalam Azad says:

> "The right to take such a step can vest only in Muslims, who are elected by the Muslims themselves. For such purpose the League can present any scheme but it cannot claim that the scheme is accepted by the totality or even majority of Muslims."

Mahatma Gandhi also holds similar views. While we fully appreciate the line of argument adopted by the Maulana and the Mahatma, the question is not one that can be decided by the Muslims alone. It is an all-India issue which should be solved by the Indians in general and the non-Muslim minorities in the proposed State in particular. Any forcible imposition of the scheme will only end in anarchy in the country.

Apart from the artificial nature of the scheme, the creation of two States in India will inevitably cripple her natural strength. In these days of power politics it has become a folly to belong to small countries.

It must be stated in conclusion that the

Muslims of India, who number about 78 millions, are not a minority in the broadest sense of the term. They lived in perfect security in the past when they were less numerous, and what legitimate reason for apprehension have they that in a free and democratic India they will be unable to protect their rights and interests ?

It is a misfortune that of all men Mr. Jinnah should have chosen to champion such a forlorn cause. Mr. Usman Ahmad Anson records that on one occasion, in an unguarded moment of self-revelation, Mr. Jinnah said: "It is my ambition to become the Moslem Gokhale." It is interestnig that the late Mr. Gokhale wrote of Mr. Jinnah thus: "He has true stuff in him and that freedom from all sectarian prejudice which will make him the best ambassador of Hindu-Moslem unity."

A peculiar interest attaches to the circumstances leading to Mr. Jinnah's membership of the Muslim League. Approached in England in 1913 to become a member of the League, he is said to have made it clear that loyalty to the League and Muslim interest would in no way and at no time imply even the shadow of disloyalty to the larger national cause to which his life was dedicated. It is a testimony to the dubiousness of the political game that as the head of the Muslim League, Mr. Jinnah is now advocating the vivisection of India.

The late Mr. Edwin Montagu wrote of Mr. Jinnah thus: "Jinnah is a very clever man, and it is, of course, an outrage that such a man should have no chance of running the affairs of his own country." Mr. Montagu's Diary also records that "at the root of Jinnah's activities is ambition." Is it possible that Mr. Jinnah is seeking the fulfilment of his unrealized ambitions through the partition plan ?

THE MOSCOW ZOOLOGICAL PARK

By N.

It would be difficult to compare the Zoological Park of Moscow as it was prior to the October Revolution with the institution which it represents today—as they form two widely differing values. It seems as though not twenty years, but an entire century separates them.

The Moscow Zoological Park was founded in 1864 on the initiative of Professor A. P. Bogdanov of the Moscow University, an advanced savant and a public figure of his day. Professor Bogdanov was also the founder of the Polytechnical Museum and the Moscow Society for Acclimatisation of Animals and Plants.

During its entire pre-revolutionary existence of 53 years, the Zoo waged a tense and endless struggle for existence under tsardom. Scientists, who had founded the Zoo, had done so with lofty aims in view, in particular aspiring to widely popularize scientific knowledge. Professor Bogdanov in those days wrote:

> "Would it not be of value to the schools to have an institution wherein it would always be possible to arrange excursion for pupils with the object of adding to their scientific knowledge ? Would not science gain if work was conducted in the Zoo on the study of animal life if it were possible for the park to acquire interesting animals for observations ?"

But all these aspirations of enthusiastic scientists remained to a large degree without materialisation. The Society of Acclimatisation which was the founder and keeper of the park received but one or two thousand rubles annually from the tsarist government wherewith to conduct its undertakings and not until the beginning of this century did the government, in a sudden burst of generosity, find it fit to increase the subsidy to the Society to 5,000 rubles. Of this more than modest subsidy the society could allot only a mere pittance for the urgent needs of the Zoo. The Moscow Municipality, let alone the fact that it did not allot a single copeck for the Zoo, strove to tax this undertaking with as high rates as possible. Only in the summer months was it possible to make ends meet with the funds derived from entrance fees. Inclement autumn weather brought down disaster upon the park, for attendance fell sharply then.

The administration was ever worried in searching for sources wherefrom to obtain the minimum funds for the park. Academician N. M. Kulagin, formerly the director of the Zoo, tells that even on the one occasion when he did sign (incidentally the first bill he ever signed during his eighty years of life) a promissory note for 3,000 rubles in order to obtain funds to feed the animals, the money-lender agreed payment against the bill only on con-

dition that the note would be signed by the director as a private person and not on behalf of the Zoological Park, despite the fact that he was assured that the treasury of both the director personally and of the Zoo as a body equally amounted—to nothing.

Occasionally the Zoo received individual donations from private persons. Accepting such alms from merchants and enterprises was indeed a bitter pill, and the sole reason forcing the Society for Acclimatisation to resort to such methods of collecting funds was their desire to save the park.

At exceptionally difficult times, when financial bankruptcy was imminent, the park was rented out and sundry side-shows and entertainments were opened on its territory. Malayans and other "interesting" races were demonstrated here side by side with caged animals. But all this woefully disorganized the Zoo and the Society for Acclimatisation was eventually again obliged to restore the economy of the Zoo, which, during such periods, inevitably fell into utter neglect.

In general, the existence of the Zoo was a unique kind of zigzagging; when funds became available, the park resumed activity, selected a collection of animals, etc. In the beginning of the nineties of the last century, for example, a collection of all species of sheep habitating Russia, as well as horses, poultry, etc., was got together for the park. Whenever the park found itself on a good financial footing, exhibitions would be arranged on bird raising, bee-keeping, fish-breeding and so on; lectures were held, and contests of carrier pigeons were arranged. When there were no funds, all undertakings sharply contracted and the Zoo existed in a state of suspended animation.

We were told about the work of the Zoological Park before the Revolution by Academician Kulagin who worked first as librarian of the Society for Acclimatisation, and then from 1889 to 1894 was engaged in the park, first as inspector and later as director of the Zoo.

Immediately after the Great October Revolution, the Zoo entered upon a new period of life. In 1926 it received an annexe to its grounds. Whereas formerly the animals were kept in dark and close cages, most of them today are living in conditions that approach their natural habitat. Ussurian tigers, polar bears and bruins dwell on "Animal Island," and mountain goats, yaks and other animals live on a special hill. Various deer, elks, etc., roam in spacious enclosures.

The old Moscow Zoological Park with its remshackle buildings made indeed a very poor show. The new Zoo is totally different and possesses special premises for the animals, the number of which, incidentally, has increased immeasurably.

Attendance figures are no longer reckoned in thousands, as formerly, but in millions of visitors. Scientific work is no longer of a sporadic or haphazard nature, but is now conducted systematically according to definite plans evolved in advance. During the past few years the park has attained considerable achievements in this sphere, amongst the important problems solved being that of breeding sables in captivity.

The cultural and educational undertakings of the Moscow Zoo are of manifold aspect. Suffice it to say that the scientific collaborators of the park deliver lectures and demonstrate animals at workers' clubs, etc., and that considerable work is conducted with the numerous excursion groups which visit the park.

The Soviet Government devotes much attention to all seats of scientific, cultural and educational work, among them the Moscow Zoological Park. No doubts can be entertained that the Zoo will continue in its progress and development.

"Bids for Liberty"

Incidents from the Practice of the Zoo

Zubkov, one of the workers of the Zoo, awoke. At first everything appeared to be in order. The train rumbled along and the animals he was bringing from Tajikistan to the Moscow Zoo seemed to be placidly squatting in their cages. But on looking more closely, he espied a snow leopard perched on the roof of its cage and enjoying the view from the sliding-door of the coach, which was ajar.

During his work in the Zoo, Zubkov had several times participated in game-hunting expeditions. He had made a good study of the "character" of animals. The snow leopard does not attack man first, but, should this would-be fugitive leap out of the coach at the next train-stop, he may create no end of mischief. The thought of shooting it fleeted through his mind, but only for a split second. It would have been a pity to slay the most valuable catch of the expedition. Zubkov decided to bag the fugitive.

Slipping his revolver away Zubkov approached the animal, which leapt to one side. He closed the door and the coach became quite dark. Protecting himself from possible attack with only a sheepskin coat in hand, he began to corner the animal. The snow leopard rushed to and fro, leaping over the piled cages and

retreating into corners. Zubkov orientated himself by the growls of the beast and implacably advanced upon it; the animal repeatedly backed away and the game became dangerous.

Seizing advantage of an instant when the animal was skulking in one of the corners, Zubkov threw the coat over him, siezed the beast and dragged it away. With an angry roar, the leopard tried to shake himself free, but the soft coat covered his head and paws. In pushing the animal back into the cage, Zubkov released its muzzle. At that moment Zubkov felt no pain. The acute, searing sensation came later, when the beast was safely locked up in his cage. He had been bitten clean through the wrist and the pain of this injury served him as a continuous reminder of this incident, as it took more than six months to heal.

Looking after the animals in the park itself is even a more complicated and difficult matter. Cases when the beasts succeed in escaping from their enclosures and cages are very rare. When such cases do occur, the workers of the Zoo have to display utmost sangfroid, resolution, quick-thinking and profound ingenuity.

One free day, just before the opening of the park, two bears escaped from the "Animal Island." Sighting Zubkov who was running to meet them, one of the bears reared up on its hind paws and advanced towards the man. Zubkov rushed to a guard booth nearby, flung open the door and leapt aside. The bear hurled itself headlong into the booth. The door was forthwith closed upon him, and for the time being the would-be fugitive occupied himself in eating the guard's lunch and demolishing everything breakable; in the meantime a long, thick rope was brought to the scene. The door was opened, out came bruin and, squarely lassoed, fell to the ground. Indignantly raving at the top of his voice, he was dragged through the avenues, back home to "Animal Island."

Meanwhile, his companion, the second bear, in the attempt to escape, had climbed up a tree, greatly scared by all these alarums and excursions, flatly refusing to descend. A blank shot fired in the distance brought the bear tumbling down, unconscious with terror. It was not until this nervous beast had been conveyed back to "Animal Island" that he regained consciousness.

There are very few who know the details of how "Bella," the chimpanzee, who escaped from the Zoo two years ago, was recaptured.

Jumping over the fence, surrounding the Zoo, "Bella" climbed up the fire escape to the roof of a neighbouring five-storeyed building. Ulyanov, one of the oldest and most experienced workers of the Zoo, followed her by the same means to the roof, accompanied by firemen. All the attempts of the firemen to recapture Bella were in vain. Then Ulyanov determined to lure the fugitive into closed quarters.

When he began to climb down the ladder, Bella came after him. At the third storey her attention was attracted by a rain pipe. Another moment, and Bella would drop herself down via the pipe and then the chase would begin all over again.

Ulyanov instantaneously came to a decision. He was on a level with a classroom where a lesson was proceeding. Thrusting his head through the window he told the teacher: "Please take the children out, leave yourself too, and kindly lock the door behind you." No sooner was the door closed on the children than Ulyanov leapt into the room. Bella was evidently highly intrigued by the puzzling disappearance of the man, gazed in through the window and climbed into the room. Ulyanov swiftly closed the window, and then to engage Bella's attention he began to chalk on the blackboard. Bella was tickled with this and on being given a piece of chalk forthwith messed up the whole board. This interesting occupation was interrupted by workers of the Zoo who arrived with a transportable cage. Very soon Bella was safely re-installed in her monkey house.

Another incident occurred with a snow leopard. One winter evening it escaped from the "Animal Island." Ulyanov with other workers of the Zoo, traced the spoor of the beast into one of the yards in a neighbouring side street. On seeing its trackers the leopard managed to climb to the roof of a two-storeyed house. Ulyanov and Zubkov followed it. The beast rushed back and forth on the roof and then decided to leap down.

The leap was unsuccessful as Ulyanov succeeded in seizing the tail of the leaping animal. He thus held on to the helpless leopard until it was well "wrapped" up in a net.

Such instances of selfless loyalty to their work, manifested by those engaged at the Zoo, have resulted in the fact that there has not been a single accident among visitors during the past few years.

The Attachment of a Lioness

Visitors to the Zoo recently were witness of a touching meeting between the lioness "Kinuli" ("Forsaken") and its former wet-nurse, Perry, a collie. For three years Kinuli and Perry have been inseparable companions. The

dog is already 17 years old, quite a good old age. Not long ago Perry was taken ill with senile rheumatism and was unable to move about. Kinuli looked after her as well as she could, bringing pieces of meat to it and petting it. But the dog's condition grew worse and worse, until finally it was decided to send Perry to a veterinary hospital.

The best part of a day was spent in trying to attract the lion into a neighbouring cage. But Kinuli refused to part from her nurse. It was most heart-rending to hear how the lioness alternately growled with rage and pitifully whined when it realized that Perry was being taken away somewhere. For four days it refused all food and would hardly sleep.

Yubilyar, a condor, is the oldest inhabitant of the Zoo, having dwelt there since 1892. The feathered beast is occasionally let out for a walk. This year this bird of prey has not been out of its cage.

The Zoo at present has five snow leopards which were recently caught by an expedition in Tajikistan. These are beautiful, bushy white beasts with pale-green emerald-coloured eyes. If a visitor goes too near the cage, the beast begins to growl fiercely. It is a curious fact, however, that these leopards actually are afraid of man and never make a first attack on a human being.

The Moscow Zoological Park at present has about 5,500 animals including the latest consignment of birds from the Tbilisi Zoo.

Visitors are always interested in the offspring of the lower monkeys. There are always crowds around the cage where the young are kept with their mothers. Whenever one of the workers of the Zoo enters this cage, panic reigns supreme. The mother apes, afraid that their young will be taken away from them, seize their offspring and leap headlong up to the top of the cage.

But it is the doctor that the monkeys fear most of all. Even when they espy the doctor yet in the distance, they raise an ear-splitting commotion. He naturally reminds them of such unpleasant things as doctor's examinations, the taking of temperature, and so on.

Martik, one of the monkeys who has just reached the age of three months already eats by himself; he is extremely fond of bananas, apples and kefir.

First Exhibition of Animal Artists

In connection with its 75th anniversary, the Moscow Zoo organized the first exhibition of Moscow artists who specialize in sketches and sculptures of animals.

There are comparatively few such artists. This is to be explained by the inherent difficulties of the genre. In order to attain realistic veracity in portrayed characteristics of animals who never pose patiently, the animal artist must essentially possess considerable professional skill, and, particularly, a keen artistic faculty of observation and a retentive memory.

Older Moscow animal artists are represented at the exhibition by V. A. Vatagin, I. S. Yefimov and A. N. Komarov.

In regard to variety and artistic convincingness, the works of Komarov are exceptionally impressive, particularly his "Bear Cub." Outstanding among the younger artists are A. M. Laptev, V. V. Trofimov, G. E. Nikolsky, D. V. Gorlov and K. Flerov. Each has his own individual approach to nature, his own method, but they all possess in common a keenly observant eye, retentive memory, and the ability to emphasize the most characteristic features of the life and habits of the animals they portray.

These qualities are particularly manifest in "Sleeping Lions" by Nikolsky, "Small Animals" by K. Flerov, "Bison," by A. Laptev and "Wolf Cubs," and "Lynx" by V. Trofimov.



THE AMERICAN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

By Professor NARESH CHANDRA ROY, M.A., Ph.D.

Mr. Franklin Roosevelt's second term at the White House closes early in 1941 and the election to choose his successor comes off in November next. The candidates for the office are as a rule selected by the national parties more than four months before the day of election so that they may have sufficient time to canvass the country on their own behalf. During the last one month national parties have in fact already chosen their candidates. The Republicans met in their national convention at Philadelphia and selected Mr. Wendell Willkie as their nominee.

This gentleman is a dark horse in the field of politics and administration. Little is known about him except that he is forty-eight years old, a lawyer and an industrial magnate. In the United States, of course, it is not necessary for a presidential candidate to have been long in politics. In fact a long career as a legislator, or party boss is not regarded as a good qualification for such a candidate. But he is expected to have attracted attention as a man of energy and flair in some public capacity. A strong mayor of a big city, an enterprising district attorney, an efficient governor of a state, or even a virile University president is usually talked of as a possible candidate. It is only rarely that a senator or a member of the President's Cabinet is mentioned in this connection.

Mr. Wendell Willkie's selection shows that the Republican Party has acted on two principles which, it thinks, may prove effective in the present circumstances. In the first place it has decided to pin its faith to a candidate who has no past to drag him down. Secondly, it has tried to exploit the reaction, which has been noticeable in the country on an increasing scale since 1937, against the New Deal policies of the Roosevelt Government. It has been thought that Mr. Willkie's affiliation to big business will leave no room for suspicion as to the Republican attitude towards the New Deal and that it will be a sufficient recommendation to those voters who may expect to bring about national prosperity through business revival and business revival through the withdrawal of all restrictions which New Deal has imposed upon old Laissez Faire.

The Democrats met in their Party Convention at Chicago in the third week of July and have, with virtual unanimity, acclaimed Franklin Roosevelt as their candidate He was first elected to the Presidency in 1932 and was re-elected to the office in 1936. He is, therefore, a candidate for the third term which has so far been given to none. Since the federal constitution was inaugurated in 1789, none have occupied the White House for more than eight years. The decision of the Chicago Convention is, from this standpoint, a significant one. Much of course, has been made of a tradition which was created accidentally and which has no legal sanction behind it. There are some in this country who appear to be of the view that for a person to seek a third term of presidential office is something atrocious and heinous. It is nothing of the kind. It may in fact indicate a political ambition as natural and as healthy as one may notice in candidature for the first or the second term of such office.

The fathers of the Constitution did not put any limit to the number of terms that a person might serve as the first Magistrate of the Union. Nor was this an accidental omission. There was a proposal in the Federal Convention at Philadelphia in 1787 that the President should be elected for a period of seven years. After much debate in the Convention, this proposal was turned down and the period for which a candidate might be elected at a time was fixed at four years. But it was not thought necessary that the number of terms for election which would be permissible should be limited. The fathers thought it sufficient that after every four years the candidates would be required to approach the people. It was George Washington who set the precedent of two terms.

It should, however, be borne in mind that he refused to stand for election for the third time not so much on public as on private grounds. It is true that both at that time and in later years it was not thought consistent with republican spirit that one man should continue to occupy the supreme magistracy for over a decade. But it should be emphasised here that what impelled Washington to refuse the third term was not really such solicitude for republican sentiment. It was his unwillingness to

live the life of an exile, which was truly responsible for his retiring from the presidency after two terms. During the period of eight years during which he filled this office, he certainly performed its duties conscientiously and enjoyed the power and prestige which attached to it. But all the same it was true he was never reconciled to the exile from Mount Vernon, which his presidentship entailed. He pined for his home and his estate. It should also be remembered that during his second term of office he was villified by a section of the public as none of his successors, except possibly the unlucky Johnson, have been. So it was not unnatural that he decided not to stand for the third term. But as he announced his decision, he had hardly any idea that it would have such far-reaching significance as it actually had in the constitutional evolution of his country. No person, it may be repeated, has been elected as President for more than two terms since then.

But it should be known that on two occasions deliberate attempts were made to violate the precedent which Washington had set. In 1880 General Grant, the hero of the Civil War, approached the Republican Convention for nomination as the party candidate. He had already served as President for two terms, completing the second in 1877. But he was persuaded to declare himself a candidate again three years later. The Convention, however, refused to nominate him. Not that it regarded the precedent set by Washington as sancrosanct, but it thought that the people might be prejudiced against a candidate who was not satisfied with two terms of power. Such prejudice would work against Republican chances at the polls. The Party would not have rejected the candidature of Grant on this ground if it knew that the personality and record of service of Grant would have sufficient appeal to popular imagination to offset the prejudice which his third term candidature might create. Unfortunately the reputation which he had earned as the hero of the Civil War was later neutralised by his two terms at the presidency. He had proved singularly out of place as the President of the Republic.

The second attempt to break the precedent was made in 1912. Theodore Roosevelt was first elected as Vice-President in 1900. But when after six months of office the President, McKinley, died in 1901, he stepped into his shoes. Later in the election of 1904 he was returned for the second time to the presidency. By 1908 he had thus completed virtually (though not technically) two terms at the White House. He loyally obeyed the tradition of the country, and refused to stand for further election in that year. For the time being in fact it seemed that he was not in favour of violating the Washington precedent. But in 1912 he announced his candidature for election to the presidency. When he found that his old Party would not entertain this candidature, he broke away from it, organised the Progressive Party and sought election under its auspices. But in the triangular fight which ensued, he was defeated and the tradition of two terms was again vindicated.

From the above it would seem that there is a thick crust of prejudice in the country against third term candidature. But although two attempts to break this crust have been unsuccessful, it does not mean that no further attempt would be made to break it or that such effort in the future would not succeed. It should be borne in mind that times are so abnormal now that a third term election cannot be rejected merely for the sake of a precedent, if it can be shown that such election is in the interests of the nation. The British who are far more conservative as a nation than the Americans, did not hesitate to throw overboard a cherished convention of parliamentary government in 1932 when they thought that the country would profit more by its violation than by its maintenance. The theory of collective responsibility of the Cabinet was thrown to the winds on the altar of the National Government when it was found that the members of this Government were hopelessly divided on the issue of protection. What the British could do in 1932, the Americans may certainly do in 1940.

The Democratic Party Convention at Chicago has acclaimed Roosevelt as its candidate obviously because it has reasons to believe that it can win the election with him and none else as the party candidate. The country will similarly vote for him and for none else in November if it thinks that he alone should be at the helm of affairs during the world crisis. This is all a question of emergency and an emergency has to be tackled, irrespective of the demands of a precedent and a tradition which can be respected only in normal times.

In all democracies a political party thrives by victories at the polls. The more victories it wins at elections, the greater prestige does it command in the country. Electoral triumph places it in seats of authority and makes it an instrument of influence and patronage. While this is true of all countries, nowhere it is more true than in the United States of America. The

difference between success and defeat at the polls is nowhere greater for a political party than in this great republic. Success means not only some prestige and a few key positions in the governmental machine, but it does mean huge patronage and far-reaching power. Defeat in the presidential election amounts on the other hand to a complete loss of all power and influence in the country.

Of the two great parties in the United States, the Republicans have enjoyed the sweets of office for a far longer period than their opponents, the Democrats. During the forty years of the last century since the outbreak of the Civil War, the Democrats were in power only for eight years (during the two terms of Grover Cleveland's presidentship). Of the forty years of the present century also the Democrats have occupied the White House only for sixteen years whereas the Republicans have tenanted it for twenty-four. It should also be borne in mind that in normal circumstances the Democrats would on no account have won the elections for four terms in this century. It is unlikely at any rate that in the election of 1932 they would have attained the success they did if the country were not overtaken by an acute and prolonged economic crisis and if the Republicans had not failed to do anything to mitigate this calamity. The Democratic victory at the polls in 1936 is also to be explained in the same way. The people could not be ungrateful to the man but for whose leadership they would have been completely lost in the morass of economic slump. But the two triumphs of Roosevelt together with the two great victories of Woodrow Wilson make up, as pointed out already, only sixteen years of power out of the forty of this century. In view of this fact it is but natural that the Democrats would do everything, would even violate a long-standing tradition, to win the election in November next.

The question is whether Franklin Roosevelt was the only Democratic candidate who had any chance of success at the polls or whether he has gained the party nomination by tactical devices to the exclusion of other candidates who could have also appealed effectively to the imagination of the people. From the names of the candidates who were supposed to be on the running, it seems that Roosevelt was the only candidate on the Democratic side, who could carry the people with him. John N. Gurner, a former Speaker of the House of Representatives and now the Vice-President of the United States, declared his candidature for the Party nomination some time ago. He hails from the State of Texas and would have carried that State, if he was adopted as the Party candidate. It is assumed that he could count upon support in some other States as well. But there are factors which would have worked against his success at the polls and which certainly weighed with the Party Convention when it quietly brushed aside his claims In the first place, although he is a Democrat, his place is in the right wing of the Party. He has little sympathy for the New Deal policy of his chief and seems to have given his support invariably to those who opposed it tooth and nail during the last few years. If he was selected the Party candidate, the liberal and radical voters would have been scared away. Secondly, it should not be forgotten that Mr. Gurner is above seventy and people could not be expected to entrust to him the destiny of the country at this stage of his life. The Presidency is an exacting office and no man who has completed three score and ten could be equal to it.

Another man whose name was heard in connection with the Democratic nomination was James Farley, Post Master General in the Roosevelt Cabinet and Chairman of the Democratic Party Organisation. Farley hails from New York State. He is of the Irish-American stock and is a man of considerable organising ability. He was the election manager of Roosevelt in 1932 and 1936 and the success which the Party achieved on these two occasions was largely due to his ability and skill. Farley, however, appears to have been only a second string in the bow of those Democrats who wanted Roosevelt for the third time. If only they failed to carry Roosevelt in the Convention, they would push the candidature of Farley. It is very likely that Farley himself was also of this view. His relations with the President are of the very best. He published in 1938 an interesting book called *Behind The Ballots*, in which he has given an account of his own political career and of the part he has played as the admirer, collaborator and friend of Roosevelt. If any conclusion is to be drawn from these pages, it is that if Roosevelt had any chance of third-term election, Farley would try to advance it in every way possible. So his was only a substitute candidature and not a rival one. It should also be emphasised here that Farley has established a great reputation only as a "politician" and not as a statesman. The difference in meaning between the two words is everywhere clear but nowhere is it so sharp as in the United States. Farley is a great party manager, but it is doubtful if he can be entrusted with the supreme direction of the country's

affairs. We cannot be sure that he would have been elected President of the Republic, if he was given the Party nomination. He does not seem to have that atmosphere about him, which makes for success in the presidential elections.

The third name to be mentioned in this connection is that of Robert Hutchins. He is certainly one of the extraordinary men of the United States. He became the head of the Department of Law in the famous University of Yale at the early age of twenty-eight and two years later at thirty he was invited to become the President of the University of Chicago, and in this latter capacity he has been working for the last ten years. That he is a man of virile intellect and is a great educational leader, none will deny. That he has political ambition and may some time shoot high in that sphere is also to be admitted. But it was unlikely that in 1940 the country would have approved of the nomination of a man still so young and so inexperienced in political affairs. It seems that before he may be adopted as a presidential candidate, he will be required to undergo some apprenticeship in an inferior capacity. Woodrow Wilson could not step into the Presidency of the republic from the presidentship of Princeton. He would not possibly have his accession to the White House at all, if he did not fill the intervening period as a vigorous and successful Governor of the State of New Jersey.

From the above paragraphs it should appear that the Democratic Party did not feel certain of victory with any other man than Roosevelt as the candidate. The question now is if Roosevelt himself will ensure that victory. For a couple of years after his first inauguration as President in April 1933, his influence in the Union was not only predominant but all-pervading. He had the people completely under his command. He had only to talk to them for a while over the radio and all the recalcitrant and dissentient voices would be hushed in complete silence. Gradually, however, his influence began to wane. In 1935 and 1936 the spell of his name and voice was less effective. But he was still elected for the second time with a wide margin of support. In the following year he sponsored the ill-fated Court Bill for modifying the composition of the Supreme Court of the United States. This made him distinctly unpopular with a large section of the people. By the end of 1938 it was evident that he was playing a losing game. The mid-term elections to Congress, held in November 1938, had gone against him. The Democrats had been returned still no doubt in a majority to the House of Representatives but the majority had been reduced a great deal. Many of the Democrats again had no longer much confidence in the policy which he had been pursuing for five years. The attitude of the Senate also became increasingly menacing. The new election of one-third of the Senators changed to a great extent the complexion of this "most powerful second chamber of the world." Some of his Party were defeated while some of the Democratic Senators whom he regarded as unreliable and wanted to purge were returned in the teeth of his opposition to Washington. The attitude of big business and its henchmen also became increasingly hostile towards his policy. The spending on relief, particularly his Works Progress Administration, met with bitter opposition at their hands. Nor was his foreign policy without reproach. It was regarded as provokingly friendly towards the British and French Empires and therefore dangerous for the United States. No wonder that the isolationists became alarmed.

But the turn which the War in Europe has taken has created a new situation in which the buffers between American freedom and Nazi tyranny have been threatened as they have never been threatened before. In view of this fact the policy of realism which Roosevelt has followed so far will stand him in good stead. His popularity seems to have already increased in the country. The Gallup Institute and the journal *Fortune* are two reliable agencies for estimating public opinion in the United States. Both in 1936 and in 1938 the forecasts which they made in regard to elections of those years proved to be roughly correct. This year also they have estimated public opinion in the country and have given it out that with Roosevelt as the candidate the Democratic Party will certainly win. There is no reason why we should not accept this view.



REACTION TO THE "NO-BLACK-HOLE" THEORY

By Prof. ROMESH CHANDRA BANERJEE, M.A.

For reason that need not be discussed here, the "No-Black-Hole" theory propounded by Messrs. Little and Maitreya has been given publicity in Bengal beyond its importance. Many political leaders, orators, council-members, newspaper editors, and even students had had a hand in its propagation. The volume of its popularity has naturally led many people to forget that there is just the other side of the shield. The object of this article is to show how the "No-Black-Hole" theory has been received by eminent historians, the reactions produced by it being generally unknown to the ordinary readers of history.

I. A Significant Aspect

Before I reproduce the criticisms of the theory made by several distinguished historians, I think it necessary to draw the readers' attention to a curious but significant aspect of it. The first man to attack the current version of the Black Hole incident was Mr. A. K. Maitreya. It is perhaps no exaggeration to say that this is the *forte* of his defence of Sirajuddowlah (*Vide* his Bengali book, *Sirajuddowlah,* chapter XVI). The curious thing is this that though the author has used throughout his book quotations from a host of historians, *viz.*, Orme, Scrafton, Malleson, Beveridge, Stewart, Mill, Thornton and one eye-witness, John Cooke, on sundry matters, on the most important point of the Black Hole, these men have been entirely ignored. Yet, each and everyone of them has something to say about the truth of the Black Hole; and, if they were quoted on this point, the reader would have seen that they were sure of the truth of the Black Hole incident.

Yet this is not all. Both Mr. Little and Mr. Maitreya have made use of garbled versions of a note written by M. Reymond in his English translation of *Seir Mutaqherin,* so that the ordinary reader is misled into thinking that Reymond did not believe the Black-Hole story, while, as a matter of fact, just the opposite seems to be the case. The following is the full note of Reymond :

"There is not a word here of those English shut up in the Black Hole, to the number of 131, where they were mostly smothered. The truth is that the Hindusthanees wanting only to secure them for the night, as they were to be presented the next morning to the Prince, shut them up in what they heard was the prison of the Fort, without having any idea of the capacity of the room; and indeed the English themselves had none of it. This much is certain that this event which cuts so capital a figure in Mr. Watt's performance, is not known in Bengal; and even in Calcutta it is ignored by every man out of the four hundred thousand that inhabit that city; at least it is difficult to meet a single native that knows anything of it; so careless and incurious are those people. Were we therefore to accuse the Indians of cruelty, for such a thoughtless action, we would of course accuse the English, who intending to embark four hundred Gentoo Sipahis, destined for Madras, put them in boats, without one single necessary and at last left them to be overset by the boat, where they all perished after a three days' fast." (English Translation of *Seir,* Vol. II, p. 190, footnote).

Supposing that Messrs. Cambray & Co., of Calcutta, whose edition of Haji Mustafa's work, published in 1902, contains the note, have printed it correctly (which I believe they have done), then the reader will see that Reymond had no doubt whatsoever about the truth of the Black-Hole incident.

Now to turn to the criticisms.

II

Mr. H. E. A. Cotton in *Calcutta Old and New*, published, Calcutta, 1907, p. 461-63 :

"The story of the Black Hole cannot be dismissed without a reference to the attempts which have been made of recent years to demonstrate that the entire incident is a figment of Holwell's brain.........There are no less than five contemporary sources of information of which two have no connection with Holwell. Lists of persons killed in the fighting and in the Black Hole "overheated and for want of water," as well as those who took refuge at Fulta, were sent to England and published in the English and Scotch newspapers of the time. It is perfectly well-known that Orme, who was in 1756 a member of Council at Fort St. George, and had been a writer in Calcutta prior to that date, wrote to many of the actors in the scenes he proposed to describe and obtained their written evidence while all the events were fresh in their memory. Among those who answered his queries were Secretary Cooke and Captain Mills, both, as we known, survivors of the tragedy. The latter's account, written on sixteen pages of a pocket-book, is still to be seen in original among the 231 volumes of Orme's copper plate manuscripts in the India Office. There we have the contemporary accounts of William Tooke and George Gray, two servants of the Company who were present in the Fort during the siege; and lastly, it has only to be remembered that Holwell refers to the tragedy in no less than seven letters, of which six were official, and that his first list of casualties was drawn up in August, 1756, only six weeks after the fatal night. The absurd supposition

can be passed over that Holwell was allowed to erect a monument in commemoration of the victims of a tragedy which never took place; but in the face of this evidence, it is imposing a hard task upon posterity to invite them to declare that Orme and Mills and Tooke who corroborate him have perjured themselves. Seraj-ud-dowlah may not have been quite the monster he is painted by Macaulay and Malleson; but his responsibility for the "horrid act of violence" of the 20th June, 1756, is not to be brushed away in any off-hand manner by the professional white-washers."

III

The late Prof. Kaliprasanno Banerjee, of Brojamohan College, Barisal, and author of the valuable work in Bengali, *Banglar Itihas, Nababi Amal.*

(The quotations are from the Second edition of the book, published 1315, B.S. and translated by me).

"Holwell's burning description of the Black Hole tragedy has made it familiar to all people. There is no reason to think that the incident is imaginary. Cooke, who was a fellow-sufferer, has also something to say about this affair; in spite of trifling inconsistencies, there is agreement about the real fact between the two. There were controversies afterwards regarding many matters described by Holwell; if the Black Hole incident were untrue, the fact would have been disclosed in course of the mutual quarrels of the English officers. It has also to be considered whether anyone had the opportunity to ascertain accurately the dimensions of the prison room or the number of the prisoners. Holwell mentions the names of only 53 persons among the dead; that many persons' names were unknown to him is quite probable; it was also impossible for him, under the circumstances, to know exactly the number of the dead and the wounded or the number put in the prison...... Holwell had also a tendency to exaggeration. It is natural to conclude that in the number of the dead in the Black Hole, many killed or wounded in the fighting were included. The Black Hole is not mentioned in the *Mutaqherin* or any other indigenous history. All writers have mentioned only the inevitable results of the war [Golam Hossain and Reymond quoted] (*Banglar Itihas*, pp. 219-221)."

In a footnote on page 219, Professor Banerjee says:

"Recently a few indigenous writer have become doubtful of the truth of the Black Hole incident. Want of opportunity to read contemporary accounts is the main cause of this doubt........"

In the Appendix A of the book, Professor Banerjee criticises Mr. Maitreya's white-washing of the character of Sirajuddowlah and, referring to the attempts made by Mr. Maitreya in his book *Sirajuddowlah* to disprove the Black-Hole tragedy, he says, among other things:

"In regard to the Black Hole, Mr. Hill has compiled so much materials from the English, French and Dutch archives and so much contemporary evidence of other sorts, that even the men with blind bigotry will see the truth of it in a brighter light."

Further,

"If Akhoy Babu had read even a part of the records of the time of Seraj-ud-dowlah published by Mr. Hill just four years ago, then his labour in affixing so many footnotes would have been avoided."

IV

Professor E. F. Oaten at the Black-Hole Debate held in Calcutta in 1916 (in reply to Mr. Little's theory *viz.*, that the Black Hole story was false and that the British soldiers of Fort William fought desperately till only 9 were left alive):

"Mr. Little and his supporters must not forget that........the current view of the Black Hole incident has been practically unchallenged, even from the very beginning for a hundred and fifty years........

"What sufficient motive has Mr. Little provided to bind together Holwell and his twenty-two or twenty-three companion survivors in a conspiracy of silence, nay, more, in a conspiracy of misrepresentation? First, what did Holwell get out of it? What is the noble figure, Holwell inspiring the garrison to a resistance so desperate that only twenty-three prisoners were taken or Holwell escaping death in the Black Hole by an admitted fight for the window with the gasping and often weaker fellow-men? What possible motive could have bound together Messrs. Cooke and Lushington, Captains Mills and Dickson, Holwell, Court and Burdet and fourteen seamen and soliders in backing up so fearful a story?........

"This implies at least that Holwell and the leading survivors agreed to concoct a tale. If that is so why did their accounts differ? If the various accounts were various impressions of a real event, it would be perfectly natural that they should differ; but why could not the concocters agree as to the kind of story which they should spread abroad?"

In support of his story of desperate fighting, Mr. Little had used portions of the accounts written by seven eye-witnesses (Captain Grant, Mr. Grey, Junior, an anonymous correspondent of the London Chronicle and others). But Mr. Little had not mentioned the fact that, although the accounts of these men differed in respect of details, on one important point, they were unanimous, *viz.*, that (in the words of Mr. Oaten) "all these testify to the Black Hole Story, and two say they were actually in the Black Hole."

Mr. Oaten continues:

"I am forced reluctantly to the conclusion that the attractive *argumentum ad hominem*, the picture so attractive to Englishmen, of Englishmen resisting to death and dying gloriously on the bastions as English officers know how to die so gloriously, that there were not enough left to fill the Black Hole, needs more convincing testimony........

"The absence of an official account is curious; but surely the sending home of five separate accounts of the fall of the Fort partly explains it........The members of the council at Fulta were too busy attacking one another on for more important topics........"

"I am not yet convinced that the great men of

Bengal knew at the time that the Black Hole story was an invention of Holwell........I do not believe, in short, that a secret, known on Mr. Little's hypothesis to so many, could possibly have remained a secret for ever, especially in fierce years of party controversy that followed." (*Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. xii, p. 136, etc.).

V

Mr. H. H. Dodwell in *Dupleix and Clive*, first published, London, 1920:

"Recent attempts have been made to show that Holwell's narrative is false and that no Black Hole incident took place. But the arguments employed cheerfully ignore the first principles of evidence. That Holwell touched up his narrative with an eye to picturesque effect is possible enough; but that a large number of people were suffocated in the Black Hole is established by the evidence of too many survivors and acquaintances of survivors to be shaken. Of Holwell's general veracity the present writer has as poor an opinion as anyone; but even he at times approximated to the truth; we cannot deny an assertion merely because he made it; and he had too many enemies for his assertions to pass without a close scrutiny." (p. 122, footnote).

VI

The Oxford History of India by Dr. V. A. Smith (the quotation is from the Second Edition, published first in 1923):

"**The Black Hole Tragedy.**" It is unnecessary to repeat in detail the oft-told story of the horrors of the Black Hole. But it is indispensable to observe that recent attempts to discredit the story as an invention are not well-founded. The incident certainly occurred, although some uncertainty may exist concerning one or other detail. The Nawab was not personally and directly responsible for the atrocity. He left the disposal of the prisoners to a subordinate who forced them all into a stifling guard-room, barely twenty feet square, and not large enough to hold a quarter of the crowd. Although the Nawab did not personally order the barbarous treatment of his prisoners he did not either reprove his officers for their cruelty or express any regret at the tragic result. It is generally stated that 146 were put in for the night, of whom only 23, including one lady, came out alive in the morning; but the exact number of the sufferers is not certain, and there is good reason for believing that the prisoners confined included several women of whom only one survived." (p. 489).

VII

Mr. L. F. Rushbrooke Williams, in Part 3 (British Period) of *A History of India*, published by Longmans, Green & Co., 1926:

"........It is unnecessary to recount in detail the tragedy of the Black Hole of Calcutta. It excited the greatest indignation in England at the time; but it seems to have been quite unpremeditated. Certainly the Nawab was not directly responsible for the occurrence; and while his subordinates displayed great cruelty there is no reason to suppose that they were animated by anything worse than stupid callousness.

"We may notice that attempts have been made to cast doubts upon the occurrence. Those who maintain that the Black Hole tragedy was a myth, rely first upon some obvious exaggerations in the narrative of Holwell, one of the survivors: and secondly upon the fact that the episode is passed over in silence by one or two contemporary sources. Upon this slender basis an ingenious structure of theory has been built by certain historians, in whom sentiment or self-interest has overborne scientific method. But in the first place, Holwell was by no means the sole survivor; and other persons, notably Ensign Mills, have left accounts of their sufferings which broadly substantiate the facts. And in the second place, the 'argument from silence,' as every historian should know, is notoriously dangerous. By its employment, any schoolboy can 'prove' not merely that the Black Hole was all invention, but that Napoleon was an eponymous nature-deity, that the Norman conquest never took place, that Asoka was a figment of patriotic imagination. Any conceivable force which a method so double-edged might seem to possess in the present case, is entirely counter-balanced by the fact that the Black Hole is plainly described in Dutch official records. Now the Dutch, whether at Chinsura or in Holland, were no friends either to Holwell or to the English. Nor were they the enemies of Seraj-ud-dowlah. Their testimony, in conjunction with that of the survivors, is completely conclusive to all persons trained to the evaluation of historical evidence. No historian desires to dwell upon this lamentable tragedy; the narration of which has been the cause of much heart-burning. But it is equally impossible to pass the matter over in silence, and thus tacitly to acquiesce in the ingenious but utterly futile attempt to write down Holwell's story as pure invention." (Pp. 45-47).

VIII

The Cambridge History of India, Vol V, published, 1929, (note at the end of chapter VII, p. 156, the chapter and the note being written by Mr. H. H. Dodwell).

"**Note on the Black Hole.** *In Bengal Past and Present*, July, 1915 and January 1916, will be found an attempt to discredit the accepted version of the Black Hole tragedy by Mr J. H. Little. His principal arguments are (1) that Holwell's narrative contains numerous demonstrable errors; (2) that it lacks contemporary corroboration. He concludes that Holwell, Cooke and the other persons who vouch for the event concocted the story, and that those who are supposed to have perished in the Black Hole really were killed in the storm of the place. At a later stage in the controversy he even asserted that there was no evidence for the existence of the monument in memory of the Black Hole which Holwell erected. Everyone who has studied the records of the time must have come to the conclusion that Holwell was not a virtuous man; it is even likely that he touched up his story so as to make the part he played as conspicuous as possible. But even when we have made all allowance for this sort of thing, the main outlines of the story still remain. The small divergences which distinguished the story of Cooke from that of Holwell, for instance, are such as constantly occur in the independent accounts of contemporary witnesses; and, so far from throwing suspicion on the whole story, suggested that Cooke and Holwell did not combine to foist a false version of events on the public. Mr. Little labours to prove that there could not have been so many survivors in the fort as Holwell says were shut up in the Black Hole; but the truth is that we have not the material to decide what may have been

the exact number of persons remaining after the capitulation. His first argument thus casts doubt over certain details only. As regards the silence of contemporaries, he is in more than one respect entirely mistaken. It was natural that the Calcutta Council should avoid mention of the Black Hole which threw such a lurid light over the circumstances of their desertion of the place. It is not the fact that neither Clive nor Watson, nor Pigot, refers to the Black Hole. Clive does so in some of his published correspondences; Watson does in his declaration of war; Pigot does so in a letter dated 18th September following. But, says Mr. Little, the acceptance of the story by uncritical contemporaries proves nothing. However, Holwell's contemporaries were exceedingly critical. Watts, for instance, who disliked Holwell so much, and criticised his assertions so sharply, makes no attack upon this. Drake and the other fugitive councillors could have cast off a load of *obloquy* had they proved Holwell's story of the Black Hole to be the imposture Mr. Little supposes it to have been. Altogether the controversy seems to have arisen from the perplexities of a student unaccustomed to the conflicts of evidence which the historian has perpetually to encounter; and his negative arguments do not seem to me capable of bearing the weight he would lay upon them."

IX

Some Text-books of Indian History

The opinions of some distinguished historians as found in the text-books written by them are given below :

1. The late Mr. R. D. Banerjee, Manindra Chandra Nandi Professor, Benares Hindu University :

> "**The Black Hole.** When the Fort was captured the English Governor of Calcutta and some others fled. The remaining Englishmen, who had surrendered, were packed into a small room by Seraj-ud-dowlah's officers. The night was very hot, and, in the narrow space, many Englishmen died during the night. The brutal murder of these English is called the Black Hole Tragedy." (p. 226). (*Junior History of India,* published by Blackie & Son, 1930.)

The same author had written a similar text-book for the Matriculation Examination of the Calcutta University which was published by the Book Company (1924). In it the Black-Hole was described thus :

> "At this time, some of his officers had thoughtlessly put some of the English prisoners in a narrow cell, where some of them died from the effect of overcrowding. This affair was greatly magnified by early British writers and is called the Black Hole Tragedy." (p. 320)

Evidently, Professor Banerjee did not believe that the Black-Hole story was an invention.

2. Dr. S. C. Sark and Dr. K. K. Dutt.

> "It is said that 146 English prisoners were confined by the Nawab's officers in a dark cell in the fort about eighteen feet square, where 123 of them died of suffocation........This is known as the Black Hole Tragedy of 1756.
>
> "The sufferings of the English prisoners have been graphically described by Mr. Holwell who was one of the survivors, in his narrative and there is a reference to this incident in some of the contemporary English, Dutch, French and Armenian records, though there is some discrepancy about the numbers of prisoners and victims in these different accounts. But the contemporary native historians and the proceedings of the Calcutta Council mention nothing about it, and recently some scholars have doubted the truth of the accepted version of the Black Hole affair and have described it as a 'gigantic hoax.' Critics of the latter view are not wanting." (*Text-book of Modern Indian History,* Vol. I, Part II, p. 103, published 1932)|

3. Drs. Sen & Roy Chowdhury in their Matriculation text-book (*Ground-work of Indian History,* 1934) :

> "The truth of this story has recently been challenged and the account, as it has come to us, is not without some difficulties," etc.

4. Dr. R. C. Mazumdar, in his *Brief History of India* (13th edition, 1936) :

> "The truth of this story has been doubted by many," etc.

5. Dr. N. K. Bhattashali, in his text-book of Matriculation history (in Bengali), also merely states that some historians have doubted the truth of the story.

6. But not so Dr. N. C. Banerjee, who in his text-book (1937) says :

> "Recent enquiries have proved the story of this alleged tragic event to have been a pure invention of Holwell. Some historians still believe in this account, etc." (p. 217).

This is quite in contrast with the non-committal attitude of the preceding historians. So is the following :

7. Rao Bahadur S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, M.A., Hony. Ph.D., University Professor, Mysore and Madras (Retired), in his *A Class-book of Indian History,* published, 1935, by Longmans, Green & Co., seems to be no believer in the "No-Black-Hole" theory. He gives a brief account of the Black Hole tragedy and then proceeds :

> "This was the notorious Black Hole of Calcutta. The Nawab was not directly responsible for this deed. He showed, however, no sympathy for the survivors; nor did he take any steps to punish those who were responsible for the Act." (p. 339)

The opinions quoted above are given on the supposition that the writers still hold them. If there has been any change since the dates given above, I shall gladly correct myself.

It is a pity that no recorded opinion on the subject, of Sir Jadunath Sarkar, the doyen of Indian historians, is available to us. The humble writer of this article is in a position

to state that Sir Jadunath is no believer in the "No-Black-Hole" theory.

X

The Question of Space

Before I conclude, I want to elucidate one point, supposing that the Black Hole measured 18 ft. × 14 ft. 10 inches, the standing space per head is approximately 1 4/5 square feet, or, 22 inches by 12 inches (the number of prisoners being 146). This, of course, renders the position of the inmates of a room painful, as was the case with slaves packed in ships during the "Middle Passage." But it is to be considered whether the position was a physical impossibility, in the same way as it is impossible to put two human bodies of average size into a coffin built exactly for one. The Black Hole Story is ridiculed on this ground of "too little space." At the same time, as is pointed out by Mr. Dodwell, 146 may be a exaggerated number.

INDIAN CHARITY

By RAM KESHAV RANADE, B.A., LL.B.

In the words of Grant M.R. in *Morice* vs. *Bishop of Durham* :

> The word charity "in its widest sense denotes all the good affections men ought to bear towards each other; in its most restricted and common sense, relief of the poor. In neither of these senses it is employed in this Court. Here its significance is chiefly derived from the statute of Elizabeth. Those purposes are charitable which the statute enumerates, or which by analogies are deemed within its spirit and intendment and to some such purposes every bequest to charity shall be applied."

In the preamble to the statute of Elizabeth the charitable objects are enumerated as follows :

> "The relief of aged, impotent, and poor people; the maintenance of sick and maimed soldiers and mariners, schools of learning, free schools, and scholars in universities; the repair of bridges, ports, havens, causeways, churches, sea banks, and highways; the education and preferment of orphans; relief stock or maintenance for houses of correction; marriages of poor maids; supportation, aid and help of young tradesmen, handicraftsmen, and persons decayed; the relief or redemption of prisoners or captives; and the aid or ease of any poor inhabitants concerning payment of fifteens, setting out of soldiers, and other taxes."

It is strongly and vehemently criticised by the foreigners and even by some educated Indians that Indian charity (by Indian charity I mean charity as we find in our ancient works) cannot stand comparison with these noble ideas of charity, and that the ancient works of the Hindus do not attach due importance to charity. On a perusal of our ancient works, it will be really exceedingly interesting to see whether this criticism is in any way warranted.

Importance of Charity

> "He who gives charity goes to the highest place in Heaven."- (*Rig-Veda* 1, 125—5, 6).

The *Shatapatha Brahman* refers in the same breath to the practice of self-restraint (Dama), *Charity* (*Dāna*) and compassion (Dayā).—*Hemadri Dan Khanda*, p. 6.

Brihaspati says :

> In the Krita Yuga, the main virtue is declared to be austerity; in the Treta, knowledge; in the Dwapara, sacrifices; and in the Kali, *charity*, compassion and self-restraint.—*Hemadri Dan Khanda*, p. 6.

Manu goes a step further and declares that charity alone is the prevailing virtue in the Kali age. He says :

> "In the Krita Yuga, the supreme virtue is declared to be austerity; in the Treta, knowledge; in the Dwapara, sacrifices; and in the Kali age, *charity* alone."—*Manu* 1, 86.

Gautama in his Institutes (XIX—11) refers to charity as the means of expiating sins.

Yama declares charity to be the supreme virtue to be practised by the huose-holders.—*Yama* 5.

Many other passages bearing on charity can be quoted. The passages quoted above, are more than sufficient to negative the contention that our ancient works do not attach due importance to charity. These passages go to show that no one can surpass our ancient authors in extolling the virtue of charity.

Those who strongly criticise the Indian form of charity and says that it is the worst form of charity, should, before levelling this

unwarranted criticism, note the following forms of charity as given by our ancient authors.

VARIOUS FORMS OF INDIAN CHARITY

According to the sacred writings of the Hindus, all pious works are divided into two classes :—(*i*) *Ishta* and (*ii*) *Purta*. *Ishta* denots and refers to sacrifice, while *Purta* means and includes charity.

From the ancient texts some of the principal *purta* works may be enumerated as follows :

(*i*) Construction of temples for gods,
(*ii*) Excavation of wells, tanks, etc.,
(*iii*) Gift of food,
(*iv*) The relief of the sick,
(*v*) Gift for promoting knowledge,
(*vi*) Planting of trees.

(*i*) CONSTRUCTION OF TEMPLES FOR GODS

The principal Vedic deities are three: Agni, Indra and Surya. Afterwards the number of Vedic gods was increased to thirty-three and thereafter it was increased to million-fold. The form of charity which is highly spoken of by our sacred writings is the erection of temples for gods. The following passage from *Narasinha Purana* merits special mention :

> "Whoever thinks of the idea of erecting a temple, that very day his carnal sins are destroyed; what then to speak of completing the temple according to rule! The religious merit acquired by a person who makes an abode of Vishnu consisting of eight bricks is beyond description. The merits coming from mighty buildings increase in proportion. He who dies on putting the first brick for erecting a temple, gets the religious merit of a full and complete Yajna" (Quoted in *Haribhakti Vilas*, p. 694).

There are various rules with regard to the sites whereon the temple are to be built; but the following rule may be noted :

> "That site is auspicious to the builder whose heart is delighted therein" (*Brihat Samhita*, Adhyaya 53, Sloka 95).

(*ii*) EXCAVATION OF WELLS, TANKS, etc.

The second form of charity as described by our ancient writers consist in the excavation of reservoirs of water, such as, wells, tanks, etc. Wells are divided into two classes : *Vapi* and *Kupa*. *Vapi* is a well supplied with a flight of stairs; while *Kupa* is a well without a flight of stairs.

There are several passages declaring the merit accruing from the construction of such charitable works. We may note the following passage :

> "He who constructs a well in a place devoid of water, goes to heaven for hundred years for every drop of water contained therein. He is just like a god as he is free from hunger and thirst." (*Nandi Purana*, quoted in *Hemadri Dan Khanda*, Adhyaya 13, p. 1002).

(*iii*) GIFT OF FOOD

It is sometimes agrued that this form of charity is specially invented for the aggrandisement of the Brahmins; but this criticism is unfair as we see that our ancient writers laid down minute directions as to the class of persons on whom the gifts are to be bestowed.

Yajnavalkya says :

> "A gift should not be accepted by one who is without learning and religious austerities. (*Yajnavalkya*, 1-202).

A Brahmin is also enjoined on his own part to give gifts of food and do other works of charity. The duties of a Brahmin as given by Manu are :

> Reading the Vedas and teaching them; performing sacrifices and helping others to perform sacrifices; giving charity (if they are rich) and of receiving charity (if they are poor). (*Manu* I—88).

It is also to be noted that the gifts of food are not restricted to the Brahmins but are to be bestowed on poor persons.

(*iv*) THE RELIEF OF THE SICK

Shankha says that the service of the sick is declared to be a form of *purta*.—*Hemadri Dan Khanda*, p. 20.

In the 13th chapter of *Hemadri Dan Khanda*, we get various texts wherefrom it seems that the institution of dispensaries and hospitals for the relief of persons of all castes under the management of physicians was regarded as a very great form of charity by our ancient writers. Those who vehemently observe that the Indian charity is the worst form of charity as compared with the charity of other nations should do well to note that it includes hospitals and dispensaries for the relief of the sick as a form of charity.

(*v*) GIFT FOR PROMOTING KNOWLEDGE

In an Upanishad of *Sam Veda* (quoted in *Hemadri Dan Khanda*, p. 19) the gifts bestowed on learning are declared to be *atidana*, the supreme form of charity.

From *Hemadri Dan Khanda*, pp. 558-59, we see that helps to students in the form of books and writing materials, food, clothing and instruments, land, house, furniture, or fields, in fact, the gift of everything that contributes to the students' maintenance and well-being or is necessary for the acquisition of the special branch of learning that they study, is productive of great religious merit to the donor who is to reap the heavenly fruits of his charities in the

next world. (*Vide* Pandit Saraswati : *Endowments*, p. 28).

(*vi*) PLANTING OF TREES

The critics of Indian charity would be taken aback to find that our ancient writers realised the importance of tree planting and regarded it as a form of charity. The following passages may be noted.

Skanda-Purana :

" He who plants by the roadside a tree producing shade, flowers, and fruits makes his ancestors in heaven free from sin." (*Hemadri, Adhyaya* 13, p. 1033).

Mahabharata :

"The tree planting is productive of religious merit in the next world. The tree planter gets the salvation of his deceased ancestors as also of the descendants. A man should, therefore, plant trees." (*Hemadri*, p. 1030).

Vishnu :

"The trees gladden the gods by blossoms; guests by fruits, travellers by shade; men with water and the planter by happiness." (*Vishnu*, XCI, 5-8).

A special grouping of plants as given in various ancient texts is declared to yield special religious merit.

In the Mahabharata, the special grouping consists of the following trees :

(*i*) Ashwattha, (*ii*) Nim, (*iii*) Vata, (*iv*) Tamarind, (*v*) Kapittha, (*vi*) Vilva and (*vii*) Amalaki

Another version gives the following grouping :

(*i*) Ashwattha, (*ii*) Nim, (*iii*) Champaka, (*iv*) Kesara, (*v*) Palm and (*vi*) Cocoanut trees. (*Hemadri*, p. 1032).

In the Varaha Purana the following grouping is given :

(*i*) Ashwattha, (*ii*) Nim, (*iii*) Vata, (*iv*) Jati (*v*) Pomegranate and (*vi*) Sweet-lime trees. (Quoted in *Prana Toshini*, p. 381).

In the Skanda Purana the following grouping is mentioned :

(*i*) Ashwattha, (*ii*) Vilva, (*iii*) Vata, (*iv*) Dhatri and (*v*) Ashoka trees. (*Vide* Pandit Saraswati, p. 238).

Experiments may be made by those who are interested in tree planting to see as to whether such kinds of special grouping of plants is more effective

CONCLUSION

Those who despise and deride the Indian form of charity and regard themselves highly blessed by extolling charities of other nations, should note that Indian charity does not mean or connote giving alms to idle beggers or over-feeding worthless Brahmins, but it includes among its various forms, relief to the poor, construction of reservoirs of water, gifts for promoting learning and tree planting, forms which are really unknown to the critics. Considering the above forms of Indian charity, which are only illustrative and not exhaustive, it will appear that Indian charity in its widest sense denotes all the good affections men ought to bear towards each other and, in its most restricted and common sense, relief of the poor. It may, therefore, safely be said that Indian charity is by far the superior to that form of charity which is evolved from the statute of Elizabeth, and from the various objects mentioned therein. It can well stand comparison to the charity of any other nation in the world.

ERRATUM

The Modern Review for August, 1940, "Two Psalms of the Sikhs" :

Page 197, column 2, line 15—*for* "hayat" *read* "hilat." Then the line will read, "Chu kar az huma hilat dar guzasht." *Hilat* means stratagem, etc.



Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in The Modern Review. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, The Modern Review.

ENGLISH

SOVEREIGNTY IN ANCIENT INDIAN POLITY : *By Dr. H. N. Sinha, M.A., Ph.D. Published by Luzac & Co. (1938). Pp. xxii+344.*

This book is the thesis approved for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy by the University of London. It is a study of the gradual evolution of the concepts of state and sovereignty in ancient India. The author has divided the ancient Indian history into well-defined periods and traced the characteristic traits of state and sovereignty in each. He has also given an outline of the political history and religious and social forces which determined the peculiar development in each age. The following Chapter-headings would give a rough idea of the plan of the book and the author's conception of the subject :

Ch. I. Kingship a Secular Institution (1400 B.C.-1000 B.C.), Ch. II. Kinkship under the tutelage of Religion (1000 B.C.-700 B.C.), Ch. III. King a Patron of Religion (700 B.C.-400 B.C.), Ch. IV. King a Promulgator of Religion and Social Morals (400 B.C.-100 B.C.), Ch. V. Divine Right and Personality of the King (100 B.C.-300 A.D.), Ch. VI. Sovereignty of the King (300 A.D.-700 A.D.).

It would be beyond the scope of a review in a monthly journal to summarise the arguments by which the author has sought to maintain his viewpoint regarding the characteristic features of State and Sovereignty in the different epochs or to discuss the soundness of his theory which explains the transition from one stage to the other. While we admire his laudable attempt to define precisely the different stages in the evolution of Indian polity, and explain their nature and origin by reference to concrete historical facts, we must express our doubt whether the generalisations in which he has indulged have sufficient basis to stand upon. Fortunately or unfortunately the author's imperfect acquaintance with ancient Indian history has been of great help to him, for he has not been troubled by inconvenient facts, ill-suited to his theories, which a more intimate knowledge of history would have taught him. The generalisation, for example, from the single instance of Asoka, that the King, during the period 400 B.C. to 100 B.C. was the promulgator of religion and social morals, can hardly inspire confidence in the critical outlook of the author or the general soundness of his views. He was evidently not altogether unaware of the weakness of his position. Hence he explains the policy of Asoka as due not so much to the personal factor of the King but to the rise of different sects and general laxity of social morals which loudly called for the intervention of the King in religious and social spheres in order that "all the discordant elements could best be brought under control and harmonized by the pressure of royal power." He conveniently forgets that the state of things in this respect was very nearly the same for several centuries, both before and after Asoka, and yet no other instance is known to history where the King openly assumed power to regulate religion and social morals. The best refutation of the author comes from his own picture of the Gupta Kings. After referring to Asoka's 'personal prejudice (?) in the affairs of the State,' the author observes : "His policy of Government, his attitude towards religion was coloured by his deep Buddhistic beliefs But the Guptas were above religious bias. With the eye of statesman they saw that in order to rule over an Empire in which people of various religions lived they have to be above religious bias" (p. 274). Is there any evidence that the Kings of the pre-Gupta period, other than Asoka, did not follow the same policy towards different religious sects ? Is it not also a very strong argument against the view that the existence of different religious sects necessarily leads to the extension of royal authority in domains of religion and social morals, a theory by which the author sought to explain the characteristic feature of the age between 400 B.C. and 100 B.C. ?

This one instance aptly illustrates the danger of formulating general principles and assigning abstract reasons for any particular development. The evolution of Indian polity on the lines suggested by the author, rests on assumptions based on insufficient data and is more an intuitive inference than a theory broadbased on facts of history. It is valuable inasmuch as it is likely to stimulate our thought and provoke further study and analysis of data, but it can hardly be accepted even as a working hypothesis. In course of his treatment of the subject, the author has often interpreted historical facts in a manner which it is difficult to approve. His description of the Gupta Empire as a loosely knit system of tributary chiefs is as difficult to accept as his generalisation that in ancient India 'Empires were mere tributary systems and could not possess unified control and could not have an administrative machinery co-extensive with the sphere of influence.' Here again he is keen on formulating general principles and ignores the plain facts of history which cannot be reconciled to them. In conclusion we feel bound to add that the book abounds in statements which are either demonstrably false or unsupported by adequate evidence. The following may serve as instances :

(1) Khorasan was ceded to Chandragupta by Selucas Nikator (p. 131).

(2) "Most of the States that arose out of the ruins of Asoka's Empire lent a helping hand to the struggling

Brahmanism and often sought to repress Buddhism both out of vindictiveness, as also to vindicate the prestige of Brahmanism." (p. 209).

(3) Kumaragupta ascended the Throne in 415 A.D.

(4) Toramana's son Mihiragula succeeded to his father's possession in 502 A.D. His power was broken by Yasodharman in combination with a Gupta King of Magadha about 528 A.D. (p. 288).

(5) The Sakas, Kusanas and the Bactrian Greeks were socially ostracised and degraded by Brahmanism and hence they eagerly embraced Buddhism which accorded them a better treatment. They had naturally little sympathy with Brahmanic order of society and sought to destroy it (p. xv).

R. C. MAJUMDAR

THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION: *By K. K. Bhattacharya, M.A., B.L. (Cal.), LL.M. (London), Bar-at-Law, Reader in Law, Allahabad University. Published by the Book Company, Ltd., Calcutta. Pp. xxiv+536. Price Rs. 5.*

This book is a collection of lectures "delivered by the author as Extension Lecturer under the auspices of the Calcutta University in November, 1938." Out of 536 pages in the book, apart from the pages which contain preliminary matters, as many as 178 pages—practically one-third - have been given to 17 Appendices. Some of these Appendices are useful.

The really interesting part of the book is that which deals with the position of the Indian States in relation to the Paramount Power, the Theory of Paramountcy, and with the question of the duties of both the States and the Paramount Power to the subjects of the States. There has been in recent years too much of wishful thinking on the part of many interested people in regard to the status of the Indian States. The author has rightly pointed out what their real status is today in relation to the Paramount Power. "The sooner," says he (pp. 22-23 and p. 30), "the Rulers of the Indian States realise their real position, the better for them, as also for people in British India. False notions and unfounded legal principles must be rooted out of the minds of all people, in order to enable us to study all relevant matters in their proper perspective........... It is high time that the Indian States should drop the term sovereignty, external or internal, relating to the States, from their vocabulary. They should not at all set store by this word which is the source of all confusion. Scales should fall off from their eyes." We fully concur with the author in this view. We also agree with him when he says (p. 59). "The Indian Princes should take note of the growing discontent amongst their own subjects and instead of arming themselves with autocratic powers they should arm themselves with the goodwill of the people for protection against the inroads of the doctrine of all-pervasive Paramountcy. No nation or even a considarable body of men can be kept under perpetual tutelage or slavery."

Moreover, we feel that the author is perfectly right when he says that "the Paramount Power cannot lightly absolve itself from all responsibility in the matter of preventing abuses in Indian States as also for ushering in a reign of law—the supremacy of law in the Indian States" (p. 63); and that "it must emphatically and unhesitatingly tell the Indian Princes that the people of the Indian States must be immediately granted fully responsible government under the aegis of the Rulers" (p. 69).

According to the author, British Parliament "would be perfectly justified in handing over the whole content of paramountcy to the Federal Ministry of India, unreservedly, without involving itself in any constitutional unpropriety, illegality (*sic*), making the Federal Ministry the final authority for such exercise" (p. 102).

We have our full sympathy with this view. We doubt, however, its correctness and also the practicability of the suggestion contained in it, regard being had to the position of the Indian States today *vis-a-vis* the Crown and Parliament. The author's argument in support of this view is ingenious, but not convincing. Briefly speaking, he seems to hold (pp. 98-99) that the word "India" in different Government of India Acts from 1858 to 1919 has always meant both British India and Indian India. He has, in support of his contention, referred to the definition of the word "India" as given in the Interpretation Act, 1889. But Section 18 of this Act, in which the definition occurs, also says, "unless the contrary intention appears." These words take away the force of the author's argument. The word "India" is to be found in many of the Acts of Parliament relating to this country—Acts passed long before *the whole of India* came under the occupation or even under the influence or protection of the British. For instance, we may cite the Government of India Act, 1800 (39 & 40 Geo. 3, c. 79), or the Government of India Act, 1833 (3 and 4 Will 4 c. 85). Now if these Acts are carefully read, it will be evident that the word "India" in them has been used to mean either "the British territories in India" or "the territories in the possession and under the government of the East India Company." These territories, as is well-known, came in the course of time to be vested in the Crown and to be governed by it or in its name. The States, on the other hand, as the White Paper of 1933 (Command Paper 4268 of 1933) rightly says, "though they are under the suzerainty of the King-Emperor, form no part of His Majesty's Dominions." Nor can Parliament "legislate directly for their territories." (*Ibid*). Also we find in Ilbert (*Government of India*, Ed. 1916, p. 292), "the territories of the Native States are not part of the Dominions of the King." By the way, we very much doubt if the author saw the Interpretation Act, 1889, itself when he referred to it (p. 98). He refers "to section 124 of the Amending *Act* 52 and 53 Victoria, Chapters 60 and 63" in this connexion. But 52 and 53 Victoria, Chapters 60 and 63 refer to two Acts, and not to one Act as our author says. The Interpretation Act, 1889, is 52 and 53 Victoria, Chapter 63. It consists of only 43 Sections and a Schedule. Wherefrom does the author get Section 124 in it? Does he refer to Section 124 of Ilbert's Digest of Statutory Enactments? If so, he should have referred to Ilbert's Digest which, however, is not law, and not to the statute itself. As we have shown above, the definition of "India" (and also of "British India") occurs in Section 18 of the Interpretation Act, 1889. We may also note here that 52 and 53 Victoria, Chapter 60 was intended for Ireland and that the full title of the Act in question was "the Preferential Payments in Bankruptcy (Ireland) Act 1889." It had nothing to do with India.

The author has made another serious mistake on page 98 of his book (second paragraph). He has referred there to certain powers of the Governor-General in Council and said that these powers were provided for in Section 33 of the Government of India Act, 1919. This is not correct. These powers were provided for in Section 33 of the Government of India Act, 1915 (5 and 6 Geo. 5, Ch. 61) and also in the Government of India Act (5 and 6 Geo. 5, Ch. 61; 6 and 7 Geo. 5, Ch. 37; and 9 and 10 Geo. 5, Ch. 101). Section 33 of the Government of India Act, 1919 (9 and 10 Geo. 5,

Ch. 101), on the other hand, provided, briefly speaking, for the relaxation of the control of the Secretary of State and the Secretary of State in Council over the administration of India. That was a different matter. The Government of India Act, 1919, is often confused by many people with the Government of India Act. But our author, being a student of Constitutional Law, should have been above it.

In the rest of the book, the author gives us an analysis of the Government of India Act, 1935. There is nothing particularly noticeable in it. The author is in favour of the joint-electorate and the abolition of the Communal Award. He is against the acceptance of the proposed Federal Scheme, and is of opinion that the whole Act of 1935 "has got to go," and that "nothing short of complete independence for India can satisfy our rising aspirations" Perhaps. The question is, how to attain this ideal in the present circumstances of India?

The author says that he delivered the lectures and has "written this book with the deliberate purpose of pointing out the defects of the present constitution in *sober and dignified language*." (The italics are ours). We very much wish we could agree with him in this matter.

There are evident marks of haste both in the composition and in the production of the book. A little more of patience, a little less of haste, a little more of an attitude of scientific detachment and a little more of care in the correction of proofs, would have certainly added to the value of the book and also to the reputation of the author. Constitutional law and emotionalism "go ill together." There are far too many "I am of opinion"s and "in my judgment"s in the book. A student of Constitutional Law should perhaps be a little less opinionative. Repetitions of the same ideas should have been avoided.

The title of Dr. Jennings's book referred to on pages 94-95 is *The Law and the Constitution*, and not either *The Law of the Constitution* or *The Law of Constitution*. Perhaps there was a confusion between Dicey's *Law of the Constitution* and Dr. Jennings's *Law and the Constitution*. Further, the confusion between "the Rule of the Law" and "the rule of law" (pp. 46-49) should also have been avoided. Even the rule of a despot may be *the rule of the law*, although it may not be *the rule of law* in the sense this expression has been used by Dicey.

According to our author (p 100), "the word 'Crown' has always meant and always does mean the King in Parliament." We find no support for such a view either in Anson or in Dicey, or in Lowell, or in Jennings, or, again, in Laski.

There are certainly many valuable features in this book. But there are so many misprints—even the flap is not free from them—, so many omissions of punctuation marks, and so many instances of what may be regarded as slipshod English in the book, that we hesitate to recommend it to students. We hope that a revised edition of the book will give us a much better thing.

D. N. BANERJEE

A CONCISE HISTORY OF ITALY: *By Luigi Salvatorelli. Translated by Bernard Miall. Published by George Allen and Unwin, London. 1940. Pp. 688. Price 21s.*

This book which is an English translation of the author's *Sommario della Storia d'Italia* (Turin, 1938), seeks to present the history of Italy from practically the Roman conquest of the Peninsula down to our own days. The English reader will find this volume very useful as a comprehensive book of reference regarding a country which has played quite an important part in the development of western civilization. The author has shown his scientific attitude and academic detachment in the treatment of racial, religious and social questions, which make the book extremely appealing to the serious student of history. It is a welcome addition to the library of European culture.

Such an ambitious work, however, is not without its natural drawbacks. Certain chapters are unusually scrappy, while others are unnecessarily lengthy and stuffed with uninteresting details. What the book has gained in objectivity, it has perhaps lost in the sense of proportion. In an attempt to miss nothing of importance the author has sometimes missed the link that has undoubtedly impaired the narrative quality of the work and betrayed his indifference to the importance of interpretation. The treatment of the concluding chapter definitely reveals the author as belonging to the liberal school of thought. He devotes quite a number of pages to Giolitti and characterizes his administration as the most prosperous period in Italian history since the fall of the Roman Empire, while he dismisses Carducci and D'Annunzio together in a dozen lines and does not even mention Alfredo Rocco. The author's failure to mention even the name of Pirandello must be due to oversight, since the names of many more less important figures in the cultural field are mentioned. But it is difficult to regard the treatment of fascism, to which the author devotes more than eight pages, as impartial, since he does not mention any other name in connection with this regime in Italy than that of Benito Mussolini, with the exception, however, of Marshall Badoglio.

A specially attractive feature of the book is an excellent bibliography.

MONINDRA MOULIK

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY AND INDIAN FEDERATION: *By V. G. Krishnamurti. Published by New Book Company, Bombay. Pp. 109, including Appendices and Index. Price Rs. 4.*

This is a timely publication, whose value has been enhanced by a Foreword by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru on the objectives composition and significance of the Constituent Assembly. Pandit Nehru of course, is not the father of the idea: the credit for that should go to M. N. Roy. Nehru, of course, has familiarised the idea among the Congress High Command and adapted its original conception to Indian habitat. Pandit Nehru's Foreword reveals the inconsistencies inherent in the transformed character of the proposed Indian constituent assembly, when even modifications such as "election by separate electorates where desired" are conceded, and the Assembly is expected to have "a definite revolutionary significance."

Mr. Krishnamurti's book rouses great expectations especially because of the testimonials and commendations on the jacket and prefatory pages by distinguished Indians. It is, however, an assemblage of discussions on constitution-making in history, minority-representation, fundamental rights, social and economic planning and dominion status. Some of them are informative, a few are scrappy, but all the chapters are well-written. The author's range of studies and ability as a publicist are apparent, but do not receive proper scope in the present work. Of the appendices Lenin's thesis on the Constituent Assembly and the Statute of Westminster are useful for reference and relevant discussion.

BENOYENDRANATH BANERJEA

THE PHILOSOPHY OF WAR: *By Dr. and Mrs. Curtiss. Published by the Curtiss Philosophic Book Co., Washington, D.C. Pp. 168. Price $1.50.*

This is the third edition of one of the famous "Curtiss Books," first published twenty-two years ago during the last World War, and the authors think that "the outbreak of the war in Europe makes it as timely now" as it was then. The thesis of the book is that the present war is "fundamentally a war between the forces of the Anti-Christ and those of the Christ; between the forces of darkness and the forces of light" and that permanent peace can be attained only by the united prayers of mankind for world harmony. The authors have a firm faith in the efficacy of prayer and invite all who will enlist for righteousness under the "White Banner of the Christ" to pray every morning, noon and night (*especially at noon*) for the establishment of World Peace. The book does not attempt any real philosophy and does not attempt to convince its readers by any arguments but relies mainly on their sense of righteousness.

N. K. Brahma

SALAZAR: PORTUGAL AND HER LEADER: *By Antonio Ferro. Published by Faber and Faber Limited, 24, Russell Square, London. 1939. Price 8s. 6d. net.*

POLITICAL CONSTITUTION OF THE PORTUGUESE REPUBLIC: *Edited by S. P. N., Lisbon. 1937. Pp. 1-63.*

PORTUGAL: THE NEW STATE IN THEORY AND PRACTICE: *Edited by S. P. N., Lisbon. 1938. Pp. 1-70.*

PROFESSOR OLIVEIRA SALAZAR'S RECORD: *By T. W. Fernandes. Edited by S. P. N., Lisbon 1939. Pp. 1-56.*

Dr. Antonio de Oliveira Salazar, once Professor in the University of Coimbra and now the Prime Minister of Portugal, is one of the notable personalities of the age. From the death-dance of Europe which is now being presented to the world in full measure, he has managed to keep himself and his country free, though the circumstances must have helped him to the happy result. He has submitted his record to public scrutiny, and the Secretariado da Propaganda Nacional has issued pamphlets, composed in easy and simple language, on Portugal, its constitution, and Dr. Salazar's record of work in attractive covers. But the present times, however, full of promise, have served to raise many doubts in the reader's mind as to the value of such promise. "Slow absorption of new ideas"—is the way; and the S. P. N. (Secretariado da Propaganda Nacional) requires pamphlets and books to justify the ways of Portugal to man. How much difference there may be between 'Doctrine and Action,' remains to be seen.

"Attention shall be paid in the colonies to the stage of evolution of the native people. There shall be special statutes regarding natives which, under the authority of Portuguese public and private law, shall establish for them juridical rules in keeping with their individual, domestic and social usages and customs, provided that these are not incompatible with morality and the dictates of humanity." (Section 22 of the Colonial Act).

This paragraph sounds so well, and so closely resembles well-known political declarations, on account of the hedging of so many safeguards, that one instinctively murmurs: "Words! Words! Words!"

M. Antonio Ferro's book invites more attention than the S. P. N. pamphlets. "A vivid portrait of a most interesting man"—Chamberlain's tribute of praise is well-deserved. There is no doubt that Dr. Salazar is a most interesting man, because he believes in a revolution by easy stages; and he is keenly watching how Rural Associations, Employers' Associations, Workers' Syndicates co-operate to the desired revolution. Afraid of communism international which he puts down as a latent war, he has been trying very hard to form Portugal into a bulwark against it through censorship. If Portugal can be made into a strong authoritarian state, still believing in increased wealth for the state, to be utilised in exigencies, it would offer at present serious obstacles against equitable distribution of national wealth.

The book was published in 1939, for the benefit of the English-reading public. It has been written brilliantly in a new style, in the form of a series of sketches born out of interrogatories at different interviews. It puts into agreeable light the figure of Salazar and his plans of economic reconstruction. He cannot be dismissed lightly; the steadiness which he has shown commands our earnest attention. But we are invariably reminded of the title of his book: Doctrine and Action. In the face of proved facts, critics will be silenced; but the doubt regarding the bonafides of the claim becomes stronger when we come across passages like the following:

"Our overseas territories were not taken from any other country. They were actually discovered by us and have always been ours. Did you notice how loyally, how enthusiastically, the inhabitants of our colonies received the President of the Republic this summer? What country can boast of a colonial record as long as ours?"

The words sound too much like an Imperialist's boast. The bulletin lately published by the Goa Congress and reviewed in an earlier issue of *The Modern Review* lends colour to the suggestion. One would like to know if the new State of Portugal stood for strengthening the hands of Imperialism.

THE FIELD OF THE EMBROIDERED QUILT: A Tale of Two Indian Villages: *By Jasimuddin. Translated by E. M. Milford. Oxford University Press 1939.*

An English version of a village ballad composed by Prof. Jasimuddin, the Bengali poet. M. Jasimuddin has a genuine interest in village poetry and village craft, and his literary activity follows this bent. There is more variety of image and action, more of colour and humanity, in this particular book than in his other writings and Mrs Milford has done well in translating the poem and introducing it to a wider circle of readers.

There is ample scope for disagreement on the choice of terms used by the translator, *e.g.*, *Kantha* in the original title is hardly translatable by 'quilt.' The original music of the poem it is impossible to reproduce, specially of the old songs quoted in snatches at the beginning of each canto. But the appreciative welcome to the English version given in the Foreword by Mr. Verrier Elwin is surely deserved, and Mrs. Milford may be congratulated for producing a translation which will be thoroughly enjoyed in the reading like any original work of narrative verse. If the nuances are missed now and then, they have not affected the general success, and that is saying a good deal about such translation work.

P. R. Sen

FAMILY INCOME IN FOUR URBAN COMMUNITIES IN THE PACIFIC NORTH-WEST REGION, 1935-36; AND MONEY DISBURSEMENTS OF WAGE-EARNERS AND CLERICAL WORKERS IN THE NORTH ATLANTIC REGION, 1934-36.

These are bulletins No. 649 and 637 of the United States Bureau of Labour Statistics, which as usual provide some interesting materials for the study of two important sets of problems in connection with the investigation into the life and labour of the people. Students of statistics and demography will get much new light from a study of these publications.

INDIAN AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS : *By Dr. P. J. Thomas, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon.), M.L.C., Professor of Economics, University of Madras, and N. S. Sastry, M.A., M.Sc F.S.S., Lecturer in Statistics, University of Madras. Published by the University of Madras.*

This book is mainly concerned with the methods of crop forecasting and the processes involved and gives a description of the Government publications on agricultural statistics. The authors conclude that the agricultural statistics now available in India are insufficient, both in quantity and in quality, for making a reliable estimate of our National income, and also partially for estimating the adequacy or otherwise of our food-supply. In this connection are studied some practical problems like the national income and an economic census, and the relation between our population and food-supply.

Dr. Thomas was associated with Dr. A L. Bowley and Prof. D H. Robertson in the economic enquiry conducted by them in 1934 on behalf of the Government of India. He has put into good use some of his experience then acquired.

NALINAKSHA SANYAL

CAREER-LECTURES : *Organised by the Appointments and Information Board of the Calcutta University. Published by the University of Calcutta. Pp. 448. Price Rs. 3.*

It was a happy inspiration of Dr. Syama Prosad Mookerjee, then Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, to establish the University Appointments and Information Board with a view 'to help and not hinder our youths in pursuing diverse occupations of life.' One part of the original scheme was to organise a Course of Lectures to be delivered by well-known businessmen of the city enjoying wide practical experience to focus the attention of our educated youths to the prizes and pitfalls in the various trades and industries, and commerce of the Province. The volume under review—as its title indicates, is the collection of such lectures delivered at the University by eminent practical businessmen like—to name only a few, Sir Edward Benthal, Mr. Gaganbehari Lall Mehta, Mr. Nagendra Nath Rakhit (of the Tatas), and Mr. Jadu Nath Ray of the Rays of Hatkhola. The lectures are not only informing and inspiring, but how successful they are can be gathered from the fact that the Official Handbook on Avenues of Employment published under the authority of the Government of Bengal could not do better than utilise many of its materials, but unfortunately without acknowledgment.

J. M. DATTA

THE BUNAS OF BENGAL : *By Minendranath Basu, M.Sc., P.R.S. Calcutta University Press, 1939, Pp. viii+120+23 plates.*

This monograph was written in 1935 while the author was yet a student of Anthropology preparing for his degree examination. It records the result of certain investigations carried out by him in Central Bengal among a people known as the Bunas. The author is of opinion that the Bunas originally came from Bihar and Chhota Nagpur to supply the demand for labour in the indigo plantations. They are a class divided into a number of groups, which go by such names as Rajbanshi, Munda, Oraon, etc. As these groups are endogamous, it is evident that the Bunas do not form a caste, but are a class into which men from various tribes and castes have drifted by economic necessity; they have not become integrated enough to be called a caste. Details are given of their social organization, material culture, economic and religious life, medicine and folk-lore. From an analysis of these culture-elements, the author comes to the conclusion that they have retained some portions of their original tribal culture, while they have also absorbed certain elements from their more prosperous Hindu neighbours. The physical and psychological peculiarities of the Bunas have also been listed in the form of tables and graphs.

We hope that the University of Calcutta will encourage similar enquiries by its students and thus gather, in course of a few years, sufficient information regarding the culture and physical characteristics of the people who have made this province their home.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

LETTERS OF SWAMI VIVEKANANDA : *Published by Advaita Ashrama, Mayabati, Almora. Price Rs. 2-4 only.*

This volume contains 296 letters of Swami Vivekananda, written to different persons at different times; some of them were originally written in Bengali; these have been translated into English and incorporated herein.

Sree Ramakrishna passed away in August, 1886; the nucleus of the order of Sree Ramakrishna was formed in the night of the Christmas of that year; this series of letters dates from February, 1888 and is carried on to June, 1902, which was less than a month before the Swami expired; these letters therefore throw light on the most momentous period of the Swami's life, excepting of course the year 1887; this volume of letters should therefore be regarded as the autobiography of the Swami; arranged in chronological order, these help us also to trace the development of his ideas and the elaboration of the scheme of the great work of his life, which is the Ramakrishna mission of today.

As the reader will proceed on from page to page, he will be struck by the sweep of the Swami's vision, swayed by his impassioned utterances, overwhelmed by the depth of his love, but frightened by his ruthless comments; because the Swami was as unsparing in his love for the weak and the down-trodden, as he was in the castigation of the laggards; the reader may, sometime, find it difficult to concur with the Swami in some of his opinions; yet, when he will close the volume, the reader will feel himself lifted out of his own narrow himself.

People generally eulogise the Swami for his ardent nationalism and aggressive Hinduism, as well as for his ideal of social service; but in so doing they completely lose sight of the real mission of the Swami's life, which was "to bring out the divine in man," to make man

realise his oneness with Brahman; and the Swami preached the Advaita Vedanta, not only because it was the sublimest of all the systems of philosophy but also because it was the only system which declares the Jiva himself to be Brahman; this was also the great theme of all the teachings of the Swami.

I am sure this volume will be a source of inspiration and strength to the readers in every sphere of life.

ISAN CHANDRA RAY

EUROPE ASKS: WHO IS SHREE KRISHNA?: *By Bepin Chandra Pal. Published by the New India Printing and Publishing Co., Ltd., 9/7C, Peary Mohan Sur Lane, Calcutta. Pp. 176. Price Rs. 2 only.*

There was a time when Bepin Chandra Pal's speeches and writings captivated the mind of young Bengal. The stream of time has carried his name and fame into the past which is fast receding into the background and those who have not heard his remarkable eloquence like ourselves, seldom think of him now. He was a prominent figure in politics and also in journalism both of which have taken a new form in Bengal today. As a philosophic thinker, too, he held a high position. And some of his remarkable expositions of Vedantic thought in itself and Vedantic thought as applied to Indian politics, still ring in our ears. His was a powerful mind just as his voice was stentorian.

The book before us is an excellent exposition of a difficult subject. The theories of incarnation, of heaven and of the god-head, which have centred round the concept of Krishna, have been lucidly placed before the reader. Though originally intended for a European enquirer who knew next to nothing about Hinduism, the exposition given will interest the expert as well as the uninitiated.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

FROM A SCHOOL WINDOW: *By N. K Venkateswaran. Published by B. V. Book Depot and Printing Works, Trivandrum. Price Re. 1.*

This book deserves to be read by all persons interested in the advancement of learning and educational problems of the day in India. The author of this book is a teacher in Trivandrum and an educationist who has written a good deal on the aims, objects and methods of teaching in this country. Teachers, students and the general public, in fact everybody, will find this book immensely interesting.

JOGESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARYYA

SANSKRIT-ENGLISH

SRI SARIRAKA ADHIKARANA RATNAMALA WITH PRAKASHA: *By Mahamohopadhyaya Kalaprapurna Kapistalam Desikacarya, Retd. Principal, Sanskrit College, Tirupati, Madras Presidency. Edited by Pandit A. Srinivasa Raghavan, M.A., Pudukotah. 1938 A.D. Pp. 615. Demi 8vo. Cloth Bound. Price Rs. 3.*

This book is a synopsis of the Brahmasutras by Veda Vyasa according to the Ramanuja School. These Brahmasutras were written in the beginning of Kali age *i.e.* about 3100 B.C. as the form of aphorism in order to ascertain the real meaning of the Upanishads *i.e.* the Vedanta and hence it is called the Vedanta Darsana or the philosophy of the Upanishadas, which is one of the six systems of the theistic philosophies based on the Vedas. In this the author has established the Vedanta system by refuting all other philosophers of Vedic origin direct or indirect, such as, Sankhya, Yoga, Nyaya, Vaisheshika, Mimamsa, Pancharatra, Bhagavata, Pasupata, Baudha, Jaina, etc. But after some time, it became necessary amongst the disciples and followers of the author to record the meanings of these aphorisms to avoid wrong interpretations. But with the lapse of time difference of opinion arose amongst the exponents of these sutras, and as a result of this, the vrittis of Bodhayana and Upavarsha and commentaries of Brahma Datta and others of more divergent views came into existence. During this time, taking the advantage of such differences, other schools of Indian Philosophy, such as Bauddha and Jaina became very predominant, and consequently the teachings of the Brahmasutras became almost unpopular or obselete. This state of things lasted for a long time, about a thousand years, when in the 7th century A D Sankaracharya wrote his commentary according to the Sukadeva-Gourapada school, Sukadeva being the son of the author of the Sutras and Gourapada being the direct disciple of Sukadeva. This threw into oblivion the older commentaries of Bodhayana, Upavarsha and others, and made other Philosophies insignificant or unimportant in the eyes of the scholars and the thinking public. Thus the commentary of Sankara firmly established the non-dualistic Philosophy of the Vedanta, by meeting the oppositions of almost all the opponents of that time. But not long after, Bhaskaracharya, seeing the predominance of the non-dualistic school, wrote a commentary on the Brahmasutras in accordance with the doctrine of Upavarsha, refuting the non-dualistic interpretation of Sankaracharya and established the dual-non-dualistic system. In the same way about three hundred years after this, Ramanujacharya the great exponent of the qualified non-dualistic school, composed a commentary on the Sutras in favour of a Vaishnava sect in accordance with the views of Bodhayana, refuting the non-dualistic interpretations of Sankaracharya with greater zeal and acumen, as well as disproving the theories of Bhaskaracharya. A little after this appeared Nimbarkacharya, who also, in favour of another Vaishnava sect, wrote a commentary on the Sutras with a little difference from the doctrine of Bhaskaracharya and that of Ramanujacharya, but in opposition to that of Sankaracharya. During this time, very likely, the commentary by Srikantha, in favour of the Saiva School, which is very much similar to that of Ramanuja, but not antagonistic to Sankaracharya school, made its appearance, followed by another Saiva commentary by Sripati or Srikaracharya, refuting the non-dualistic system of Sankara. In the meantime, Madvacharya, the most ardent exponent of the Dualistic School, wrote a commentary on the Brahmasutras in favour of another Vaishnava sect, refuting the non-dualistic interpretation of Sankaracharya with still more zeal and fervour than his predecessors. Thus from the 7th century A.D. *i.e.*, after the appearance of the commentary of Sankaracharya, besides the abovementioned, several other commentaries were written on the aphorisms of Veda Vyasa such as those by Ballava, Vijnanbhikshu, Baladeva and others. Even now such attempts are going on, but none agreeing with the other. It is a pity, that none of the commentaries earlier than that of Sankaracharya, have been discovered as yet. This disagreement amongst the commentators is chiefly noticeable in the readings, numberings and the meanings of the Sutras and especially in the grouping of the Sutras for the construction of the adhikaranas, *i.e.*, the subject-matter of discussions, embodied in the Brahmasutras. The adhikaranas, according to Sankaracharya number 191 and the Sutras 555. According to Ramanuja the Albikaranas number 156 and

the Sutras 545. According to Madva, the Adhikaranas are 223 and the Sutras 564. And such differences exist in the case of other commentaries too. As regards the reading of the Sutras, certain commentators even omit some Sutras accepted by their predecessors and add some new ones. Thus it has become almost impossible now, to ascertain the real meanings of the Sutras and to decide which of the several commentaries convey the real import of the author Veda Vyasa. In short, it is very difficult to say what are the dogmas and doctrines of the Vedanta Philosophy. But if this is to be ascertained, it can be done better by comparing the Adhikaranas or the grouping and selection of the Sutras in each of them, with the help of the rules for the formation of such Adhikaranas, than by the apparently literal meanings of the Sutras, for the author's mind is reflected more in the arrangement of the topics of a book than by the topics themselves treated in the same. Treatises like Adhikaranmala are more important means to ascertain the author's intention than the elaborate commentaries themselves. Very likely for this reason Ramanujacharya for successfully refuting Sankaracharya's interpretation of the Sutras, was the first to write separately the Adhikaranamala named Vedantadip along with his commentary Sri Bhashya, as a reply to which Bharati Tirtha and Amalananda of Sankara's School, composed similar treatises according to Sankara Bhashya some three hundred years after him. So much being the importance of Adhikaranmala, scholars even now are writing these in support of their respective Bhashyas, and as a result of this Pandit Kapistalam Desikacharya has recently brought out this book under review.

Besides this, there are three other Adhikaranmalas in accordance with the Sri Bhashya of Ramanujacharya, - one by Ramanujacharya which is a Vritti as well, another by Venkatacharya in the 15th century A.D. but without Vritti, and a third one by Sudarasanacharya in the 19th century A.D. also without Vritti like the one under review.

This Adhikaranaratnamala though not showing the six members of the Adhikarana, such as "Sangati," "Vishaya," "Samshaya," "Purvapaksha," "Shiddhanta," and "Phalaveda" unlike the one by Ramanujacharya, yet it adds fresh arguments of convincing character in favour of the Ramanuja system. The language is simple, the expression is lucid, and the arguments are logical. Moreover all the ideas therein come out from the pen of a devout worshipper of the deity Srinivasa of the Tirupati Shrine and consequently it does not smack any philosophical speculation. The author, a great scholar and devotee, is one of the most distinguished exponents of the Visistadvaita school of Philosophy in recent times. It is indeed a very valuable contribution to the literature on Visistadvaita Philosophy. The editing of the book is excellent in almost all aspects. The indexes are very useful and informative; specially so, are the references to the Sruti quotations which form the "Vishaya Vakyas" of each Adhikarana. The table containing the 32 Brahma Vidyas with an English preface, the Bibliography of Visistadvaita books, and the 13 Kamya Vidyas bring great credit to the Editor. The only thing that is regretted is the omission by the author of a comparative discussion of the Adhikaranas according to the commentaries of the other divergent schools, as such a thing was possible only for an erudite scholar like him—a task which is absolutely necessary if the Vedanta Philosophy is to be known through the Brahmasutras of Veda Vyasa, as there can be no doubt that the author of the Sutras meant only one thing and not all that the contending schools represent. However, this Adhikaranmala is a great boon to the student of Vedanta and to the scholars interested in Indian Philosophy.

SWAMI CHIDGHANANANDA (RAJENDRANATH GHOSE)

SANSKRIT-BENGALI

KAVIRAHASYA OF HALAYUDHA: *Edited with a Sanskrit commentary and Bengali translation by Kalipada Siddhantashastri Kavyavyakaranatirtha. Published by Janakinath Kavyatirtha and Brothers, Chhatra Pustakalaya, Nivedita Lane, Baghbazar, Calcutta.*

This is a useful popular edition of a well-known and interesting work in Sanskrit which, in the form of a panegyric of Krishna Raya of the Deccan, the royal patron of the author, Halayudha, aims at illustrating the uses of Sanskrit roots. The work seems to have appeared in print as early as the year 1830, when an edition in the Bengali script was brought out by Pandit Lakshminarayan Nyayalankar. A number of other editions were also subsequently issued by different scholars in India and abroad. The present edition, which is also in the Bengali script, is based on four of these later editions, variants from which are noted here. The Sanskrit commentary besides giving the meanings of the verses, occasionally explains the conjugational forms of the roots with the help of the rules of Panini. The translation as well as the index of roots will be of much help in using the book.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

RABINDRA-RACHANABALI ("RABINDRANATH TAGORE'S WORKS"), VOLUME IV: *Viswa-Bharati Bookshop, 210, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Royal 8vo. Pp. 567. Five illustrations, four being portraits of Rabindranath Tagore at different ages and one a facsimile of a page of the manuscript of "Biday-Abhishap" ("Farewell-Curse"). Price Rs. 4-8, Rs. 5-8, Rs. 6-8 and Rs. 10 according to quality of paper and style of binding.*

The publication department of Viswa-Bharati is to be congratulated on the regular and uninterrupted publication of the prose and poetical works of Rabindranath Tagore. As the works are expected to run to twenty-five volumes, regular and punctual publication is essentially necessary.

It is a pleasure also to note that the get-up of the fourth volume is as good as that of its predecessors. We have before us the Rs. 4-8 edition. As its paper and printing are satisfactory, the higher-priced editions are, we presume, excellent.

As in the previous volumes so in this, the Author's works have been divided into four classes or groups: "Kabita O Gan" (Poems and Songs), "Natak O Prahasan" (Plays and Farces or Satires), "Upanyas O Galpa" (Novels and Short Stories), and "Prabandha" (Essays).

Under the first group this volume contains the long poem "Nadi" (River) and many shorter poems under the collective name of "Chitra." "Nadi," though written for and popular with children, is liked by their elders also. The collection named "Chitra" contains some of the poet's most notable productions, such as 'Chitra,' 'Premer Abhishek,' 'Ebar Phirao More,' 'Urbasi,' Jibandebata,' etc. The poet's introduction to this collection gives us a precious fragment of the autobiography of his soul. The present volume does not contain any of the poet's numerous songs.

The second group contains the dramatic poem "Biday-Abhishap" ("Farewell-Curse), the play "Malini," and the humorous play "Baikunther Khata" ("Baikuntha's Manuscript Book").

The third group contains the novel "Prajapatir Nirbandha" ("What the God of Marriage Ordained"), written in the poet's most humorous and playful vein.

The last group contains two collections of the Author's essays: "Bharatbarsha," and "Charitrapuja" ("Character-Worship"). "Bharatbarsha" originally appeared 35 years ago. Most of the different essays included in it afterwards found place in other books by the Author. They are now all brought together again under the original name of "Bharatbarsha." Their subjects are The New Year, India's History, The Brahmana, "John Chinaman's Letters," Oriental and Occidental Civilization, *Baroyari-Mangal*, Exaggeration, Temple, "Dhammapada," Vijaya-Reunion. They show the Author's deep insight in matters ethical, spiritual, political, and social, his power of courageous and independent thinking and his profound reverence for the best in India's social structure and spiritual teaching. "Charitrapuja," contains two essays on Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, one on Rammohun Ray, and two on Devendranath Tagore.

At the end of the volume the differences between the original editions of the different works, their current editions and the present edition are pointed out. The manuscript of the poem "Premer Abhishek" contained long passages which were omitted in the published version owing to the adverse criticism of a friend of the Poet. They are given in the section of the volume named 'Grantha-Parichaya.' This section also contains the poet's own illuminating interpretations and elucidations of some poems such as 'Urbashi,' 'Antaryami' and 'Jibandebata.'

The author's portrait which forms the frontispiece to this volume is a reproduction of a photograph taken 34 years ago during the Swadeshi agitation in Bengal. It reveals a resoluteness not usually found in his other portraits.

It is an indication of the popularity of this collected edition of the Rabindranath Tagore's works that the first volume has had to be reprinted.

BHARATER PANYA ("India's Commercial Products"), Vols. I & II: *By Kalicharan Ghosh, M.A., Curator of the Commercial Museum of the Calcutta Corporation. To be had of all the principal booksellers of Calcutta. The price of the first volume is Re. 1-4, and that of the second Rs. 2-12. Both the volumes are neatly printed on thick durable paper.*

These two volumes will be found very informative and useful both by students and the mercantile classes. They ought to be prescribed as text books for students going up for university examinations in Commerce.

The first volume treats of rice, wheat, barely and other cereals, of the various pulses, and of the different kinds of oil-seeds, the oils obtained from them and other oils. Information has been given as to where they grow and where they are exported, their nutritive value if used as food, and agricultural and commercial statistics too.

The second volume deals in a similar manner with textiles like jute, cotton, wool, silk, flax, etc.; tea, indigo, coffee, tobacco, rubber, sugarcane, cinchona and cloves. The appendix to this volume gives information relating to the cess levied on jute, cotton, tea and coffee.

D.

DHATRI DEVATA: *By Tarasankar Banerjee. Published by the Ranjan Publishing House, 25/2, Mohanbagan Row, Calcutta. Cloth-bound. Double Crown 1/16. Pp. 430. Price Rs. 3.*

Dhatri Devata ("Goddess Foster-mother") is a novel. Lovers of literature, specially the readers of the Bengali journal. *Prabasi,* are well acquainted with the writings of Tarasankar Banerjee. Though short story is the fashion of the day not only in Bengal but throughout India, the novel still holds its head high as literature of fiction. As a writer, Tarasankar has already established his reputation in the department of short story. He tried his hand at novel-writing. His previous novels were pleasant reading, but they were rather experimental. That stage is over now. In this novel Tarasankar is as much at ease as he is in his short stories. The charm and excellence of the book lies in its sincerity. The author writes from experience. The green luxuriance of the plains of Bengal suddenly disappears at the border-land districts, and Birbhum lying at the border between Bengal and Bihar assumes a rough, hilly, stern and undulating aspect. In this district, at the junction of two rivers, there is a strip of land covered with verdant plants, fruit-trees and vegetation. The story partakes of the nature of this verdure amidst the surrounding roughness. Sibnath is the hero. The great Swadeshi Movement of Bengal which at one time electrified the atmosphere of the whole of India inspired Sibnath in the days of his childhood. In his youth his patriotic fervour and sincerity of purpose were tested under different circumstances. His father's sister, under whose watching eye and loving care the boy Sibnath grew up, was his guardian angel. Her tenderness, strictness, sufferings and courage, and above all her unbounded love for the boy, make the widowed aunt with her weakness and strength wonderfully human and at the same time supremely divine. But the land he was born and brought up, the land that tended him with care and affection in his childhood and youth, and gave him strength and joy in his trials and tribulations, was a mother and goddess to Sibnath. The affectionate aunt and the hilly native district with the strip of verdure in its heart, wield a great influence in the formation of Sibnath's character. The childhood of the hero is depicted with a fidelity to details that are realistically imaginative. The characters of the novel are all living and growing. Sibnath's wife, Gouri, too, has been made to suffer. One feels pity for the poor girl. This big novel is bristling with incidents and the story never lags in interest. Tarasankar Banerjee has found his own in *Dhatri Devata.* It is a successful novel.

Sailendrakrishna Law

VISVA-MANAVER LAKSHMI-LABH: *By Suren Thakur. Visva-Bharati Bookshop, 210, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Price Re. 1-8 only.*

Times, it appears, are playing a trick with us. Every morning brings out strange things, and we are made to realise what unknown thoughts lay hidden behind familiar books. Surendra Nath Tagore was a fine product of a finished aristocracy. English-reading world knows that he gave it Tagore's large number of translations from original Bengali. But who could know that this modest, retiring man, would give his countrymen such a bold, challenging book, a confession of his faith?

The book is a revelation—a revelation in more than one respect. Surendra Nath reveals himself as "Suren Thakur"—putting off the aristocratic and formal trap-

pings. He reveals himself as a student and interpreter of the Socialist reconstruction of the Soviet—a strange role for a Tagore zamindar. He frankly confesses his faith in the Soviet ideal and efforts—so embarrassing to a Tagore nursed in Upanishadic truths. He sees in the experiment, strangely enough, the real embodiment of those Upanishadic teachings. And, finally, he reveals himself in a style that is new and challenging. He calls himself a *Kathak*, a story-teller, telling this story of modern times. The limpid flow of racy colloquialism is blended with strange experiments in compound formations and sentence constructions. We find in the style a revelation of the possibilities of Bengali colloquialism—more so, as the writer in order to draw attention to the scientific nature of the Soviet experiment, applies with surprising success this colloquialism to explain in some incomparable chapters, the discoveries and truths of natural and biological sciences. Thus, the story of the great Soviet experiment is presented here to the Bengali readers, with the necessary background and evaluated from the standpoint of the spiritual advance of man. And the net result is an enlarging of our horizons—a revelation to ourselves of the neglected possibilities of human progress.

Such is Suren Thakur's testimony, which he left behind. It will be a priceless possession for his countrymen, who miss him all the more now.

GOPAL HALDAR

SRIMADBHAGAVADGITA : *My Atul Chandra Sen, M.A. Published by Sen Gupta & Co., 20/3, Court House Street, Dacca. Pp. 920. Price Rs. 3.*

This Bengali edition of Bhagavadgita has been conceived and executed in elaborate style. It contains, besides the text, *anvaya* with translation into Bengali of each sloka, elaboration of its import, meanings of difficult words and final discussions based on the opinion of ancient and modern authorities. The author has mainly followed the lines of explanation given by Aurobindo Ghose. This book will prove useful to the general reader.

SRIMADBHAGAVADGITA : *By Anil Baran Ray. Published by Gita Prachar Karyalaya, 108/11, Monoharpukur Road. P. O. Kalighat, Calcutta. Pp. 132. Price annas twelve.*

This little book contains the text, *anvaya* and translation of the first chapter of the Gita. Detailed explanation of individual passages has also been given. The book is written in excellent style and will prove interesting to the reader.

G. BOSE

PATHA O BIPATHA : *By Kazi Abdul Odud. Viswa-Bharati Bookshop, 210, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Price six annas.*

The booklet under review is written in the form of an one-act play in which the author intends to indicate the proper path to be followed by the Indian people. As a play, the book is not a good production, as it has got some serious defects from the point of stage-setting and dramatic interest, though in some places we meet with forceful dialogues. But the merit of the book is to be found elsewhere. The book has been written with a purpose in view. Ali Gohar, the hero of the play, is a talented litterateur with a broad outlook on life and politics. In his discussions with his friends, Sujit, a political detenu just released, Basir-ud-din, a preacher of Islam, and Dhirendra, a journalist with ideas of aggressive Hinduism, Gohar gives out what he thinks to be true nationalism which has no connection with selfish communalism or aggressive communism. In his dialogues he takes up the role of a preacher of nationalism and by forceful arguments tries to prove his point to the hilt. From this point of view the author has done a service for which he is to be congratulated. His style is lucid and statements very clear. The get-up and printing of the book are excellent.

SUKUMAR RANJAN DAS

HINDI

CHITA KI CHINGARIAN : *By Kunwar Mohan Singh Sengar. Published by Navayug Pustak Bhandar, Bahadurganj, Allahabad. Pp. 157. Price Re. 1.*

This is a book of nine short stories. They are nine precious pearls of pain with which the author has purchased his own vision and wisdom of life. The sparks of truth, flying from the funeral pyre of the dying customs or conventions of society, have illumined his soul. This is the impression, conveyed by such moving stories as "Matritva ki Bhukh" (*i.e.*, Hunger of Motherhood). The younger writers of today are terribly realistic as a rule, but not seldom do they lack that sympathy which perceives a close kinship between Nature and Man. The author of *Chita ki Chingarian* has this sympathy in an unmistakable degree. He is also somewhat psychic; to wit, his first story in the series "Corpse" (*Murda*). The dominant sentiment in several of the stories is devotion of, and to, the mother—the sentiment which is a blending both of the personal and the universal. Kunwar Mohan Singh has a very sensitive social conscience; hence, one may expect from him many more stories of the type of *Chita ki Chingarian*. He has a gripping way of telling the tale. And if *enjoyment* is a supreme test of good literature, then the book under review, is undoubtedly a piece of literature.

G. M.

SITAR-MARGA (PART I) : *By Sripada Bandopadhaya. Published by the Author, Morris College of Hindusthani Music, Kaiserbag, Lucknow. Pp. 200.*

Among indigeneous Indian musical instruments *sitar* is very popular and lovers of this instrument have always felt a dearth of good book on the subject. There are a few good books and here is another excellent addition. The author has made the book as simple and systematic as possible and the notations are really nice. Ten *thatas* has been dealt with in the book and the exercises in *tal, svar, krintan, mir, gamak and jhala* will be found useful, by both beginners and advanced students.

Eight pages of correction are too much and mistakes in musical notations tries one's patience. The author should be more careful in this respect in the future editions.

However, we hope, the book will find a ready welcome and other parts of the book will be awaited eagerly.

KARTIC CHANDRA DEY

BHARATIYA-SWATANTRATA-SANDESH : *By Satyadeva Parivrajaka. Published by Satya-gyan Niketan, Jwalapur. Price Re. 1.*

This conjunction of numerous 'rays,' as the author chooses to call his chapters, is conspicuous by its absence of light. With a view to give his reader a very concise and simple solution of all his country's problems the

writer reveals a number of what he egotistically calls "gospels." The pity of course is that such books do succeed in poisoning immature minds with their rank communalism concealed under the hypocritical garb of such slogans as "India's great heritage" and "India's great mission."

BALRAJ SAHNI

URDU

KAYINAT-E-DIL (A COLLECTION OF POEMS): *By Munshi Bisheshwar Prasad "Munawar." Published by Radhika Prashad Saksena, Bulbuli Khana, Delhi. Price Re. 1-8.*

One hears two impatient remarks very often from critics belonging to the old order. The first is with regard to poetry. Whenever a youthful poet makes bold to show his tongue to the canons and write something "his own, his own way," the critic shakes his hoary head and laments, "why do you try to ape the English?" The second is made with regard to fiction, and the words are, "why do you try to become a Russian?"

Well, here is a young poet who is absolutely unspoilt. He has held the reigns tight, and has stood in the nicest posture, not caring to see whether he drove a chariot or a tum-tum.

BALRAJ SAHNI

TELUGU

VAIYAKARANA PARIJATAMU: *By Pandit V. Ch. Seetharamaswami Sastri. University College of Arts, Waltair. Andhra University Series, No. 15. Pp. iv+561. Price Rs. 3.*

Pt. Seetharamaswami Sastri must be congratulated on this brilliant achievement. The treatise bears the stamp of scholarly research and literary merit. It has been published from the income derived from the Maharajah of Bobbili Endowment for the furtherance of research in Sanskrit and Telugu.

This work on Telugu grammar is divided into six sections: the first one contains an illuminating discourse on grammar and poetical usages, and the rest of the book deals with Etymology proper, the author, here and there, drawing upon the fruits of his researches into the other Dravidian languages like Tamil and Kannada. Chapters 2, 3, 4 and 5 deserve special attention. The main bases of the treatise are the *Andhra Sabda Chintamani* of Nannaya, and the *Vikruti Vivekamu* of Adharwanacharya. No effort has been spared to render this book comprehensive and analytical. Such a book has long been awaited, and no Telugu library can be complete without this excellent work.

RAGALA DOZEN: *By Pattabhi. Copies can be had of Mr. Pattabhirama Reddi, Sudarsana Mahal, Nellore. Pp. ii+38. Price arnas six.*

This is a collection of twelve prose-poems. The author does a lot of image-breaking. He has power of expression and contrivance, but his subtle ideas become hazy because of the distorted angle through which they are projected. He has quite a big cupboard of amusing phrases* and epithets which will delight the reader. With his quaint apparatus he flays the society mercilessly. The lines on "the prostitute," "the moon" and "Kamakshi Koka" are superb. But the unevenness of the language and the author's intense dislike of all that is modern take away much of the charm.

A. K. Row

GUJARATI

(1) WARDHA SHIKSHAN YOJNA: *By Maganbhai Desai,* (2) WARDHA KELAVANINO PRAYAG: *By Narhari Dwarkadas Parikh,* (3) KELAVANINA PAYA: *By Kishorlal Mashruvala, all three printed at the Navjivan Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Cardboard. Pp. 224, 107, 333. 1939. Prices As. 10, As. 6 and Re. 1.*

Zakir Husain Committee's scheme of Basic National Education is presented in Gujarati garb in the first book complete with syllabuses and schedules. The second book gives practical results of the application of the scheme to villages, with valuable suggestions. The "foundation of education," which is a collection of essays written on the subject by Mr. Mashruvala has undergone a third edition, and we trust a fourth would soon be called for.

(1) TYAGMURTI AND OTHER WRITINGS, (2) NITI NASHNE MARGE, (3) GAMDANNI VAHARE, (4) KELAVANINO KOHYDO: *All four by Gandhiji. Published by the Navjivan Prakashana Mandir, Ahmedabad. Cardboard. 1939. Pp. 429, 153, 68, 487. Prices As. 12, As. 4, Anna 1 and Re. 1.*

The first book is a collection of Gandhiji's writings on social subjects. The second on moral ones, such as contraceptives. The third is on how to render help to villages, and the fourth on the problem of education. It is a very good idea to collect his scattered thought-provoking writings in books and thus preserve them in a handy form.

GANDHIJI NI SADHANA: *By Ravjibhai Manibhai Patel. Printed at the Navjivan Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Thick cardboard. Pp. 480. 1939. Price Re. 1-4.*

Incidents in Gandhiji's life in South Africa, is the theme of this most entertaining book. The writer has first-hand knowledge of his subject and he has got the truth of every single event checked by Gandhiji himself. It shows how from the very beginning Gandhiji followed up his precepts by practice. Gokhale's stay with him, Kellenbach's companionship and numerous other incidents during Mahatma's residence in South Africa, the forerunners of what happened later in India, are set out so faithfully that one does not like to part from the book without reading it from cover to cover.

JIVAN SANSKRATI: *By Dattatraya Balkrishna Kalelkar. Published by the Navjian Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Thick cardboard. Pp. 816. 1939. Price Rs. 2-8.*

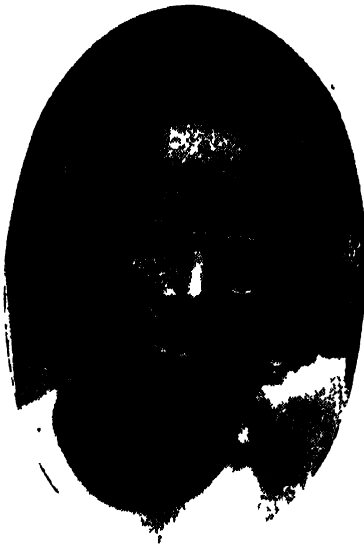
Kaka Kalelkar's voluminous writings on life and culture have been collected in this substantial volume. The writings have been divided into ten sections and bear on every conceivable subject, such as culture, foundations of society, varna and caste, social reform, village problems, poverty, labour, Harijan Seva, etc. His keen powers of observation and expression are so well-known to Gujarati readers that it would be superfluous to say anything about the sterling worth of his writings.

K. M. J.

SARADA UKIL AND HIS ART

By Dr. SURENDRA NATH SEN, M.A., Ph.D.

SARADA UKIL is no more and Indian art is poorer today. Born in Vikrampur on the distant banks of the Padma in the far off East Bengal, he made New Delhi his home and here he spent the most fruitful years of his life. Here he saw those colourful visions which his skilful brush quickly transferred to canvas and silk to the infinite joy of millions of admirers. Here he founded that living school of arts which is so pregnant with future promise. Here he organised with the whole-hearted co-



Saradacharan Ukil

operation of his younger brother, Barada, that society of lovers and connoisseurs of art which aims to establish at New Delhi a national gallery worthy of India and her metropolis.

A prolific painter, he has left nearly 1,000 paintings, sketches and studies, every one of which bears ample testimony to his technical skill, versatile genius and creative imagination. Though barely 50 when death cut short so brilliant a career, Ukil worthily served the cause he made his own. It is a pity that when his natural gifts had attained their fullest maturity a malignant fate should numb for ever the hand that used the brush with skill divine.

To the average observer an artist's life is uneventful. He is usually a temperamental being, uncommunicative and apparently self-centred; living entirely in a self-created isolated world of emotion. He paints when he likes, but, more often, he wastes his time in barren leisure. Judged by ordinary standards, he is an irresponsible person, a useless member of human society. Sarada Ukil was a good friend, a genial companion, simple, frank and unsophisticated. He relished the good things of the world with unconcealed pleasure. But he was not a man of routine. He had his moods. He needed money; but all the gold in the world could not make him work when he did not feel the urge. When the inspiration came he would paint with furious energy oblivious of the world outside. That explains his large output, though his active career lasted no more than a score and five brief years. On one occasion he worked continuously for 36 hours and such meagre meals that nature craved had to be sent to his studio.

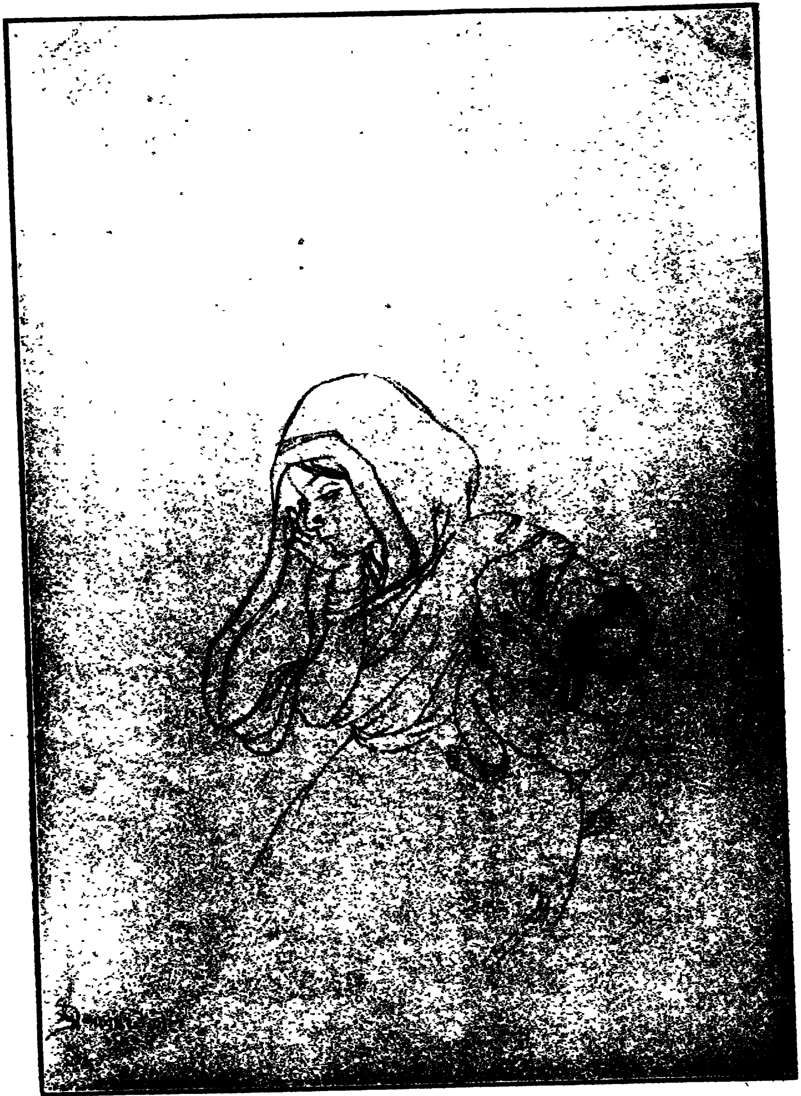
True to the traditions of his country Ukil did away with the easel. He would squat on the floor of his studio, as probably did the Moghul and Rajput masters of old, and would go on plying the brush absorbed in the vision that quickly found expression in colour and line.

When Sarada Ukil joined the Calcutta School of Arts, painting as a profession provided little prospects. Wealthy patrons were few and they preferred Western masters to indigenous artists. Yet when Abanindra Nath Tagore inaugurated the new movement Sarada Ukil felt the inner call and unhesitatingly threw in his lot with the small band of desperate pioneers. Success came quickly to him not because he followed in the footsteps of his master but because he carved out a path for himself with unerring judgment. He was a genuine product of the Tagore school, but he soon outgrew its bounds.

Every true artist has a style of his own, but Sarada Ukil went further; he evolved a special technique as well. Witness his silk paintings. He did not imitate the Chinese and the Japanese painters and have specially prepared surfaces. Witness the wonderful pencil sketches that still grace his studio where the effect of sharp lines is imperceptibly softened with the faintest of shadings. He ignored anatomical details with the recklessness of an ignoramus, but created such a symphony of



The ecstasy of the old priest
By Sarada Ukil



The Mother
By Sarada Ukil



"Vishwarup" *By Sarada Ukil*
The divinity of Sri Krishna is manifested to Arjuna on the eve of the battle of Kurkshetra

colours that you look enraptured at the thing of beauty and forget the minor blemishes of detail in the harmonious glory of the whole.

His imagination knew no bounds and would revel equally in the infinite and the finite, in mythology and history, in allegorical subjects and common things of everyday life. The same artist who first made his name and fame by his sensitive interpretation of rural life in black and white depicted the life history of the Buddha in 35 pictures.

Whatever his subject, Alamgir, Shiva's Grief or Mother with the Dead Child before Lord Buddha, Sarada Ukil's paintings are instinct with life and sensitiveness. One of his critics rightly observed that "each of his delicate, idealistic studies is a story, and owing to the peculiar technique of this school they all seem to be bathed in a subdued radiance." Another admiringly referred to the "rhythmic flow of line and poetic suggestion of the paintings."

He thrice exhibited his paintings in London and once in Paris. That his work was widely appreciated is comparatively a minor matter. These exhibitions served a greater purpose. They interpreted India to the West and paved the way for a better understanding between the rulers and the ruled.

A born artist, Sarada Ukil died a devotee's death, a martyr to the muse he adored. His last work consisted of 31 big panels that now grace the stately walls of Shri Gopalji Temple dedicated by the Raja of Bilaspur to the patron deity of his house. Bilaspur is more inaccessible to most Indians than Colombo or Kandy. Ukil therefore, was anxious to exhibit this wonderful series of mural paintings depicting the various incidents in the earthly life of the divine cowherd of Brindaban at New Delhi before they reached their destination. But once in his life, Time beat him and while completing this series his finger was poisoned with paint. The infection quickly spread and after a month he succumbed to its effects.

Sarada Ukil's masterpieces are now scattered all over India and England. The Maharaja of Patiala owns among others the famous "Shiva's Grief," "Tryst in the Heaven," "Kali" and "Eternal Lovers." The exquisite Buddha series now graces the palace of His Highness the Jam Saheb at Nawanagar. "Rash Leela" has gone to Narsingarh, "Alamgir" and "Vishwarup" are at Mandi. The "Tandava Dances" can be seen at Birla House, New Delhi; Lala Shankar Lal is the proud possessor of some of Ukil's best paintings specially designed for his drawing-room.

Among the generous patrons of the great artist are the Maharajas of Mysore, Baroda, Kashmir, Bharatpur, Tripura, Chamba, Bhavanagar, Porbandar, Palitana, the Nawabs of Rampur and Sachin, the Maharajadhiraj of Burdwan and Her Highness the Maharanee of Cooch Behar. Each of them has some notable works of Ukil in his art galleries. The Marquess of Zetland and the late Mr. Ramsay MacDonald purchased a few of his works. It is highly desirable that a representative selection of Sarada Ukil's paintings should be reproduced with suitable letter presses in a handy form for the benefit of the general public.

Before he died he drew in pencil a series of nearly 40 sketches to illustrate the childhood of Krishna. He wanted to carry on this work further and to deal with the Dwaraka life of the Man-God, but death intervened and the series remains incomplete. These sketches can still be seen in the gallery where Sarada Ukil breathed his last.

A true artist never dies. Sarada Ukil still lives in his paintings and sketches, he lives in the school he founded, he will continue to live in generations of young artists who will derive everlasting inspiration from his work.



ORISSA FLOODS

An Appeal

PEOPLE of the eastern part of the country —Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and Andhra—have been fairly accustomed to hear often of the damage caused by floods in the three coastal districts of Orissa, *viz.*, Balasore, Cuttack and Puri. Usually the great river Mahanadi gets flooded and causes havoc in the greater part of Cuttack District and practically the whole of Sadar Sub-Division of Puri. But this time, it was unfortunately the turn of Balasore District. It was subjected to the greatest damage on account of the floods in the Baitarani and Brahmani rivers. This happened in the beginning of July, 1940. But it was not only one flood but five or six floods, one after the other that made havoc in Balasore District, over a large area, thus causing great distress to people less accustomed to this natural calamity than people of Cuttack and Puri.

During our stay in Cuttack in the first fortnight of August, we took two trips, one to Jenapur and the other to Bhadrak, to see the damage caused to the houses and crops of villagers and to find out what was being done to relieve them from their distress. No doubt we found that about half a dozen agencies were at work, each in its own self-selected centre, but every agency in a small way. The Marwari Relief Society, Birla Sons' Relief Society, Orissa Relief Society from Cuttack, the Brahmo Samaj of Calcutta, the A. I. S. A. spinning centres near Bhadrak and lastly Balasore Flood Relief Association of officials and non-officials (with the Collector as President), all these have been working but with very small resources. No doubt temporary relief has been given and in many cases re-sowing of paddy is going on, wherever seedlings are available, either for love or for money. But in several parts re-sowing is not possible on account of repeated floods, three, four or even five times.

The Servants of India Society has sent two of its members from Cuttack to tour in the affected parts and arrange for the relief as far as possible, in co-operation with official and non-official agencies. But the moving about by the workers in the flooded parts in mud. slushy ground and in rice fields covered with a foot or two of water is not an easy job. Sometimes small dug-out boats are availed of but they too are so rare. The older of the two signatories pitied himself when he had to be carried in a chair, to which two poles were tied on the shoulders of four men, and others had to wade through liquid mud, pools of water and boggy places, but that was the only way in which they could see something of the destruction of mud-walled houses and rice fields. In one village women were drying paddy on the pucca platform round a well for their daily house-hold consumption. When they were asked how they were faring, they replied distressfully and in a bitter tone, "Do you not see in what wretched condition we are placed? We have no houses to live in, our paddy was under water, we are suffering from diarrhoea and we have no dry bit of land to lay our bodies on even at night time". In one village we saw a village school house completely levelled down, the school furniture carried away by the floods and the teacher holding his class in the wet verandah of a solitary pucca house of a zamindar.

The work of reconstruction of houses, *i.e.*, either with mud walls or posts with bamboo-walls plastered on both sides and with thatched roofs, remains still to be done after the cessation of the rains, *i.e.*, in October or November. It is estimated by the Government Revenue staff that not less than 10,000 families in the District of Balasore alone have thus suffered in the matter of their house, property and crops. Even taking a meagre sum of Rs. 25 per family for giving partial relief to each family, a sum of not less than Rs. 2½ lacs is needed to set these poor villagers on their feet once more. Help may be sent by kind-hearted sympathisers to (1) The Collector of Balasore, (2) Swami Bichitrananda Das, M.L.A., Cuttack and (3) Servants of India Society, Poona 4, and the money will be well utilised for bare relief work. In the above statement we have not mentioned the distress caused in Cuttack and Puri Districts by the Mahanadi floods which too has not been inconsiderable. Some areas bordering on the Chilka Lake in Puri District are still under water, though nearly two months have elapsed since the first flood. Parts of Gop Thana and Parikud remain still flooded at the time of writing. But it is their miserable lot to be subjected to nature's wrath almost every year. All the same they deserve our sympathy and help.

Help may be sent as mentioned above to Balasore, Cuttack or Poona.

A. V. Thakkar, (Servants of India Society)
H. K. Mehtab (of the Congress)

THE GARDEN IN OOTACAMUND

The Nilgiris

By BERTRAM GODWIN STEINHOFF

Thou makest us a reproach to our neighbours, a scorn and a derision to them that are round about us.
Psalm 44. 13.

I sit on a bench under a beech tree,
Fagus Sylvatica, brought here from Europe;
The garden branches bend over me,
Waving, the end leaf of one twig lightly strokes my cheek,
The friendly twigs tap me on the shoulder,
With friendly greetings,
And I sit in the place where I first sat down,
Nor move away to a farther place on the bench.
Green beech tree,
We have come from far places apart in this wide world,
Greetings !

I have walked over every part of this garden,
I have looked carefully, with the eye of a lover,
At the trees, and the flowers, the plants, and the shrubs,
Water-pools, covered with lotuses, and green water-plants,
And the frogs hiding in the grass-bank,
And, hearing my footfalls, running,
Paddling on the water, a short way, swiftly,
Diving down, and coming up again, floating,
Only the tips of their noses above the water,
And two eyes looking at me, frightenedly, timidly :
No, my pretty little fellow creatures,
I am not going to throw stones at you, as I once did,
But gladly remember, now, all those stones missed,
My good angel made them all go wide of the mark;
And so, there is no old score between us, to reckon;
I can lovingly look at you, and claim the same in return.

* * * *

I walk o'er the green lawns, and the red sanded pathways,
I stand by the water-pools, sit on the best benches :
I know all the benches; one by one, I have sat on them all,
To find out which I like best,
Which is that, that likes me best—
The one with the tall shrub behind it ?
The one under the green tree, Platanus Orientalis,
Facing the lotus-covered pool, and the water-lilies ?
Or that where the down-drooping branches are waving,
Beckoning to me, signalling :
" Come—sit in the cool shade here."

* * * *

I know which is the best,
Which is the most pleasing to my spirit,
Answering the spirit, that resides in the garden,
That, in each leaf, each flower, and bending twig hides,
In the trembling fronds, and crown fans of tall palms,
In the lotus and lily covered water pools, hiding there,
And the high tree-covered hill-tops beyond,
And the eucalyptus, and flower-scented air;
I detect it in the small nameless wild flower,
Which I step over, so that I might not stamp on it;
And so I walk through this garden,
With an high air of kinship, proprietorship.

* * * *

The whole world I see here in little space;
Twenty-four thousand miles of land and water,
Have been travelled over, pressed into my service,
Put upon commission, and contribution, to cater for me,
So that I might sit here, as I am doing now,
On this green painted bench, in the garden in Ooty



Pavilion and flower beds, above waterpool. Government garden, Ooty



Flower beds and lawns. Government garden, Ooty



Toda huts on the hilltop Government garden, Ooty



Another view of the pavilion and flower-beds. Government garden, Ooty

Under covert of a shady beech,
And wonder at that red flower, red as the
anemone.



The Government Garden, Ootacamund

Peering with the spirit's eye
Into the blue wilderness,
I look at the daisy : I see Burns,
Standing, musing, in the unfinished furrow,
Where he ploughed up one;
At the pansy 'freaked with jet' : I see
Milton,
'The God-gifted organ voice of England,'
His great song dictating;
At the beech tree : I see Virgil,
Conversing with Tityrus,
Who sported with Amaryllis in the shade;
At the daffodils : I see Wordsworth,
As he once stopped, and looked at them;
At the fig tree : I see Gautama,
Sitting, unravelling the eight verities of life;
At the platan : I see Plato
In the garden of the Academy, meditating
On the immortality of the soul;
At the lilies, and sparrows : I see Him—
O would it were more clearly—Him, whose
shoe's latchet
I am not worthy to stoop down and unloose.

* * * *

Lovely—By heaven it is lovely !—this
garden :
The whole world is here in shrub, plant,
and high tree,
All growing beautifully together, side by
side,
In clusters, in groups, in green bordered
beds,
No rivalry there, no pride,
No competing with others, no lifting up of
heads,
And puffing at others :
The stout oak of Europe, Quercus Europa,
Does not look down upon
The pale flowering jasmine of India,
Does not say—" I am better than you."
The tall California tree
Does not spurn at the small Phillipine
shrub;
The arum lily scorns not the nameless
blue flower,
In the grass of the trim bordered lawn,
Nor the St. Joseph lily, the white
champak,
The outcast Indian standing at the door
of the temple,
Throws down at the feet of Ganesha;
The high tapering firs of Siberia touch
hands
With the Ginko Biloba, Coniferae, of
Japan :
Let us bow our heads to the lowliest
green weed here.
Farewell !



CONFERMENT OF A DEGREE ON RABINDRANATH TAGORE

On Behalf of Oxford University

THE special convocation of the Oxford University to confer a Degree of Doctor of Literature *honoris causa* on Rabindranath took place at Santiniketan on August 7. Sir Maurice Gwyer and Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan acted as delegates of the University.

The ceremony took place at Sinha Sadan at 2-30 P.M. On the dais which was tastefully decorated with *batik* hangings were a number of seats for the main participants in the function. Inmates and members of the Visva-Bharati dressed in long saffron-coloured robes received the guests and visitors at the door of the Hall. Amongst the guests were a number of Oxford graduates who were received by members of the Visva-Bharati Sansad and the Oxford Alumni in their distinctive gowns and caps received the Poet in their turn.

The Poet was dressed in the grey and pink robe and black square cap of a D. Lit. scholar of the Oxford University and Sir Maurice in the crimson gown and soft black cap of a Doctor of Civil Law. The other participants in the ceremony, seated on the dais, were also dressed in appropriate academic robes of their Universities.

Before the function commenced Mahamahopadhyaya Vidhusekhar Sastri garlanded the delegates and the Poet, and put auspicious sandal paste on their foreheads in traditional Indian style. This was followed by the chanting of two propitious hymns from Rig Veda rendered by a choir of Santiniketan students. Dr. Amiya Chakravarty read out the English translation of the Sanskrit text.

स्वस्ति पन्थामनु चरेम सूर्याचन्द्रमसाविव ।
पुनर्ददताघ्नता जानता सं गमेमहि ॥

Like Sun and Moon we shall follow the path of welfare and attain companionship of men who are generous, hateless and wise.

ये देवानां यज्ञिया यज्ञियानां मनोर्यजत्रा अमृता ऋतज्ञाः ।
ते नो रासन्तामुरुगायमद्य यूयं पात स्वस्तिभिः सदा नः ।

Those who are revered by the Immortals and are also respected by the world of man, those who are fearless and righteous—let them to-day show us the path of greatness. Ye wise men ! continue to guide us by your good wishes.

The next item in the programme was a song of welcome to the visitors and guests, sung in chorus :.

বিশ্ববিদ্যাতীর্থপ্রাঙ্গণ করো মহোজ্জ্বল আজ হে
বরপুত্র সংঘ বিরাজ হে।
ঘন তিমির রাত্রির চির প্রতীক্ষা
পূর্ণ করো, লহ জ্যোতির্দীক্ষা,
যাত্রিদল সব সাজ হে,
দিব্যবীণা বাজ হে,
এসো কর্মী এসো জ্ঞানী
এসো জন কল্যাণধ্যানী
এসো তাপস রাজ হে।
এসো হে ধীশক্তি-সম্পদ মুক্তবন্ধ সমাজ হে।

Bring brilliance in the great court of knowledge,
take your seats there, you the children
of the Immortal.
Let the hope be fulfilled of the long dark night
of penance at the initiation of light.
Let Pilgrims be ready for the journey of Truth,
and divine music descend from above.
Come ye wise, come workers,
come ye who contemplate people's good,
and offer supreme self-sacrifice.
Come those who are rich in mind—
who are free of all illusions.

Hon'ble Mr. Justice Henderson in the capacity of Public Orator read out the Latin address by the University of Oxford (its translation being read out by Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan) requesting Sir Maurice to confer the degree.

VIR INSIGNISSIME, MATRIS OXONIAE GRATISSIMA SUBOLES, QUI DOMINI Vice-Cancellarii et Procuratorum vicem geris, hodie adest illustrissimus Indiae filius, cuius in domo, ut in nulla usquam alia, Horatianum illud

fortes creantur fortibus et bonis

repraesentari videmus. Quid avum referam, primum illum religionum ac disciplinae novae conditorem, inter primos quoque e popularibus suis quos trans Oceanum dissociabilem navigasse et usque ad ultimos Britannos advectos esse constat ? Quid patrem, virum rectissimum, religionum hunc quoque vindicem acerrimum, cuius sanctitas ac sapientia suis omnibus innotuit ? Quid sororem, mulierem excultissimam, quae fictas de suis historias prima Indarum conscribere ausa est ? Quid fratrum illum trinionem, quorum unus, ut patriae administrationi interesset, primus Indorum ascitus est, alter in litteris ac philosophia, tertius in arte Apellea inter aequales eminebat ? Sed genti suae quartus hic fratrum vita, ingenio, moribus tantum verae laudis additamentum contulit, ut de se ipse posset, nisi quidem viro sanctissimo verecundia obstaret, eisdem quibus Scipio ille verbis iure optimo praedicare

virtutes generis mieis moribus accumulavi.

Quid quod adest doctissimus litterarum artifex, sive vincto numeris sermone utitur seu soluto ? Ecce que

lyrica, fabulas, satiras, historias, omne fere scribendi genus tetigit, nullum non ornavit. O miram in eodem viro fecunditatem, miram facundiam! Qui, prout fert animi paene divini agilitas, docet nos, ridet, exagitat, delectat, commovet, ea tamen lege ut hominem vere esse, humani nihil a se alienum putantem, semper appareat. Quid quod adest musicus, omnibus velut numeris absolutus, novorum mille modorum repertor? Quid quod philosophus eximius, qui rerum, hominum, deorum denique naturam penitus perscrutatus, mentis illam *attaraxiam* optatam a multis, a paucis conquisitam, iam tandem est consecutus? Et tamen his ille studiis deditus non sibi tantum vixit. Nihil enim antiquius ratus quam ut pueri bonis artibus instituantur, scholae illius egregiae, ubi discipulis ad philosophandum informandis sapientissime consulitur, est auctor idem atque fautor. Accedit quod publico commodo umbratilem vitae condicionem non ita praetulit ut pulverem ac solem reipublicae omnino detrectaverit: est ubi in forum descendere dedignatus non sit, est ubi nos Britannos, est ubi praefactorum auctoritatem, siquid perperam fieri visum sit, in iudicium vocare non reformidaverit, est ubi cives errantes castigare sustinuerit. Quid plura? Adest poeta et scriptor *myrionous,* adest musicus in arte sua praeclarissimus, adest et verbo et re philosophus, adest disciplinae ac doctrinae bonae fautor acerrimus, adest civitatis defensor ardentissimus, adest denique qui vitae ac morum sanctitate omnes omnium ubique approbationes sibi vindicavit. Itaque, Vice-Cancellario, Doctoribus Magistris omnibus uno animo faventibus, praesento tibi virum *mousikotaton,* Rabindranath Tagore, praemio Nobeliano iam insignitum, ut Oxoniensium quoque lauream accipiat et admittatur ad gradum Doctoris in Litteris honoris causa.

TRANSLATION

Honoured Sir, on whom the choice of your mother Oxford has fallen to sit to-day in the place of the Vice-Chancellor and Proctors, you have before you India's most distinguished son, in whose family no more perfect illustration can be found of that verse of Horace: "A noble line gives proof of noble sires."

Let me recall his grand-father, the member of a new religious faith and a new fraternity, who was one of the first of his countrymen to cross the estranging sea and visit the distant land of Britain; his father, a religious leader of singular rectitude and burning faith, whose piety and wisdom distinguished him among all his countrymen. I recall his gifted sister, and the first of her sex in India to attempt a novel of Indian life; his three brothers of whom one was the first Indian member of the Indian Civil Service, a second was distinguished among his contemporaries in philosophy and a third in literature and the arts. But the fourth brother who is present before you now has by his life, his genius and his character augmented so greatly the fame of his house that, did his piety and modesty not forbid, none would have a better right to say in Scipio's famous phrase: "My life has crowned the virtues of my line." You see in him a great scholar and a great artist, both in prose and in verse; one who has written poetry, romance, satire, history; who has left scarcely any field of literature untouched and has touched nothing that he has not adorned. How rarely has such richness of imagination been combined with such elegance of style! How astonishing is the range of his versatile genius, wisdom and laughter, terror and delight, the power of stirring our deepest emotions! And yet we are always conscious of his essential humanity, of a man who thinks nothing beneath his notice, if only it is concerned with mankind. You see in him a musician who seems to obey no rules and yet has invented a thousand new melodies; a distinguished philosopher deeply versed in natural philosophy, in ethics and in theology and who has at the last achieved that complete serenity of mind sought by how many and won by how few. Yet all dedicated as he has been to those pursuits, he has not lived for himself alone; for deeming good education for the young the most venerable of all institutions he has been the founder and director of this famous Academy, whose purpose is by wise methods to inculcate among its students a



[Photo: *Praphulla Mahalanabis*
Rabindranath Tagore, Sir Maurice Gwyer, Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan and Hon'ble Mr. Justice Henderson leaving Sinha-sadan after the Ceremony

love of pure learning. Let it also be said that he has not valued a sheltered life so far above the public good as to hold himself wholly aloof from the dust and heat of the world outside; for there have been times when he has not scorned to step down into the market-place; when, if he thought that a wrong had been done he has not feared to challenge the British raj itself and the authority of its magistrates; and when he has boldly corrected the faults of his own fellow-citizens. What more can I say? Here before you is the myriad-minded poet and writer, the musician famous in his art, the philosopher proved both in word and deed, the fervent upholder of learning and sound doctrine, the ardent defender of public liberties, one who by the sanctity of his life and character has won for himself the praise of all mankind. And so with the unanimous approval

of the Vice-Chancellor, the Doctors, and the Masters of the University, I present to you a man most dear to all the muses, Rabindranath Tagore, already a Nobel prizeman, in order that he may receive the laurel wreath of Oxford also and be admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Literature honoris causa.

Sir Maurice conferred the degree on the Poet with the following words :

Vir venerabilis et doctissime, musarum sacerdos dilectissime, ego nomine Domini Vice-Cancellarii et auctoritate totius Universitatis admitto te ad gradum Doctoris in litteris honoris causa.

Venerable and learned Sir, most beloved priest of the Muses, in the name of the Vice-Chancellor and with the authority of the whole University, I admit you to the Degree of Doctor of Letters honoris causa.

After the investiture the Poet replied in Sanskrit thanking the delegates. The English translation of the reply was also read out by him :

भवन्त उक्षतीर्थविश्वविद्यालयप्रतिभुवः !

एषोऽस्मि कश्चित् कविर्भारतवर्षस्य ।

तं मां सम्भावयन्ती सा किल भवतां प्रत्ना विद्याभूमिर्नूनमात्मनो मानवधर्माम्नायमेव महान्तमाविष्कर्त्तुमीहते यस्य खल्वर्थः साम्प्रतमतितरां गम्भीरश्चानतिपात्यश्च संवृत्तः । गर्वोत्थानं मे चित्तं प्रतिपद्यास्य वाचिकं प्रतिपत्तिं चैतां प्रहितां प्रतीकमिवानश्वरं मानवधर्म्मात्मनः । सभाजयामि भवतोऽत्र शान्तिनिकेतने । यदेतदनर्घमुपायनमानीतं भवद्भिर्मदर्थं मद्देशार्थञ्च चिरं तदवस्थास्यतेऽस्मद्धृदयेषु सम्पत्स्यते च तद्व्रतामस्माकं च साधारणसंस्कृतिसम्पत्तय इति प्रतियन्तु भवन्तः ।

स खल्वयं कालः प्रवर्धते यत्रातङ्कः । तिरोधत्ते गुणः । प्रसरत्यशिष्टत्वं निरंकुशम् । प्रवर्त्तते च पशूचिता स्पृहा भोगे समुपचीयमाना भूतविद्यया ।

अस्मिन् हि व्यतिकरे कस्यापि भुवनव्यापिनः सम्बन्धस्य बीजसमुद्गमोक्तिर्नाम कदाचित् कविजनोचितेव प्रतीयेत ।

तथापि तु संयम्यते कालस्तज्जयन्नपि निरन्तरम् । किञ्च ये नाम वयमतीत्याप्येनं जीवामः प्रतीमश्च यदार्यधर्मश्चरमार्थसम्पत्तये वर्धेतैव नित्यमिति तैरस्माभिः सेयं प्रतीतिरवश्यं प्रत्यग्रीकरणीया ।

क्षेमं वतेदं निमित्तं कस्याप्यनागतस्य समयस्येति प्रतिगृह्यते मयैषा प्रतिपत्तिर्विहितोक्षतीर्थविश्वविद्यालयेन । नूनं न जीविष्याम्यहमवलोकयितुमेनं प्रतिष्ठितम् । सभाजनीयस्त्वेष तस्य समयस्य सङ्केतः सङ्गर इव दिवसानां प्रशस्यतराणामिति शिवम् ॥

शान्तिनिकेतनम् रवीन्द्रनाथठाकुरः

शकाब्दाः १८६१।४।२२

TRANSLATION

Delegates from Oxford University,

In honouring me, an Indian poet, your ancient seat of learning has chosen to express its great tradition of humanity. This tradition, to-day, has acquired a deeper and more pressing significance; I feel proud to accept its message, and the recognition it conveys, as a symbol of the undying spirit of Man. I welcome you here at Santiniketan, and I assure you that this friendly gift that you have brought to me and to my country, will remain in our hearts and bid us stand together for the common cause of civilisation.

In an era of mounting anguish and vanishing worth, when disaster is fast overtaking countries and continents, with savagery let loose and brutal thirst for possession augmented by science, it may sound merely poetic to speak of any emerging principle of world-wide relationship. But Time's violence, however immediately threatening, is circumscribed, and we who live beyond it and dwell also in the larger reality of Time, must renew our faith in the perennial growth of civilisation toward an ultimate purpose.

I accept this recognition from Oxford University as a happy augury of an Age to come, and though I shall not live to see it established let me welcome this friendly gesture as a promise of better days.

Sir Maurice then addressed Dr. Tagore thanking him for the welcome given to delegates and graduates of Oxford.

Sir, on behalf of the University of Oxford I salute its youngest Doctor, and I deem it a privilege indeed to have taken part in this memorable ceremony, in which the University whose representative I am has, in honouring you, done honour to itself. I shall not fail to convey to the University your gracious words of acceptance, spoken in that ancient tongue, the venerable mother from whom the language of the University's Address and the language which I now speak trace alike their origin.

You Sir, belong to and have adorned a generation which perhaps more than any other in history exalted reason and freedom of thought; but you have ever insisted that to these must be added other virtues, graciousness, simplicity and the love of beauty. And have not Santiniketan and my own University this in common, that each bases its education upon recognition of and respect for human personality? Do they not both attribute pre-eminence to the virtue of tolerance, since none can claim respect for his own personality unless he is willing to respect that of others? These indeed are the foundation of true democracy, which has a spiritual content and is something more than one of many kinds of political mechanism; and its success has been, and will always be, in proportion as those who live under it are conscious of its spiritual and intellectual elements.

But in the present nightmare world the doctrines which you and those who think with you have taught and practised are in deadly peril; and we are witnessing an attempt to assassinate reason, to proscribe tolerance, and to crush the human spirit beneath a monstrous materialism. In this Magian conflict the liberty of the human soul itself is at stake and the conflict must be fought out to the end, if darkness is not to fall once more upon the earth. There is no compromise and there is no truce in that war.

We must not doubt, unless all our most cherished beliefs are a mockery and a cheat, what the final issue will be, though it may not come until after much blood and many tears. But the victory would be barren indeed, if a new generation is not bred and confirmed in that true discipline of mind which alone can create a free and tranquil world. The evil men who are now harrying Europe knew their business well when in the countries they have ravished they singled out for destruction the Universities and ancient seats of learning, the sanctuary and refuge of the humanities. Though war can be waged, as this war is being waged, in defence of a sublime

cause, and has power to evoke some of the noblest qualities of mankind, yet in itself it is an accursed thing, and its infection will destroy civilization unless it is itself destroyed. But in the words which Milton puts into the mouth of the apostate Angel,—

"who overcomes
By force, hath overcome but half his foe,"

and Apollyon must be met and conquered not on the field of battle alone but also in that kingdom of ideas and of the mind, where it is the teachers and philosophers who can most effectively sustain the cause.

We have watched with dismay even in the years before the war the substitution of emotion for thought and its swift degeneration into blind and often hysterical submission to the will of a leader accountable to none but himself; for unless a political society is invigorated by a multitude of separate springs of thought and action, neither democracy nor any system based upon the freedom of the mind can hope to survive. Is not the clamant need of our day hard intellectual effort and the habit of independent judgment; courage to face realities, and not to deny the existence of problems we are too indolent to solve; reverence for the spirit of an ancient culture, without servility to the past or attempts to reverse the evolutionary process? Such I believe to be the principles which inspire your teaching in this place, and such are those of my own University.

Sir, I thank you for your welcome. It is my earnest prayer that through those bonds which have been forged today between an ancient foundation and a new there may pass and repass a vital current in which the spiritual forces of the west and the east may mingle and, if God will, draw strength from one another. May the love of true learning be ever cherised in their place; and may there ever be granted to all their children, "hope still to find, strength still to climb, the spheres."

The ceremony concluded with the singing of the peace invocation (*Santi Vachan* from *Atharva Veda*) its English rendering being given by the Poet:

पृथिवी शान्तिरन्तरीक्षं शान्ति द्यौः
शान्तिरापः शान्तिरोषधयः
शान्तिर्वनस्पतयः शान्तिर्विश्वे मे देवाः
शान्तिः सर्वे मे देवाः शान्तिः
शान्तिः शान्तिः शान्तिभिः ॥
ताभिः शान्तिभिः सर्वशान्तिभिः
शमयामोऽहं यदिह घोरं
यदिह क्रूरं यदिह पापं तच्छान्तं
तच्छिवं सर्वमेव शमस्तु नः ॥

Let peace reign over the earth and sky; Let it spread in the water, in the fields and forests; Let the divine powers in the universe be for our peace! Let me, with the peace which is for all, tranquillise whatever is terrible and cruel into the serene and the good! Let peace come to us through the All!

INTERVIEW WITH TROTSKY

By CHAMAN LAL

The world's most persecuted and most unwanted man is dead.

The cruel hands of destiny have robbed the world of a great revolutionary, a born fighter against tyranny, a forceful writer and a very charming statesman, Leon Trotsky. The news of the brutal murder of this revolutionary must have shocked lovers of freedom all over the world, including Russia. As one of the very few Indians who knew Trotsky personally, and had lived in Mexico as his neighbour only last year, I was stunned to read the news of the ghastly crime. I am not a blind supporter of any foreign "ism," and have never meddled with various branches of Marxism, but like our leader Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, I have great interest and hopes in the Russian experiments in Socialism. And, therefore, it shocks me all the more that the first Commander of the Russian Revolutionary Army and the first foreign minister of Soviet Russia has been so ruthlessly murdered. I am not defending the part that Trotsky played ever since his exile from Russia, but as a friend of Soviet Russia, I feel the crime is a disgrace to the country that Trotsky had served since his youth.

After all, his main crime was that he believed in world revolution. He believed that the masses all over the world should be freed from the clutches of the capitalist system.

Not A Friend of Fascists

He was an idealist and a fanatic. It is true (and I found it from my interviews with him) that he was not an admirer of Stalin, and perhaps thought of him with contempt. Yet it is absurd to suggest that Trotsky was an agent of the enemies of the Soviet. I have written evidence (not in India though) to prove that he hated fascist countries and their chiefs. In a personal letter that Trotsky wrote to me in February, 1939, he gave expression to his feelings on the subject. If I had any influence with Stalin, or the Commu-

nist party, I should have persuaded them to keep Trotsky in a most comfortable internment camp as the greatest punishment under party rules.

But destiny is stronger than all our wishes. It is one of the tragic paradoxes of history that nearly all prominent leaders of the Russian revolution have been 'liquidated' as enemies of the revolution, they suffered for so nobly. As one who believes that tremendous change



Leon Trotsky

is needed everywhere to remedy the present state of things, I feel perplexed and ashamed at the murder of Trotsky—that prince among revolutionaries, who devoted his entire life to the cause of world revolution.

A Born Revolutionary

In this short article, I can only give his very brief life sketch and conclude it with the gist of the interviews I had with Trotsky in his ill-fated home in Mexico.

Trotsky was born in 1877 as Lev. Davidovick Bronstein. He adopted the name of Trotsky on his forged passport in 1902, when he escaped from Siberia to England. He was truly a born revolutionary. At the age of 15, he was expelled from school for his revolutionary views. He was educated at the University of Odessa. When only 22, he was arrested at Odessa, on account of his connection with the South Russian Workmen's League, and was exiled to Siberia for four years. He escaped after three years' exile, and re-appeared in the revolution of 1905, as President of the Petrograd Council of Workmen. He was only 28 at the time. He was again exiled to Siberia after the collapse of the revolution. Within six months he again evaded his guards and escaped.

Journalism Helped Him

During the next ten years he lived in France, Switzerland, Austria, Germany, and America, supporting himself mainly by journalism. In Vienna he edited the Austrian *Pravda*. In Germany he published the history of the first Russian Revolution. But it was America that gave him the greatest chance of his life.

Commander of the Red Army

In 1917, he was an obscure journalist on a Russian newspaper in New York. He had already been twice sentenced in Russia as a revolutionist and the Czarist regime had twice sent him to Siberia. Yet he had twice escaped. On faked passport he forged his jailor's name.

When the Czarist Government collapsed in the Great War, friends in New York raised subscriptions and shipped Trotsky to Russia to be selected as the Commander-in-Chief of the Bolshevik army. This victorious Commander of the Red Army later became first foreign minister of Soviet Russia. But in his feud for power with Stalin he lost the fight and was deprived of all powers.

His Exiles Begin

Trotsky began his travels as the world's most unwanted man when banished to Turkistan (under the U. S. S. R. regime) in January, 1928. In 1929 Stalin decided to deport him out of Russia and he was exiled to Turkey, where he lived on the island of Prinkeipo in the house of a former Grand Vazir, but there was no peace for him on the Island too, when that palatial house was soon after burnt, together with a manuscript for whose publication right Trotsky had been offered 30 lacs of rupees. Thereafter Trotsky went to France, where he founded the Fourth International. France deported him to Norway, because he "failed to observe the duties of neutrality." The police of Norway did not like his violent propaganda

against Stalin and the present regime in Russia and, therefore, he was given internment orders restricting his freedom. Soon after he was invited by President Cardenas of Mexico, who offered him a friendly shelter.

Trotsky reached the Mexican shores on board an oil-tanker and was given a friendly welcome at the port of Tampico, where the President had sent a private coach to transport him safely to Coyoacan. For the last three years Trotsky had been living as the guest of Diego Rivera, painter of international fame. Mexico, known as the revolutionaries' paradise, had in fact, proved a paradise for Trotsky, who during his three years' stay there had regained in health, influence and wealth.

But alas! this paradise proved short-lived He lived in a virtual fortress guarded by 30 policemen always armed with loaded revolvers. Formerly the number was 60. Besides the official police, all his secretaries and servants carried loaded revolvers and the atmosphere of the house reminded the visitors of a smugglers' den or an unpopular ruler's palace where anything is feared any moment.

How I Met Him

Incidentally I reached Mexico more or less as a political exile on the grant of special papers by the Mexican Foreign Office which exempted me from all rules and formalities applied to visitors. My passport had been cleverly deposited in the archives of the British Passport Office in London and all attempts made by the late Mr. George Lansbury and several other members of both the Houses of the British Parliament failed to persuade the Foreign Office and Lord Zetland to return my passport to me. The Mexican Government, who were much impressed with my book, *Vanishing Empire*, had offered me a shelter as a political refugee

With my limited finances, I decided to stay in a quiet suburban place where I could wait till I was able to proceed to the United States of America, from where I was expecting special permission from Miss Perkins, Minister of Labour. It so happened that a relation of the Mexican Consul-General in London, who was my chief friend and host in Mexico, arranged for me to live in the house of a sister-in-law of Diego Rivera, the renowned painter. When she drove me to her suburban home from my hotel, she asked me if I would like to see Trotsky, who was living in her sister's house half a furlong from her house. As a newspaper man I expressed my desire to have an interview with the world's most unwanted exile. She rang up Trotsky, who sent his secretary, a young Frenchman, to see me and fix up the time. The French secretary, armed with a loaded revolver, came to my room and showered questions about the object of my visit to Mexico, and when he was convinced that I was a genuine visitor, he fixed up an interview with his boss for the same evening. At five minutes to six he came to take me to Trotsky's residence.

On my way I was surprised to find a number of armed policemen guarding all the four roads leading to the crossing near Trotsky's house. The policemen seemed to be very alert and ready for all emergencies. On reaching the house I found the main gate locked from inside. The French secretary whispered something and the gate was opened by the guards inside. The entrance was more like a motor garage, and on my right and left and in the courtyard I found several policemen and some private guards all armed with loaded revolvers, I was asked to sign my name and time in the visitors' book and then led into another courtyard to the right.

While entering the courtyard, I noticed something like a military morcha with an expert shot aiming a loaded gun in his hands and alertly peering out for any emergency. I was half scared at the look of the man and asked the secretary why it was necessary to take such precautions inside a locked house whose walls were just like a fortress? He replied that the agents of the Russian Secret Police and some local communists had made attempts on the life of Trotsky and, therefore, it was necessary to take these extraordinary precautions. After passing through another courtyard, I was ushered into Trotsky's office room, where he was sitting in front of a large desk loaded with Russian, German, Mexican and English newspapers, notes for articles, books, radio talks, etc., etc. Trotsky had piles of press proofs of his forthcoming book on world revolution. In his flowing French beard, gleaming eyes, and cheerful smiles, he greeted me with a warm handshake and asked me if I had any objection to the presence of his secretary during the interview. I told him I had nothing private to talk about and, therefore, his secretary was welcome to remain in the room. The interview lasted about an hour or so and the secretary kept standing in the doorway with his left hand on the revolver.

During the course of my profession as a journalist, I had met Presidents, Emperors, Dictators and Generals in the last 18 years, and some of them were naturally guarded, but never before had the actual interview been carried out under the shadow of revolvers.

Trotsky, Gandhi and Hitler

His secretary had in the morning taken a copy of my book, the *Vanishing Empire,* for Trotsky to serve as my introduction, and the book was lying on his table when I went to interview him. He took up the book in his hand and smilingly observed : "So you think the British Empire is vanishing despite Gandhi's alliance with Britain," and in the same breath added rather angrily, "Gandhi is going to fight Hitler." I was rather stunned to hear his last remark and I told him that I had not heard of any such declaration from the Mahatma. He asserted he had personally read a statement of Mahatma Gandhi in which the Mahatma had expressed his willingness to fight Hitler by all possible means. I protested that the Mahatma could not have made such a statement, since it was against his creed of non-violence and it was possible that *Reuter* or the Jewish News Agency had misquoted the Mahatma. Trotsky, however, was very sure about his allegation and added : "Why doesn't Gandhi fight Britain instead of fighting Hitler ?"

He strongly took me to task for publishing the Mahatma's drawing on the frontispiece of my book and observed : "Gandhi is a first-rank opportunist, while young men like you are opportunists of the second rank". He added : "Why should a revolutionary young man compromise with Gandhi, an arch-enemy of world revolution ?"

In the same breath Trotsky denounced Roosevelt and Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru as opportunists and said : "If India wants to be free, she will have to get rid of opportunist leadership". I told him that Gandhi, in spite of what may be alleged against him, was the most influential leader of India and that no movement could be carried on without his co-operation. He retorted : "There is no hope for India, if you young men cannot take up an independent line of action". I told him that Pt. Nehru was a full-fledged revolutionary who had given a scientific turn to the whole political struggle in India and Young India expected him to lead the final revolution. Trotsky shook his head and said that a person who could admire the Stalin regime could not be a true revolutionary. I corrected him by saying that Pt. Nehru had always deplored the execution of comrades in Russia and had never supported the bloody purges there. Trotsky replied that he was glad to know it but Nehru's activities showed that he was wedded to the Stalin regime.

He repeatedly asserted that Indian leadership of today was most rotten, bankrupt, and shaky. He paid eloquent tributes to the Indian masses, whom he considered the finest in the world.

Wish to Work for India

He told me that so far he had done nothing for the cause of India, but thereafter he would devote considerable time and energy to it. He was much interested in keeping close touch with Indian politics from day to day and asked me to give him a list of important Indian newspapers and periodicals, which I did. I told him that after reading Pt. Nehru's articles in the *National Herald* he was bound to revise his opinion of him. I found a couple of books by M. N. Roy on his table and while he asked me about some other Indian workers, he did not mention M. N. Roy.

Happiest Exile

From what I saw of Trotsky I could conclude that he was not a spent-up force, but that he was the busiest revolutionary plotter who was dreaming every minute to achieve Lenin's dream of World Revolution. I did not find him lonely and a sad figure as I saw Amanullah in Rome, and as most exiles are; instead I found him full of life, vigour and hope. The very fact that a person who had been hunted about the world since 1928 could still manage to keep very cheerful, robust and active, showed that he was an extraordinary personality, a real genius. His personal charm and his spirit of comradeship impressed me most. He was so full of hopes and so enthusiastic that he could not be depressed by the ever-plotting gunmen who were thirsty for his blood.

The far-famed Leon Trotsky who twenty-three years ago was wildly cheered in Moscow as one of the supreme heroes of the Bolshevik revolution, has been assassinated by a misguided comrade. But Trotsky is not dead. The Trotsky who lived and suffered for World Revolution will always live and the day will come again when Soviet Russia will honour the memory of her great leader.

August 23, 1940.



INDIAN PERIODICALS



Jesus and the Kingdom of God

The Kingdom of God or the Kingdom of Heaven can best be interpreted from the parables of Jesus. It comes too from the all-embracing idea of his teachings. Prof. Gour Govinda Gupta writes in *Prabuddha Bharata* :

The origin of the idea is to be traced to the theocracy of the Jews. Its inspiration is to be traced to Issiah, its form to Daniel and its popularity to John the Baptist, with all of whom it had a local significance, being confined to Palestine and the Jews who regarded themselves as the chosen people of God.

Palestine—the land of the Jews on the borders of the Mediterranean--being the only route for attack availed of by the Babylonians or the Assyrians against the Egyptians, or by the latter against the former, and again by the Hittites against the Egyptians or the Arabs, as also by the Greeks and the Romans against the eastern peoples in general, came now and again under foreign domination. The Jews who found themselves powerless against such formidable enemies and knew no end to their sufferings looked up for help to God who had preserved them as a people for countless generations; and their righteous men—the Prophets—kept up their faith by engendering in them a strong belief in the Coming of God as the Messiah or the Deliverer to establish His kingdom among His own people and to punish and chastise the foreigner who was also the unbeliever.

The kingdom of God thus came to be the hereditary dream of the Jews.

They fondly looked forward to the day when at one blow the Roman grip would be loosened from the throat of His people, and a Jewish state with Jerusalem for its capital and a greater David for its king would be established on earth and the hopes and promises of the prophets would be fulfilled.

So did the Jews dream and their prophets pray. The child heard of it from its mother in her evening stories by the hearth-side, the school-boy learnt about it from the teacher and the Scriptures which constituted the only learning of the time, the passer-by heard it preached in the synagogue and the prophet cried hoarse over it asking his people to be ready for its reception by being true to God and walking in His ways. The idea of the kingdom of God thus came to be rooted deep in their hearts and their eagerness for its realisation grew with time till the pure-hearted John began to preach it openly to the people and to baptise them with the water of the Jordan saying : "Repent ye ! For the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand," thus signalising its approach with words of promise. John may or may not have felt the spiritual significance of the revelation which welled out from his heart, but Jesus it was who, with spiritual experience of God within Himself through the 30 years of preparation hidden from the eye of man, linked the idea of the kingdom to His own spiritual realisations and felt the awakening and the call for the upliftment of Humanity to the Divinity of God, and so, to preach *the truth of the kingdom* by likening it to *the growth of God-hood in man, the reign of God in the soul of man.*

Jesus preached a gospel which was new to His countrymen and to the world of His time.

This is strongly emphasised in Jesus' own words spoken to His disciples and audience both by way of admonition and caution.

"Verily I say unto you, that except your righteousness shall exceed the righteousness of the Pharisees, ye shall in no way enter into the Kingdom of Heaven."

C. F. Andrews

Andrews' intense love for the poor was his religion. He chose to become one of them. Whatever he possessed he distributed among the poor. S. A. Waiz, Secretary, Imperial Indian Citizenship Association, writes in *The Indian Readers' Digest* :

Once a friend gave him Rs. 150 as travelling expenses to Simla and back. On the way to the Railway Station he met an Indian from Canada. He told Charlie that he was trying to meet him for sometime and in doing so he followed him to Calcutta, to Madras and then to Bombay. This India-returned emigrant told him that he with his wife and children was stranded and all of them were actually starving. They wanted to go back to their home in the Punjab but had no means to do so. This man's wife and children were also with him at the station. I happened to be with him at this time. To my utter astonishment he took out Rs. 150 from his pocket and handed it over to this man, saying that at the moment he could not do more for him but if he wrote to him he would see what further could be done for him. Then he went back to his host and told him that he could not leave and explained the reason for it. Charlie missed the train that day but was able to leave the next day when the host went with him to the Railway Station, bought the ticket and gave it to him.

A King's Surrender

The New Review comments editorially :

King Leopold bears the responsibility of the capitulation of the Belgian army. His honesty of purpose and his bravery cannot be doubted and, in a smallish place like Belgium where each one knows everybody else, his reputation was of the highest. Treachery is unthinkable in his case; but was there not an error of judgment ?

However painful, the episode should be reconstructed with all the information actually to hand. The King

who had been with his army for the last months fought bravely and if he had to organise a rapid withdrawal, it was no fault of his. But further down the line, a gap had been cut by Germany's motorised forces and in a few days the Nazi columns had reached the Channel coast. Escape for the Northern armies was impossible: three French Armies, portion of the B. E. F. and the Belgian regiments were entrapped. The French and English could keep in touch with their bases through Boulogne, Calais, and Dunkirk. The Belgian army was without supplies and munitions; its numbers had dwindled from 700,000 to 400,000 in a fortnight, four-fifths of its planes had been destroyed in the aerodromes, two million refugees in panic added to the confusion. What King would not be moved to pity at such a plight of his soldiers and people? If only hope were possible.

And how ominous the lastest news: a Commander-in-Chief set aside, fifteen Generals cashiered, battalions of communist soldiers surrendering *en masse*, the B. E. F. re-embarking, General Weygand helpless to suggest a way out. What was to be done but accept the inevitable, as General Winckelman had done after he had lost not half of his forces or as Marshal Petain was to contemplate a fortnight later when less than half of France had been overrun?

Well meaning people have not refrained from quoting against King Leopold as a maxim of ethics the common saying: "Death is preferable to dishonour."

Ethics is not so visionary and argues that heroics must remain rational.

Kings and Generals may not sacrifice their men and nation to their own military glory; the path of duty does not always lie along the glaring lights of publicity and the ascent to greatness often borrows the ill lit bends of the *via vaccarum*.

The Enduring France

The map of Europe may undergo a change, but through geographical changes the Soul of France will go on radiating the light of idealism, of humanism, "of those arts that mind to mind endear." Who knows if in the mill of Karma Germans themselves will not be transformed by their contact with the French? *The Aryan Path* observes:

> Once again the map of Europe will be changed because of the defeat of the gallant French army which fought against very heavy odds. The world is sad at heart, but salutes that great army for its heroic stand in the cause of Liberty. It is not defeated, for the grand efforts it made never can be lost. The words of Regnier are applicable:
>
> Time and shade and silence seem to say,
> Close now your eyes nor fear to die with day;
> For if the daylight win to earth again
> Will not its beauty also find a way?
>
> And who can deny that there has been beauty of ideals behind the endeavour of the French army and beauty of courage and sacrifice in the carnage—which is now over? Such endeavour, such courage, such sacrifice, are more powerful than bombs and tanks; they will rise superior to the mortal death which guns have temporarily brought about.

So much for the soldier. What about the political leaders?

> Divided counsels prevail: some resent the laying down of arms; others, not altogether wrongly, see the wisdom of it and repeat the words of Marechal Petain, that "the French people look the present and the future straight in the face. They are showing more grandeur in their defeat than if they had been given vain and illusory projects. They know their future lies in courage and perseverance."

From a different and a higher point of view Gandhiji supports the step taken:

> "I think French statesmen have shown rare courage in bowing to the inevitable and refusing to be party to senseless mutual slaughter. There can be no sense in France coming out victorious if the stake is in truth lost. The cause of liberty becomes a mockery if the price to be paid is wholesale destruction of those who are to enjoy liberty."

Through the valley of humiliation the great people, the creators and upholders *par excellence* of Occidental culture, have now to pass.

> Though geographically France has been sacrificed, culturally no soldier has conquered or can conquer her, no dictator has murdered or can murder her. Their eleventh-century poet, Guillaume de Poitiers, has a message with inspiration for today:
>
> There are who hold my folly great
> Because with little hope I wait;
> But one old saw doth animate
> And me assure:
> Their hearts are high, their might is great
> Who will endure.
>
> The esteem and affection for France which the world feels are shared by India. They were expressed by the Poet Tagore in his message to President Roosevelt, as also by the silver-tongued orator Sarojini Naidu, who spoke of the fall of Paris as a "world calamity."
>
> French culture has expressed itself in the character of peasant and poet: there is sturdy independence of thought with courteous recognition of the opinions of others; there is love of their land and admiration for its beauties which beget a respect for the patriotism of others; there is the dignity of the individual upheld by civil liberties while the principle of democracy is observed in the make-up of even its military machine, where lord and labourer are equal; and, above all, there is the absence of colour prejudice which has given the French the highest place of honour in the opinion of the coloured world.

Professor Alfred Fowler

Professor Alfred Fowler, F.R.S., for many years professor of astrophysiscs in the Imperial College of Science and Technology, South Kensington, London, and since 1923 Yarrow Research Professor of the Royal Society, was, by common consent, the foremost spectroscopist of England, if not of the whole world. He died in London on the 10th May in his seventy second year. His death will be regretted by international scientific circles. Professor M. N. Saha writes in *Science and Culture*:

> In this country many of his Indian friends and students have suffered a personal loss, for many of the Indian physicists had their research training under him.

The writer of this note spent some time at his laboratory in 1922 and he remembers with gratitude the great help which he received from Professor Fowler in writing out his theories of solar and stellar spectra.

Fowler started his scientific life in 1886 as assistant to Sir Norman Lockyer in the Solar Physics Laboratory founded by the latter at South Kensington, London. He took part in many solar eclipse observations organised by the Royal Astronomical Society with a view to photographing the spectrum of the solar chromosphere and finding out their interpretation. Through association with Sir Norman Lockyer, he became familiar with the latter's hypothesis of Evolution of Stars in an ascending and descending series and the hypothesis of proto-elements.

While Lockyer was speculating on the probability of evolution of elements running parallel to that of stars, Fowler's attention was drawn to the more important task of finding out the lines ascribed to these proto-elements in the laboratory. He showed that the lines of sucessive stages of silicon which were used by Lockyer in his evolutionary scheme, could be produced successfully in the laboratory when increasingly larger stimulus in the form of electrical discharge is used.

Fowler's name will always be associated with the successful classification of spectral lines of many elements which he brought to completion.

The discovery of Balmer about regularities in the spectrum of hydrogen, which were further extended by Ritz and Rydberg to alkali elements, attracted new workers to this field, amongst whom the names of Fowler and Paschen stand foremost. Fowler applied their method of analysis to the spectrum of magnesium and other alkaline elements, not only in the first stage of ionisation but also in the higher stages. This work was carried out in a way which he alone was capable of.

A brilliant piece of work was done by Fowler in the laboratory when in 1912, just before the appearance of Bohr's fundamental paper on the spectrum of hydrogen, he showed that the stellar lines which were ascribed by Pickering to cosmic hydrogen could be produced in the laboratory when discharge was passed through a tube containing hydrogen and helium, and his researches made it probable that these mysterious lines were due to helium. Bohr definitely ascribed these to ionised helium.

It is impossible to give a full account of Fowler's contributions to spectroscopy. He not only did a great amount of work himself but also inspired others to take up this line of work.

It was at his laboratory and under his guidance that Catalan, a worker from Spain, first formulated the idea of multiplets of lines and classified the spectrum of manganese. It is now well-known that Catalan's work led to the elucidation of the spectral lines of all complex elements.

Professor Fowler was elected Fellow of the Royal Society in 1910. He was awarded Valz prize by the Paris Academy of Sciences in 1913, Gold Medal of the Royal Astronomical Society in 1915, Royal Medal of the Royal Society in 1918 and Henry Draper Gold Medal of the National Academy of Sciences, Washington in 1920. He was awarded the honorary degree of D.Sc. by Bristol University. He was President of the Royal Astronomical Society and General Secretary of the International Astronomical Union for some time.

Upton Sinclair—The American Iconoclast

When it is stated that Upton Sinclair's literary work is mostly propaganda, it is the truth but not the whole of it. Sinclair's aim is, invariably, to bring out the inherent weakness of the present social order in the world and to strive for establishing a new order based on truth and justice. But his works have, beyond this, an inner psychological significance. S. L. Pandit observes in *The Twentieth Century*:

Upton Sinclair has striven, earnestly and consistently, to storm the Citadel of Privilege in America, the land of Mammon worship *par excellence*, and sought to expose the corruption, the blind greed, and the colossal fraud of modern capitalism.

He has suffered too for his convictions. By the capitalist press of the Dollar-land he has been denounced as the deputy-in-chief of Satan, as the arch-enemy of morality, religion and decency in human affairs. He has more than once been threatened with libel suits, and he suffered imprisonment three times for his political convictions. His residence was once burnt down to the loss of some of his valuable manuscripts. Yet he has triumphed against all odds and risen from extreme poverty to a position fairly above want.

Like G. B. S. he has grown into a legend in his own life time. His future reputation is secure because of the intensely human appeal of his works. His greatness as a literary artist rests on firm foundation. This, in brief, is the thesis of Upton Sinclair's highly interesting discourse, *Manmonart*:

All art is propaganda. The theory, 'art for art's sake,' is an exploded myth. Through all ages those artists who tried to flatter the ruling classes gained fame, riches, honour and position in society. On the contrary, those few bold spirits who worked through their art, in spite of the opposition of the powers that be, were often consigned to poverty and obscurity and, not infrequently, were even subjected to endless persecution. But, notwithstanding continued discouragement of really great artists by the ruling cliques of the world, art that aims at propagating truth and exposing greed, selfishness and falsehood, will not only survive but inspire all classes of human beings as they become more enlightened.

The writer then goes on to discuss Sinclair's masterpiece *Oil*:

Let us consider his great masterpiece, *Oil!* It is the product of a mature-minded prophet just as *Manssas* embodies the idealism of a young genius. *The Jungle* describes the life of the exploited poor, while *The Metropolis* exposes the wasteful and extravagant amusements of the rich. But *Oil* gives a comprehensive treatment of the various aspects of American life and all that Sinclair stands for. And what is the main story in this novel? Arnold Ross Junior, the young oil prince, is a favoured child of fortune. He is born with a silver spoon in his mouth, and his education and interests are fondly supervised by his father, a typical self-made American industrial magnate. But, to the horror of the family, the youngman's sensitive mind is infected with radical ideas that lead him to sympathize with the poor, to take interest in trade unions, and to associate with the dangerous 'reds.' This results in a subtle moral conflict between father and son, a phenomenon not uncommon in life. The young men's mind becomes a veritable battle-ground of conflicting loyalties and contrary impulses. The climax of the narrative is reached when the young idealist discards his relatives and even his glamorous Hollywood girl to espouse the cause of the workers, and seeks union with the daughter of a Jewish socialist!

New Trends in Discipline

If one merely labels behaviour as "bad" or "wrong" and tries to stamp it out with punishment, one cannot get at its real cause and so cannot achieve any real improvement. Kathleen Clancy writes in *The Indian Journal of Education*:

In the United States of America the work of child guidance is still in the experimental stage. Child guidance clinics began to be established about 1920 and they are still comparatively few.

The general technique to discover under what handicaps the child may be labouring and to remove them if possible, while enlisting the aid of parents, school, and the child himself, if he be old enough, in the solution of his problem. This clinical method has been summarised in the following formula:

(1) Children's behaviour is held to have a specific cause.

(2) To change behaviour the cause must be treated.

(3) To find the cause, the individual child must be studied in all his or her aspects and relationships.

The underlying causes of behaviour problems are often found in the child's environment rather than in himself.

Dr. Douglas A. Thom, Director of the Habit Clinics of Boston, says, "In our contacts with maladjusted children, we find all too frequently we are dealing with problem environments and problem parents rather than with problem children," and from the Institute for Child Guidance in New York comes the following case in point. Steve was disorderly at school, failing in his lessons, and quarrelsome at home. He lied, and was suspicious of everyone. He was referred to the clinic because he was thought to be stupid. The cause of his behaviour, however, was found to be the tension between his parents, which was vented on his misdemeanours. When the parents' attitude was adjusted his troubles were cured. Parents and teachers need to have wholesome, well-adjusted personalities themselves in order to deal adequately with children. "Character building has to begin with our own."

The writer concludes:

If we take the long view and realise that education is not the mere teaching of subject-matter but the preparation of the child for life, and if we keep in mind the fact that personality difficulties in adult life have frequently had their inception in childhood, we shall see the harm of autocratic, repressive discipline that robs the child of the initiative and independence which he will need later, or permanently warps his personality through the disintegrating effects of fear and shame. And yet it is just as harmful to err on the side of over-indulgence. Discipline there must be, but it is futile unless it becomes implanted within the child himself—an inner control that will grow with the years

rather than external pressure which loses its force the moment it is removed. The child should engage in activities not through fear of the teacher or even to please the teacher, but because he sees value in them. A sense of worth in the activity itself, with a knowledge of definite, attainable goals, constitute the highest incentive to hard work, and in such an atmosphere disciplinary problems are reduced to a minimum. If we wish to perpetuate democracy in the world we must rear the child in a democratic atmosphere, where co-operation and respect for the individual are the rule, and where, as John Dewey has said, "the common good is sought with good will." If we expect the child to be self-determining in later life we must not dictate to him but must help him to learn to solve his own problems and to think for himself now. While feeling the urgency of transmitting standards and traditions, let us not forget that we live in a world of change and that the growing generation has its own contribution to make which we must not stifle.

Age—The Great Adventure

Carl Bond writes in *The Oriental Watchman and Herald of Health* :

The journey toward and down the Sunset Trial really is the Big Adventure.

As the *Cliche* phrases it, you are now "at the crossroads." But it is a crossroads where, if you choose your course wisely, you may find yourself on the path to the Big Adventure.

You can, if you learn without fretting that you must slow down the pace, conserve energy, and make the best of what can be and should be contented years to come. You can do it, if you put your will power to work.

Your health demands your thoughtful attention, with care being taken to banish all hypochondriac tendencies.

Weight is the big bugbear of the majority of men and nearly all women as they pass the half-century milestone.

You may be underweight, but probably it is the other way around. If you are a man and fat, or a woman who is more or less plump, the physician may prescribe exercise and a diet. He supplies the prescription, but it is your task and yours alone to follow orders. Co-operate, and you will get astonishingly pleasant results. That bulging tummy will shrink; you will look better, and your clothes will again become ornaments of your body instead of concealments of defects. Moderation should rule in all you do to take off weight. Reducing more than two pounds a week is likely to be harmful.

Getting rid of excess fat calls for less food and drink. There is no royal road to slimness or the relative slenderness you desire, and the only safe way to accomplish good results is to consume less but at the same time maintain a varied dietary.

Eat less of everything, drink less fluids, regulate your use of starches and sugars in accordance with your directions, exercise moderately, and you will be healthier and happier. Also, you will look better. And, it is a grand and glorious feeling when the old paunch shrinks and shrinks.

Exercise can be, and usually is, woefully overdone, especially by those who try to hurry the slow process

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of nature. Whether you like it or not, walking is still man's best standby in keeping a good circulation, firm muscles, and a dependable breathing apparatus.

The use of energy is most important. Everything you do uses up some of your power.

No matter how young and vigorous you may feel, take time out for rest whenever you can.

Probably the best rule to lay down is that we should strongly resist the temptation to pretend we are as young as we were. We aren't, and that is all there is to it.

Self adjustment is hard to manage when age comes on us, creeping like a thief in the night.

There are different methods of making this self adjustment, different because our temperaments are different. What is good for the extrovert may be baneful for the introvert. We must study ourselves without becoming harmfully introspective.

Much of what is to be done at fifty may be learned from the platform of a noted financier of the twenties, who, when he had passed eighty, told an inquirer he believed his mental and physical strength had been kept past the four-score mark because he had taught himself at fifty to look always forward—never backward. To-morrow, he declared, is ever and always the important day, never yesterday. He put all reminiscences out of his mind as much as possible, and made it a rule never to talk of his boyhood. This man actually was young in mind and far from decrepit physically, up to within a few months of his end, which came to him when he was eighty-eight. There is the guidepost for all: Think only of to-morrow, plan for to-morrow, and prevent your brains from calling up thoughts of yourself in the past tense. Do this, and you will make your adjustment easier.

The Absolute as Conceived by F. H. Bradley

In the course of his article on the Absolute as conceived by F. H. Bradley in *The Indian Messenger*, Pandit Sitanath Tattvabhushan observes :

F. H. Bradley is undoubtedly the last great philosopher of Great Britain. Even after his death there are indeed eminent men in that country who have written good and even great books on philosophy. But they lack Mr. Bradley's depth and originality. His *Appearance and Reality* is unrivalled in the close and thorough manner in which the deepest questions of metaphysics are dealt with in it. His 'Absolute' indeed is not likely to satisfy religious people as an object of worship. But curiously enough he urges people to worship it. Religion indeed is, to him, an 'appearance.' But so are many other things, in fact all other things than the Absolute itself. But nevertheless our lives are bound up with them and we have to think and speak of them constantly. Religion, and specially worship, is one of the most important of these things. Why should we neglect worship then, even though in worshipping the Absolute, which includes the worshipper, we should be inconsistent with ourselves. According to Bradley's views, philosophy to which he devoted his life, is itself an appearance, though he never says so. The function of philosophy is to think,—pre-eminently of the greatest object of thought, the Absolute. But in thinking and speaking of the Absolute, the philosopher distinguishes himself from it and so makes it finite and therefore an appearance.

Judged by this standard, *Appearance and Reality*, the greatest English work on philosophy, is also an appearance and not a reality. This is the conclusion to which our great philosopher brings us practically, though not expressly.

We have read his great work again and again in spite of the apparent grotesqueness of some of his conclusions, and it is our object, in writing this article, to give some of his views, mostly in his own words, on the nature of the Absolute and the arguments he adduces for its existence. In this matter, we, as believers in Brahman, the Absolute, and worshippers of him, are fundamentally at one with our philosopher. In fact, Mr. Bradley's Absolutism is essentially the same as the unqualified Monism of our Upanishadic Brahmarshis and their exponents, Acharya Sankara and his followers. Really, we are grateful to Mr. Bradley for the light which he unconsciously throws on the thoughts of our own Rishis and their exponents.

Mr. Bradley shows the unity or individuality of the Absolute in essentially the same way as Hegel does in his *Philosophy of Religion*. It is indeed the same as that in his *Logic*, though the latter is fuller and more lengthy. He says :

"The ideal of spirit, we may say, is directly opposite to mechanism. Spirit is a unity of the manifold in which the externality of the manifold has utterly ceased. The universal here is immanent in the parts, and its system does not lie somewhere outside and in the relations between them. It is above the relational form and has absorbed it in a higher unity, a whole in which there is no division between elements and laws. And as this principle shows itself from the first in the inconsistencies of bare mechanism, we may say that Nature at once is realised and transmuted by spirit."

It is in this 'transmuted' form that Nature, and the finite self that sees it, are realised by the *yogin*, the earnest devotee, in his highest moments. There is little in Mr. Bradley of *yoga* or devotion, endeavour after the direct realisation of the Absolute. This explains the unsatisfactory view he takes of the self.





FOREIGN PERIODICALS

United States Prison Schools

The Bureau of Prison in the United States Department of Justice operates what is said to be the "largest unified correctional plan in the world." As pointed out by the United States Office of Education, "to turn the criminal loose on society after punishment, without any effort to better him before he again attempts to gain a living by honorable means, is in many cases the cause of making him more antisocial and possibly more criminal." An educational and training programme (details of which are reproduced below from *Monthly Labor Review*) has therefore been established by the Bureau of Prisons which is designed to meet individual requirements and to aid in restoring the prisoners to more harmonious relations with society.

A new Federal prisoner must go through a period in which he is interviewed and examined by a number of officers—the record clerk, associate warden, warden's assistants, or institutional case workers, chief medical officer, psychiatrist, psychologist, the educational supervisor, chaplain, recreation officer, and parole officer. Each of these members of the staff studies the prisoner and recommends corrective and remedial measures.

The classification committee composed of the above-mentioned staff members, presided over by the superintendent or warden, considers the data on the case and the recommendations of the different specialists and formulates a definite program with reference to the custody, discipline, social service, education, employment, recreation, religious training, medical and surgical treatment, psychiatric and psychological attention, and (when necessary) transfer to another institution.

The units which constitute the basis of the educational programme for Federal prisoners are given below :

(1) Elementary courses for illiterates and borderline illiterates, including individuals below the fourth-or fifth-grade level on standardized tests for achievement but who are able to assimilate such education.

(2) Higher academic education for those inmates who are above the preceding group on standardized tests for achievement and who wish to make up deficiencies in their elementary schooling. An effort is made to organize test and instructional material from the fields of English, civics, and social and industrial problems, and similar fields on the adult level.

(3) Allied trades and occupational classes for selected industrial workers and for all vocational trainees. In vocational education the main emphasis is on the regular operation and industrial activities of the institution for training "on the job." Those prisoners who are able to assimilate trade training and develop superior industrial or trade skills are designated as vocational

trainees by the prison classification committee and are obliged to follow a plan of related school work.

(4) Fairly advanced special classes in languages, mathematics, commercial subjects, mechanical drawing, lettering, and various other subjects have been organized to meet the practical and cultural interests of selected higher-grade prisoners.

(5) Correspondence and cell courses of study for those inmates who are unable to attend classes or whose interests and requirements cannot be met in the units outlined above. With a small number of exceptions, all cell courses of study are planned by the educational department and administered very much in accordance with the methods of standard correspondence schools. These cell study and correspondence courses are both vocational and academic. Among the typical subjects taught are correct English, arithmetic for adults, modern business arithmetic, laundry practice, household refrigeration, Diesel engines, and agriculture.

The United States Industrial Reformatory, Chillicothe, Ohio, has a school which is regarded as having the "widest and most complete development" in Federal reformatory schools. The school proper is located in a two-story building with classrooms, special rooms for instruction through visual aids, a well-equipped library, a science laboratory, a day and evening school for academic and vocational subjects, music instruction, a well-organized recreational program, and a very successful inmate council.

The educational work conducted by the Federal penitentiary at Atlanta, Ga., is highly significant and interesting. The staff of this prison includes an educational supervisor, two assistant supervisors, an industrial and vocational counselor, a librarian, and two chaplains.

More than a thousand men are enrolled in the more formal classroom type of work in elementary education for adult illiterates; classes in commercial work; related trades and occupational groups; art classes of various kinds; special subjects at secondary-school levels; a journalism class which publishes a monthly publication; supplementary visual education. In addition, classes and forums in religious education are conducted by the chaplains; educational radio broadcasts are conducted at regular periods during the week on the institutional radio system, a part of which is tied in with the well-known weekly program of the Town Hall of the Air, the records being obtained from the local radio station, used at suitable hours in the institution, and followed by an open forum conducted by the inmate group on the same topic.

The Federal prison libraries play an important part in the educational activities of the penitentiaries.

Full-time librarians attached to the educational staff direct the large institutional libraries. "The total number of volumes in the 19 libraries approximates today over 136,000. The accessions of books for the past year reached 10,452 volumes. The largest collection is found at the Atlanta Penitentiary, with more than 18,000 volumes."

In the year referred to, 728,621 books were circulated; also approximately 170,000 single issues of magazines. In 1938-39 more than one-third of the books loaned were in the nonfiction class. In institutions in which there were full-time librarians the average was over 40 per cent. In most prisons the inmates are permitted to go to the libraries and select their books. The Lewisburg Penitentiary library is open for readers in the evenings and is taxed for seating room. Under a carefully worked out schedule of the Atlanta Peniten-

tiary, prisoners are allowed to go to the library to select their own books, to browse in the stacks, or to read magazines and newspapers. Other large institutions use "bookmobiles" for the distribution of library literature.

Summary Execution of Journalists in Amsterdam by Nazis

The Living Age for July writes:

Word reaches us from Amsterdam *via* Paris of the summary execution by Nazis of most of the editorial staff of *De Groene Amsterdammer*.

This weekly, for many years a skilful and satirical opponent of the Nazis in a country where fifth-column activities were rampant, was one of the first objects of Nazi wrath when the Reichswehr entered the city in May. It bespeaks a great deal for the courage of the staff of this journal that the invaders recognised its power and were quick to descend on its plant once the path was cleared of snipers; but that honor is cold comfort for those editors who, remaining at their desks though much of the city was aflame, were shot on the familiar Nazi pretext of "resisting arrest." *De Groene Amsterdammer* has, of course, since been suppressed; even the undeniably adroit Dr. Goebbels could not hope to retain its format and circulation in a Nazi transformation (an editorial feat successfully performed, however, with certain Polish journals). Editors the world over will miss its lively cartoons—week in and week out, the best political caricature in Europe appeared in its pages—and the sardonic and cutting tone of many of its articles.

Other reports state that the editors of *De Groene Amsterdammer* were not the only journalists to incur the wrath of the Nazi hordes. Staff members of other anti-Hitler newspapers in the city were also deemed to be "resisting arrest," or were charged with sniping from their office windows; the last is conceivably true.

Perhaps journalism must revert to that melo-dramatic era, in America, where part of the essential equipment of the editor, aside from his sulphurous vocabulary, was a six-shooter in his top, right-hand desk drawer, precautionarily left open.

The Fifth Column at Work

The expression "fifth column" figures prominently in the new vocubulary created by the present war. The following excerpts from an article in *The New Statesman And Nation* will be found interesting.

Only a few years ago, when the Germans attacked Austria and Bohemia, few people knew of its existence and hardly anybody believed that it [the Fifth Column] was systematically organised in nearly every country.

I myself happened to be in Vienna (says the writer) when the Nazis marched in. On the following day I spoke to soliders from Pomerania, police from Berlin and S.S. men from Munich. As I was a German national, they spoke quite frankly about the military and political preparations for the invasion. More than a week before Schuschnigg began his last struggle for Austria's independence, they said, S.S. men, fully informed about all the places of military and political importance, had been placed throughout Vienna and the Austrian provinces—in civilian dress.

I was in Berlin when Bohemia was attacked. Whilst Lord Runciman was travelling through that country, all the detailed plans for the economic occupation of Bohemia were being worked out in the offices of the Reich Economic Ministry, the Dresdner Bank, the Chemical Trust and the other industries. An engineer from Knapsack, who had formerly worked in Bohemia, furnished specially detailed information, and works secrets from the Witkowitz Iron Works and other militarily important factories were betrayed by a Czech technician whose job it had been to repair cranes.

In every case of National Socialist internal aggression there were not only Quislings at the top, but Quislings also in apparently unimportant positions.

Whilst Lord Runciman was making his last attempts to get the Czech and German Governments to reach an agreement, there sat in an office in Berlin one of the closest collaborators of Henlein, the Nazi leader of the Sudeten Germans: he was the lawyer Arnold Kriessl of Bodenbach and was in charge of the information from the Fifth Column. He had a Czech mother and spoke German with a hard Czech accent. Not only did he possess very exact knowledge of the population in the districts under dispute—the language they spoke, the political party to which they belonged, etc.—but he also had the most accurate information about the key people in all the banks and factories of any importance; and this applied not only to the Sudeten parts, but to the purely Czech parts too. He had lists showing name, age, profession, position in the firm, salary, origin and political views of Sudeten German engineers, technicians and bank employees, with a note whether and how they could be used in the event of a German occupation.

At first the Fifth Column only had the support of a few obliging people, but as time went on a solid organisation was built up; and when war broke out it covered nearly the whole world. Its work was facilitated by the close connections between representatives of German export firms and representatives of the Government and Party.

By combining the commercial, State and political machines it was possible to thwart the construction of a nitrogen plant in Finland, planned by the Army and business interests, to accelerate the cultivation of oilseed and fibre plants in the Balkans, to increase the sale of weapons in the Far East. Only this combination rendered possible the economic and military conquest, which we are now witnessing.

Not only Germans but even members of so-called "suppressed" nations have been enlisted in the service of the Nazi Fifth Column. But it has never been generally known how many bona-fide neutrals slipped into their service without knowing it. One last example on this point: the director of a large German firm met the secretary of one of the most important industrial unions in the U. S. A. When the latter spoke disparagingly of the Nazis, the director invited him to come at his cost to Germany. Later on the German State bore the expense of the journey. When the American arrived he has received most heartily by the Ministry of Economics, by the Institute for Business Research and by large industrial firms, and the information he got was apparently objective. I myself took part in a conference at which the visit was being prepared. A

confidential expose of Germany's economic position was used. Two pages of statistics on Germany's actual indebtedness were torn out of the copy which was to be given to the American. The members of the conference were told exactly what they should point out to the American and what they should conceal. He later on wrote a very kind book on Germany, which was often quoted in German propaganda. The American likewise visited Russia. The Russians were not so well prepared for his visit and treated him less amiable. He spoke very disapprovingly of Russian economy.

First Results of the Occupation of Denmark

This picture of "free" Denmark under Nazi control (reproduced here from *World Review*) is typical of their methods in occupied territories.

The Gestapo, who closely followed the army of occupation, see to it, that the Danes' feelings are not openly expressed. Arrests of German emigrants and Danish citizens were made immediately, and efforts to obtain their release by the still functioning Danish Government were unsuccessful.

The Gestapo forbade all public meetings and the listening-in to foreign radio broadcasts. All telephonic, telegraphic and postal communications were put under their control, and archives and files belonging to the trade unions were confiscated German representatives are now installed in all newspaper offices, and the Press and wireless are restricted to German sources for all their news. All cinemas are now showing German films

German commissioners have been allocated to every Danish administrative body, and they give orders for confiscations and rationing One of their first tasks has been to extend to Denmark the German system of utilising waste products. The Danish petrol reserve of two hundred and fifty thousand tons has been seized, railway traffic restricted, and the Germans allow private cars only on journeys which *they* consider important

At the head of all these commissioners stands the former German envoy in Denmark—von Reuthe-Finck, who has been made special representative for Denmark by Hitler, and whose powers are somewhat similar to those of von Neurath in Prague. The military authorities are governed by a German Air Force general, Kaupisch.

Danish provisions which formerly went to England now, of course, fall to Germany, but the Danish livestock reserves will be reduced to a minimum, as no more cattle food can be imported. The Nazis have ordered the Danish Agricultural Ministry to replace oil-cake imports by linseed production in Denmark itself. Few milch cows are likely to be saved from an early death in the coming autumn and winter by this absurd demand. Apart from the strategical and internal political effects, the advantages of the occupation of Denmark for Germany are restricted to an increase of foodstuffs and provisions for a few months, and to the feeding of a part of the German Army through requisitioning. The prosecution of the war in Norway has also been made easier by using up the stocks of Danish petrol.

Democracy and Dictatorship

The *New York Times* observes :

For more than seven years Germany has been preparing to impose her will by force on other nations. . . . The democratic countries have followed a different course. To their credit and glory be it said that during the years before the present war they did not subordinate all life to a military state. . . . They preserved the liberties of speech, of press, kept inviolate the rights of the citizen, dealt honorably with other nations. Their governments made mistakes, but thought was not stifled, originality was not penalized, tolerance was not made a crime, truth was not trampled in the mud.

Was this adventure in freedom a mistake ? Is force the final arbiter ?

One sees that even the Nazis admit that it is not. Even the Nazis attempt to justify their aggression on moral grounds. . . . The Nazis know that the German nation has a conscience. They may and do lie to their people, but they dare not ignore that conscience.

The overwhelming majority of people in this country who wish to see the Allied cause victorious can find reassurance, even in a troubled hour, in their own deep-seated faith that democracy is a stronger institution than dictatorship. It may take two years to equip a modern army, to develop competent air pilots, to train expert anti-aircraft gunners. But it takes decades, even centuries, to develop a way of life for which men will fight to the bitter end because it represents that way of life which they themselves have freely chosen.

Dictatorship has still to prove that in the long run the discipline which it imposes with a lash can match the courage and the staying-power of free peoples.

What Benjamin Franklin Foresaw

Writing from Paris on January 16, 1784, Benjamin Franklin describes seeing a balloon ascension.

" [This] appears, as you observe, to be a discovery of great importance, and what may possibly give a new turn to human affairs. Convincing sovereigns of the folly of wars may perhaps be one effect of it; since it will be impracticable for the most potent of them to guard his dominions. Five thousand balloons, capable of raising two men each, could not cost more than five ships of the line; and where is the prince who can afford so to cover his country with troops for its defense, as that ten thousand men descending from the clouds might not in many places do an infinite deal of mischief, before a force could be brought together to repel them."

We count this passage one of the most remarkable instances of prescience in history (observes *Unity* editorially). Today we have not balloons but airplanes and parachutes, as witness Finland, Norway, and Holland. But the principle is the same, and though it took a century and a half, it is now fulfilled. Just what this genius of commonsense foresaw has at last occurred. Yet, wise as he was, Franklin was not able to prophesy accurately the effect of this phenomenon upon war. He innocently surmised that the possibilities of the balloon would convince "sovereigns of the folly of wars." But as we now know, nothing can convince sovereigns, or prime ministers and presidents, of the folly of wars. One hundred and fifty-six years have passed since Benjamin Franklin wrote these words, and during this period war has attained a potency of madness which not even a demon from hell could have foreseen; yet nations still settle their disputes as blithely by the arbitrament of arms as ever they did in days gone by. In this field of human conduct, the race has not advanced an inch. Indeed, looking at stricken Europe at this hour, we are inclined to affirm that mankind has retrograded to an age of savagery so remote as to be beyond the horizon of recorded history.

Affairs of the Heart

Some important facts about the heart are reproduced below from *Parade*.

Is physical strain the chief cause of heart disorder ?

Physical strain is no longer thought to be an important cause of heart disorder—although severe exertion will make an already ailing heart worse. Hidden sources of infection, worry, incorrect eating and living habits in general, are now viewed as more important causes of heart troubles than physical exertion.

How does a tired heart show up ?

Very seldom does a tired heart give any pain in the chest. It shows up instead as fatigue throughout the entire body. In this instance the person feels rested enough when he wakes up in the morning, but gradually becomes more and more tired throughout the day. But don't confuse the fatigue due to an honest day's work with that due to a "weak" heart.

Does indigestion affect the heart ?

So-called "acute indigestion," in 99·44 per cent of cases, is really a heart disturbance rather than a digestive disturbance. People may believe that the pain in the heart in acute indigestion comes from gas in the stomach, or from the overloaded stomach pressing against the heart, but they should realize that, almost invariably, acute indigestion is a sign that all is not well with the heart.

Is palpitation serious ?

Heart specialists say more patients come to them for palpitation than any other symptom, and yet palpitation is usually a minor and misleading thing. The symptom of palpitation usually means that the person has simply become unusually aware of heart action after it has been speeded up a bit by climbing the stairs, other exertion, or worry.

Is fainting a sign of a weak heart ?

Fainting is as likely to be a sign of hysterical make-up as it is of a weak heart. More people swoon because they want to create excitement than on account of heart trouble.

Why stitch in the side ?

Severe or suden exercise causes an acute enlargement of the heart and the sudden stitch of pain resulting from this is Nature's friendly warning to take it easier.

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IN THE EVENING OF LIFE
D. P. Roy Chaudhuri

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NOTES

Congress Resolves To Go Its Own Way

At Bombay on the 16th September last after two days' debate the All-India Congress Committee accepted by a very large majority the following resolution of the Congress Working Committee on the political situation in India, moved by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, only seven members in a house of over two hundred voting against it :

"The All-India Congress Committee has given its careful attention to the events that have taken place since its last meeting, held in Poona on July 27, 1940, and to the resolutions passed by the Working Committee at Wardha in August last. The Committee approves of and endorses these resolutions.

DELHI-POONA OFFER WITHDRAWN

"In order to end the deadlock in India and to promote the national cause, in co-operation with the British people the Working Committee, even at the sacrifice of Mahatma Gandhi's co-operation, made a proposal to the British Government in their Delhi resolution of July 7, 1940, which was subsequently approved by the A.-I. C. C. at Poona. This proposal was rejected by the British Government in a manner which left no doubt that they had no intention to recognise India's independence, and would, if they could, continue to hold this country indefinitely in bondage for British exploitation. This decision of the British Government shows that they will impose their will upon India and their recent policy has further shown that they will not even tolerate free expression of public opinion in condemnation of their associating India in the War against Germany, against the will of the vast body of the people of India, and of exploiting her national resources and man power for this purpose.

IMPOSING A STRUGGLE

"The All-India Congress Committee cannot submit to a policy which is a denial of India's natural right to freedom, which suppresses the free expression of public opinion, and which would lead to the degradation of her people and their continued enslavement. By following this policy, the British Government have created an intolerable situation and are imposing upon the Congress a struggle for the preservation of the honour and the elementary rights of the people.

"The Congress is pledged under Gandhiji's leadership to non-violence for the vindication of India's freedom. At this grave crisis in the movement for national freedom the All-India Congress Committee, therefore, requests him to guide the Congress in the action that should be taken. The Delhi resolution, confirmed by the A.-I. C. C. at Poona, which prevented him from so doing, no longer applies. It has lapsed.

SYMPATHY WITH BRITISH PEOPLE

"The A.-I. C. C. sympathise with the British people as well as the peoples of all other countries involved in the War. Congressmen cannot withhold their admiration for the bravery and endurance, shown by the British nation in the face of danger and peril. They can have no ill-will against them, and the spirit of Satyagraha forbids the Congress from doing anything with a view to embarrass them. But this self-imposed restraint cannot be taken to the extent of self-extinction. The Congress must insist on the fullest freedom to pursue its policy based on non-violence. The Congress has, however, no desire at the present moment to extend non-violent resistance should this become necessary, beyond what is required for the preservation of the liberties of the people.

FAITH IN NON-VIOLENCE

"In view of certain misapprehensions that have arisen in regard to the Congress policy of non-violence, the A.-I. C. C. desires to state this afresh, and to make it clear that this policy continues, notwithstanding anything contained in previous resolutions which may have led to these misapprehensions. This Committee firmly believes in the policy and practice of non-violence, not only in the struggle for Swaraj, but also, in so far as this may be possible of application, in free India.

DISARMAMENT

"The Committee is convinced, and recent world events have demonstrated, that complete world disarmament is necessary, and the establishment of a new and juster political and economic order, if the world is not to destroy itself and revert to barbarism. A free India will, therefore, throw all her weight in favour of world disarmament and should herself be prepared to give a lead in this to the world. Such lead will inevitably depend on external factors and internal conditions, but the State would do its utmost to give effect to this policy of disarmament. Effective disarmament, and the establishment of world peace by the ending of national wars, depend ultimately on the removal of the causes of wars and national conflicts. These causes must be rooted out by the ending of the domination of one country over another and the exploitation of one people or group by another.

WHY INDIA WANTS FREEDOM

"To that end India will peacefully labour, and it is with this objective in view that the people of India desire to attain the status of a free and independent nation. Such freedom will be the prelude to the close association with other countries within a comity of free nations for the peace and progress of the world."—*A. P.*

There is no difficulty in understanding what is stated in the resolution. But what is not stated is what the Congress is actually going to do "to attain the status of a free and independent nation." That is perhaps the reason why one member, Mr. Ghulam Mohamed Jan of the N.-W. Frontier Province, opposed the resolution,

as he thought that it was another attempt like Ramgarh to evade issue. At Ramgarh the Working Committee promised a struggle but later at Wardha this policy was abandoned and at Poona the Ramgarh policy was actually torpedoed and revised

But Mr. Yusuf Meherally supported it,

as he found in it the prospect of launching the struggle. He said the Socialists had to criticise the Gandhian policy on many occasions, but now as Mahatma Gandhi was for the struggle they supported him. They were convinced that unless they had Mahatma Gandhi as their leader, no struggle would be successful at this critical juncture

The reason why no definite course of action has been suggested or laid down in the resolution appears to be that Mahatma Gandhi, who has resumed the leadership of the Congress, has not yet decided what he will do.

There is no tall talk, no bravado in the resolution. That is an indication of the calm confidence which the Congress has in its own strength and in the justice of its cause.

Gandhiji's Speeches During C. W. C. & A.-I. C. C. Meetings at Bombay

Mahatma Gandhi delivered some important speeches in Hindi and English at Bombay before the Congress Working Committee and the All-India Congress Committee. It is to be regretted that there is no space even to summarize them and comment on them here. But two of them will have to be noticed.

Addressing the All-India Congress Committee in Hindi on the 15th September last Mahatma Gandhi said:

"I cannot tell you what I will do. But I can tell you what you have not to do. There is no question of mass Civil Disobedience. There may be—I am sure—individual Civil Disobedience.

"I am still searching for something, but so far, I have not been able to find out anything. As soon as I come to a decision on this, I shall let you know. Meanwhile, I ask you to pray to God to give me the necessary strength and courage to bear the burden and the heavy responsibility of leading and guiding the Congress. If I am not able to find out a way to guide the Congress, then I shall come before you and admit my failure and ask you to take back the leadership."

Gandhiji added:

"There are friends among us who are suspicious that I might compromise with the British Government. I wish to make it clear to those friends that there is enough room in this resolution for a compromise and I am not afraid of going to the Viceroy to ask him if the present situation does not place the Congress in danger of extinction."

In his English speech Mahatma Gandhi said that

he proposed to go to the Viceroy with the Congress resolution and ask him that if the situation, as it was, was allowed to continue, would it not amount to extinction of the Congress. It may be that the Viceroy may say to him (Gandhi) that he (Viceroy) was helpless and he may have to come back empty handed. He would also request the Viceroy to give the Congress latitude to bring moral pressure through non-violent means against India's participation in the war efforts.

Mahatmaji spoke for 60 minutes in Hindustani, after which he addressed the Committee in English.

On the 16th September, just before votes were taken on the resolution moved by Pandit Nehru, Gandhiji said, addressing the All-India Congress Committee:

Today by passing this resolution you will all become an army—an army of action. Everyone should strictly follow the orders of his general. We must base our fight on non-violence. We are going to fight the empire which believes in violence. If we give up non-violence and resort to violence we will perish.

Referring to the demand for mass civil disobedience and no-tax campaign Mahatma Gandhi said:

All these years I have been trying to prepare you for that. But you are not ready. This is not my fault. I can only fight with material at my disposal. The key to mass civil disobedience must be in my hands. I know when to start mass civil disobedience and I would ask you to leave the matter in my hands.

Continuing, he observed:

"I am not yet your captain. I will be one when you have passed this resolution. Maulana Saheb said

today that I had told you all I wanted to convey to you but I told him that the A.-I. C. C. may pass the resolution and may appoint me its leader. I must therefore have the opportunity to know well whom I am going to captain and to know opinions of my soldiers. Although today is my day of silence I wanted to come here and watch proceedings so that I may have sufficient opportunity to understand you."

Mahatma Gandhi proceeding said that

The present resolution was a great step towards Swaraj and said "I cannot give you definition of Swaraj. I have not been able to define Swaraj...Though I can not give you such a defintion I will just tell you what it is...But I have given you in this resolution the basis of Swaraj. If you hold fast to it your desires will be fulfilled. That is, right of free speech and civil liberty must be available to everyone.

"That is the root of Swaraj and the foundation stone of Swaraj. You must therefore hold fast to this ideal. If there is no right of free speech and civil liberty then Swaraj is wellnigh impossible...If we are able to secure that right of free speech either by compromise or failing which by fight it will be good.

"For the present we have to say something about the war. You must ponder over the full implications of the resolution. You must have the right to say what you want to say. No one can thrive if there is no freedom of speech. Personal liberty, religious liberty, everything is included in our conception of Swaraj. One must have the right to propagate what he thinks right provided he does not preach violence.

"What is our present demand? This is not the time to ask for our independence. It is beyond the power of the British Government to confer it on us. By the British Government merely saying that India is independent, India cannot become independent. India can be independent only if she can hold her own when the British go out. We must have inherent strength in us to resist any foreign aggressor. We must have the capacity to preserve our independence.

"How can the British people give us independence when their own independence is at stake. Our demand is for freedom of speech but simply because the British people are engaged in a war for their very existence they cannot curtail our freedom of expression.

"I have placed before you a concrete proposition. When you wage a fight you have to do it for something tangible or concrete.

"That is my way of struggle. If you merely say that you are fighting for independence there is no meaning. We must make this a clear issue, namely, that we are fighting to obtain the right to say what we like—liberty of speech. In the beginning I thought it was a small matter, but I have pondered over it and have come to the conclusion that it is an issue of very great importance. If I can get this thing then I get the key to Swaraj. I do not want you to pass this resolution to oblige me. It must be done by your free will. It is only then I will have the necessary sanction behind me."

The following words were uttered by him in the course of his speech and perhaps they were his concluding words:

"The key to civil disobedience, no-tax campaign, etc., is in my and not your hands. You should not break law till I have settled with the Viceroy."

Gandhiji said that he would perish rather than have a division of their motherland. He wished Congressmen adhered fully and completely to non-violence and all problems would be solved.—*A. P.* and *U. P.*

By "a division of their motherland" he evidently referred to the Pakistan proposal.

From the trend of this speech which Gandhiji delivered before votes were taken on the A.-I. C. C. resolution it seems probable that satyagraha will be started if the Viceroy does not agree to the public being allowed freedom of speech, in relation to the war to begin with.

We shall have something more to say on Gandhiji's speeches in another note.

Some Obvious Comments on the Latest A.-I. C. C. Resolution

At its Poona Session the All-India Congress Committee passed a resolution wherein it was stated:

"The A.-I. C. C. has considered the statement issued by the Working Committee from Wardha on June 21, 1940 and confirms it. The A.-I. C. C. is of the opinion that, as explained therein, while the Congress must continue to adhere strictly to the principle of non-violence in the struggle for independence, it is unable, in the present circumstances, to declare that the principle should be extended to free India's national defence."

We commented on the Wardha statement and on this resolution in our last July and August numbers. We will not repeat our comments. In the latest A.-I. C. C. resolution passed at Bombay it is stated:

"This Committee firmly believes in the policy and practice of non-violence not only in the struggle for Swaraj, but also, in so far as this may be possible of application, in a free India."

From the practical statesman's point of view the earlier resolution was right in stating that "in the present circumstances" the principle of non-violence could not be extended to free India's internal and external national defence. That resolution was passed "even at the sacrifice of" the "co-operation" of Mahatma Gandhi, who is a thorough-going ahimsāist. Now, finding that most probably, if not certainly, satyāgraha will be necessary and no satyāgraha campaign can be effectively carried on without Gandhiji's co-operation, the Committee has shifted its position, stating that it "firmly believes in the policy and practice of non-violence not only in the struggle for Swaraj, but also, *in so far as this may be possible of application*, in a free India." The words we have printed in italics are perhaps meant to prevent any charge of vacillation or inconsistency being brought against the Committee. But in spite of those words, the change in the Committee's position in relation to non-violence is evident. Nothing has happened in the course of the last two or three months to make that (namely, non-violence) applicable

to free India which was not applicable to it before. Therefore, the change can be explained only by expediency and opportunism, which cannot, of course, be said to be wrong irrespective of circumstances.

We think non-violence is a high ideal, but we also hold that the use of force is necessary, justifiable and commendable when it is non-aggressive, free from hatred and malice and really meant for defensive purposes and for the maintenance of law and order.

We will conclude with another obvious comment on the A.-I. C. C. resolution. Gandhiji has laid stress in his speech in relation to it on securing the right of free speech, particularly with reference to wars in general and to India's being dragged into the present war without being consulted. That India ought to have been consulted, may be repeated any number of times without breaking any law. But anti-war propaganda, with reference to wars in general or this war in particular, may affect recruitment. Thoroughgoing ahimsaists may consider such a result desirable, but others will not.

Gandhiji on Students' Participation In Satyagraha Campaign

BOMBAY, SEPT. 15.

"If I were in charge of Satyagraha campaign I should neither invite nor encourage students to leave their schools and colleges," writes Mahatma Gandhi replying to a question regarding the participation of students in a satyagraha campaign if it is launched.

"To withdraw students from schools and colleges," Gandhiji adds, "is to encourage them in the programme of non-co-operation. It is not on our programme today. We have found by experience that students have not yet got over their passion for Government schools and colleges. That these institutions have lost their glamour is a gain, but I do not set much store by it, and if institutions are to continue, withdrawal of students for satyagraha will do them no good and will be of little help to the cause. Such withdrawals will not be non-violent. There is no comparison between students here and those in England. There the whole nation is involved in the war. Institutions have been closed down by managers. Here on the contrary students leaving their schools and colleges would do so in spite of the heads of those institutions."—*U. P.*

Mr. Savarkar on Muslim League Resolutions And Hindu Mahasabha's Principles

In the course of a statement to the press Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President of the Hindu Mahasabha, refers to the Provincial Hindu Sabhas in Madras, Panjab, Bengal, Bombay and Sind publicly condemning the Moslem League resolutions and says the speech of Mr. Amery was mainly responsible for the Muslim minority advancing such impossible claims.

Mr. Savarkar severely criticises the Congress, particularly Mr. Rajagopalachari's "sporting offer" to the Moslem League regarding Premiership in the National Government and his "tacit approval of the Pakistan scheme."

Proceeding Mr. Savarkar says,

"But whatever be the anti-Hindu demands of the Moslems or the policy of the British statesmen in egging them on, the suicidal 'blank cheques' and 'sporting offers' are tragedies of the Congressite pseudo-nationalism.

"The Hindu Mahasabha at any rate can and will never accept any other principle to determine the representation of the Moslem minority other than their population ratio.

"And if but all Hindus who still, live, breathe and have their being as Hindus whether they happen to be in the Congress or otherwise unite themselves as Hindus demanding and defending that the Hindu majority too must have its legitimate rights as zealously guarded and secured as the rights of anyone else, no one can deprive the Hindus of their representation in proportion to their population simply because they happen to be in majority or favour the Moslems as if they were a set of suffering saints simply because they happen to be a minority. Let all Hindus once for all declare that the Moslems have not obliged the Hindus by being in minority and the Hindus are in majority because they proved themselves fit to survive and outnumbered anyone of those with whom they had to fight in the continued struggle for national existence. In fact democracy itself ought to assure the Hindus as the overwhelming majority in Hindustan of rule unchallenged. But even the spirit of compromise can never go further than the principle of representation in legislatures, etc., in proportion to population.

"Let the Hindus know it for certain that if but the Hindus along with the Hindu states organize a Pan-Hindu Front pledged to defend Hindu rights alone without let or hindrance, the Hindus will very soon be found far more powerful a factor in Indian political life than Mr. Amery fancies today the Moslem minority to be and the Britishers will be compelled to placate the Hindus more desperately than they at present do the Moslem minority.

"The indivisibility and independence of India, representation in proportion of population basis and public services to go by merit alone, these are the fundamental principles on which the Hindu Mahasabha has taken its stand ever since its formation and it will not budge an inch in future from it even if the worst comes to the worst."—*A. P.*

Considering the communal policy of the Government and the Congress policy of Muslim appeasement, no reasonable objection can be urged against what Mr. Savarkar has said. But on some vital points his statement, as summarized by the Associated Press of India, is silent. Will the Hindu Mahasabha agree to occupy seats in the expanded Executive Council of the Viceroy if the British Government does not immediately promise by Act or Resolution of Parliament to confer Dominion Status on India six months after the conclusion of the war as a step towards

India's ultimate independence, say, five years thereafter? We ask this question, as Mr. Savarkar had declared in the course of a previous speech or statement of his that, though he or the Hindu Mahasabha would be satisfied with Dominion Status as the immediate goal, he or the Mahasabha will not be satisfied with anything less than complete independence as the final political goal.

Another question that occurs to us is, if with or without any such promise as has been mentioned above, the Mahasabha agrees to accept membership in the Viceroy's Executive Council, will it insist on having as many members thereon as the Hindu community is entitled to on the population basis in relation to the Muslim community?

Mr. Jinnah's Moderation

Clive made himself immensely rich at the expense of Bengal. He had ample opportunities to make himself far more wealthy than he became. But he did not seize them to become opulent beyond the dreams of avarice. He was, therefore, amazed at his own moderation.

The Government having rejected the offer of co-operation made by the Congress by its Poona resolution and the Secretary of State having declared that the Government would not go in for further parleys with the Congress for putting an end to the deadlock, Mr. Jinnah, it is reported in the papers, has come to the conclusion that the British Government in its helplessness cannot but depend entirely on the support of the Muslim League in order to be able to tide over the crisis. So it is reported that he has asked for 50 per cent. of the additional memberships in the Viceroy's proposed Executive Council, the "key positions" therein, and previous intimation to him of the names of the non-Muhammadan members intended to be included therein, so that, we presume, Mr. Jinnah may either approve of their inclusion or veto it. In view of the utter helplessness of the British nation and the immeasurable strength of the Muslim League, Mr. Jinnah's demands must be considered very modest indeed. In fact, he could have saved himself the trouble of laying down several demands by simply asking that all the additional members must be the nominees of the Muslim League, that is, of himself. For are not the Hindus, the Azad Muslims, the Sikhs, the Christians, the Parsis, etc., utter non-entities? So, like Clive, he is entitled to feel amazed at his moderation. It is really a puzzle why all Indian Muslims do not acclaim him as their sole leader and why even some members of the Muslim League profess to be dissatisfied with his leadership.

Immediate Recognition of India As a Dominion

The New Statesman and Nation writes:

"Parliament should by resolution straightway recognise India as a Dominion, and accord to some body of India's elected representatives, however they may be chosen, the right to determine its future Constitution, subject to ratification at Westminster within a year of the end of the war. That formula would allow us to negotiate over the necessary transitional arrangements. If we made this firm declaration now, Indians could be called to the Viceroy's Council and Self-Government might be resumed in the Congress provinces."

We quote this passage from a British paper, not because we have any expectation that the British Cabinet or Parliament will act up to its suggestion, but only to show that at least an immediate promise of Dominion status, by Parliamentary statute or resolution, if not the immediate grant of that status itself, is not impracticable.

Two Hundred Per Cent. Increase of India's Naval Personnel!

India has a vulnerable coast-line of more than 4000 miles. It has been recognized by a responsible officer of what has been pompously named the Royal Indian Navy that India's navy should be considerably strengthened in order to guard against eventualities. "Considerably" is not the right word to use. Words like "vastly" would be better.

However, in order perhaps to re-assure the possibly nervous Indian population living near the sea, the officer in question, has said in a broadcast talk from Bombay that already in the early months of the war the Royal Indian Navy has by intensive efforts increased its active personnel by over two hundred per cent. But what was the previous numerical strength of the personnel and what is the strength now after increase? If formerly there were, say, 20 men and if there are now 80, that would be a very imposing increase in percentage. But if those actual numbers were mentioned, the ridiculously inadequate provision for defending a coast-line of over 4,000 miles would at once become evident. Therefore, the actual former and present numbers should be mentioned.

And Indians will also require to know how many of their countrymen have been and will be recruited to man the Royal Indian Navy.

Bengal Finance Minister's Plea For Just Share of Central Revenues

A resolution urging the modification of the Government of India Order, 1936, ensuring allocation to Bengal of her due share of Central revenues accruing from any tax on income other than the agricultural income was unanimously adopted by the Bengal Legislative Council on the 13th September last.

Speaking on the resolution, the Finance Minister drew a gloomy picture of the financial position of the province and remarked that there was very little doubt of their facing considerable deficits in the coming year. If the barest justice had to be accorded to Bengal, he added, earliest steps should be taken to reverse the present arrangement, the Government of India (Distribution of Revenues) Order, 1936.

A deficit of one crore is anticipated next year.

Deficit or no deficit, Bengal is justly entitled to keep for her own use a far larger share of the revenues raised in the province than she is allowed to. But it is also incumbent on the Finance Minister to show that all possible efforts have been made to prevent waste and effect economies by retrenchment. Can he do so? We are afraid he cannot.

Condition of Indians in South Africa

Sir Maharaj Singh, former Agent-General for India in South Africa, has issued the following statement through the Associated Press of India:

"General Smuts's recent statement that Indians in South Africa are in many respects far happier there than they would be in India needs qualifications. While I gladly admit that many Indians are from a material point of view better off in South Africa than they would have been had they remained in their motherland, there are at the same time large numbers of Indians especially in Natal, who are living in conditions bordering on destitution.

"For their condition the South African Government are largely responsible through their failure to provide the same facilities for employment for Indians as for Europeans. Moreover, it is absurd to speak of Indians as living in happy conditions in South Africa seeing that they are deprived throughout the greater part of that country of municipal and political franchise, though subject to the same taxation as Europeans, and suffer from several social disabilities to a far greater extent than in any other part of the world, and as Sir Raza Ali has rightly pointed out, there has been for several years past increasing anti-Indian legislation.

"Lastly, if many Indians have improved their material prospects by going to South Africa a much larger number of Europeans, both British and Boers, have bettered themselves. After all most people emigrate to distant countries to earn more money. I gladly state that when I was Agent-General in South Africa, General Smuts, next to Mr. J. Hofmeyr, was the most helpful Minister in regard to matters affecting Indians and I would sooner have him as Prime Minister at the present juncture than any other South African statesman. One can only hope against hope that a man of his world-wide reputation will not confine the excellent precepts in his speeches to Europeans in South Africa but will include within their scope the Indians and the Africans."—*A. P.*

This soberly worded and impartial statement ought to receive the serious attention of both British and South African statesmen.

British statesmen claim that the British nation has been fighting for democratic conditions for all mankind. This claim cannot be admitted so long as within the British Empire itself there are people who are treated as helots.

Air Pilots' Recruitment and Training

SIMLA, Sept. 13.

Since the Civil Aviation Directorate invited applications, on August 31, from candidates wishing to train as pilots under the Government of India scheme to form a reserve for the air forces, 3,500 applications have been received by the Civil Aviation Directorate and a further seven thousand have been handed over by the Royal Air Force.

With another twelve days left before the last date for the receipt of applications it is expected that many more candidates will apply. In view of the considerable time which will be occupied in interviewing so many candidates, from whom only three hundred can be selected in the first instance, it has been decided that no applications received after September 25 will be entertained.

A selection board to interview candidates at selected centres has been set up and will commence its tour about the middle of October and the first batch of hundred who are to be trained under this scheme will be allotted for training to the various flying clubs immediately after selection.—*A. P.*

The age we live in is the aeroplane age, and all the rage is for breaking speed records. But in India air pilots are being recruited and trained in as leisurely a fashion as if we were living in the bullockcart age. And the numbers recruited and trained would lead one to suppose that India's near and distant neighbours counted their air pilots not by thousands but by scores or at the most by the hundred.

That already more than 10,000 young men have applied for training as air pilots shows that there are plenty of them who have the pluck to go in for a life of adventure in which one has to live dangerously.

And may we inquire if all or the bulk of these thousands of applicants belong to the classes labelled "martial" by the British Government in pursuance of their policy?

England's Educational System

Both the sponsors and the critics of the Bengal Secondary Education Bill require to

consider it in relation to the system of education prevalent in other civilized countries—particularly in Great Britain itself. The article on the educational system of England and Wales, published in our present issue, supplies much information which will be useful to all parties concerned.

No Decrease In Crimes Against Women In Bengal

The report of the Inspector-General of Police, Bengal, on the police administration of the province, excluding Calcutta and its suburbs, for the year 1939, does not show any decrease in crimes against women. For this very shameful state of things, the Government of Bengal and the Mussalman and Hindu inhabitants of the province are responsible. No party concerned should try to or can minimise its responsibility by saying that some other party is responsible, or more to blame than itself.

The facts have been thus summarized from the report in an official Press Note :

> Eleven hundred and forty-one cases of offences against women were reported to the police during the year. Of these 148 were reported as cases of kidnapping, 250 of abduction, 485 of outraging modesty, 249 of rape and 9 of buying and selling minors for prostitution. Out of the total of 1,141 cases, 188 were finally reported as true, 321 as non-cognizable, mistake of law, false, etc.; 34 cases were pending investigation and charge sheet was submitted in 598 cases. Of the charge sheet cases, 286 ended in conviction, 217 in acquittal, and 95 were under trial at the close of the year. The result of police investigation into true cases of this nature were good.
>
> In 627 cases, the victims were Muslims and in 511 cases Hindus, in 736 cases, the culprits were Muslims and in 394 cases Hindus. In 4 cases the culprits were of both communities, in 2 cases Anglo-Indian and Indian Christian and in 5 culprits were unknown. In the large majority of cases the victims and assailants were of the same community.

The actual number of cases is much larger than what are reported to or recorded by the police. And many reported or recorded cases fail to be proved because of the poverty of the family of the victims or because the witnesses are terrorized by the culprits and their gang. And some of the cases reported to the police are either not at all placed on record or are not seriously taken up for investigation.

Retirement of Mr. K. Natarajan

The Indian Social Reformer completed fifty years of its remarkable and very useful career in the first week of September, 1940. For well-nigh the whole of this long period Mr. K. Natarajan was its editor, and has now retired, transferring its editorship to his son, Mr. S. Natarajan, who has been its joint editor with him for several years. By editing the *Indian Social Reformer* with great ability and with wholehearted devotion to the cause of reform, Mr. K. Natarajan has greatly advanced the cause of all-sided progress in India. He has never understood social reform in any narrow sense. He has dealt with religious, ethical, political, economic and educational topics and problems also as having a hearing on social reform. His writings have been remarkable for independence of judgment, wide range of information and penetrating insight into the core of many a subject dealt with by him.

He is fortunate in having a son whom he could train in his own particular line of work and who has already given ample proof of ability to maintain the traditions of the paper whose editorship has devolved on him. By his extensive travels and his study of all those kinds of subjects which journalists require to know he has fitted himself for the duties of his responsible office. We wish him all success, which will gladden his father's heart.

Mr. K. Natarajan's rest has been well earned. We wish him a long life of quiet contemplation and study. We are sure that, though he has taken leave of the routine work of an editor, he will continue to respond to all public calls upon his mature judgment, his wisdom and his scholarship.

U. S. A. Will Not Fight

President Roosevelt has declared that he hates war more than ever and is supremely determined to do all he can to keep war away from the shores of America for all time. Quoting from the Democratic Party's Chicago programme he said :

> "We will not participate in foreign wars and will not send the army, navy and air force to fight abroad except in the case of attack. • American people know that against the raging forces let loose in the world the best defence is the strongest preparedness."

Hence conscription has been introduced in America, fabulous sums are being spent for bringing into existence the most powerful navy in the world and air squadrons second to none possessed by any other country.

America continues to help Britain with aeroplanes and armaments and various kinds of war materials in unstinted measure.

Britain's Glorious Fight For Her Freedom

The courage, steadiness, composure and skill with which the British people are fighting

day after day, hour after hour, in defence of their freedom and their hearths and homes cannot but be admired and respected. Though Britain's dealings with our country have been neither just nor sympathetic, we wholeheartedly wish her complete success in her glorious efforts to keep all foreign conquerors from her shores. We feel deeply for the sorely troubled and afflicted people of the towns and villages of Britain, ruthlessly and indiscriminately bombed by German raiders.

Britain Has Taken The Offensive Too

In warfare to take the offensive is often the best means of defence, and generally it must be an effective part of successful defence strategy. So it was only to be expected that Britain would take the offensive against Germany and Italy and carry the war into those enemy nations' camps wherever possible, in Europe and Africa.

But the sufferings of people, whether Britishers or their enemies, give us no pleasure. We feel miserable that human civilization is still at the stage when mutual sanguinary retaliation seems quite natural and usual.

Anniversary of the Indo-Polish Association

The Indo-Polish Association celebrated its anniversary in Calcutta on the 17th September last under the presidentship of Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan. He read out at the meeting the following message of Rabindranath Tagore :

> A year has passed since Europe was plunged into long-threatened war by German invasion of Poland. There is hardly a country that has not suffered, and the smallest, most helpless and most innocent have suffered most severely. As the struggle intensifies, leaving behind it in human society its hideous trial of disfigurement and death, my mind turns continually to the men and women of those suffering peoples for whom the after-math of war may be more bitter than the fight itself. May they have the poor comfort of knowing that they are not entirely forgotten.

Sir Sarvapalli said in the course of his presidential address :—

> "It is a tragedy that in this critical situation, this most critical hour, Great Britain was not in a position to declare openly and in unequivocal terms that she is pledged to setting up a free self-governing India, that she is pledged to leave it to the representatives of the Indian people elected on widest franchise to draw their constitution. It will not hurt the interests of Great Britain; it will on the other hand capture the imagination of the people of this country and the issue of war will not be an academic issue but a live and concrete issue for the people who will be generous and sympathetic towards Britain."

Referring to the A.-I. C. C. decision Sir Sarvapalli said,

> When I look at the discussions of the A.-I. C. C., I deplore that the course of events have led them to the decision they have taken. I know it goes against the grain of Gandhi to do anything which will hamper Great Britain in this struggle. He would be the last man to put Great Britain in any kind of embarrassment in this critical situation. I know he will try to avoid launching any kind of movement which is calculated to bring trouble to the British people in this present struggle. It is yet possible to change the Congress attitude of non-co-operation into one of hearty co-operation if only they are able to rise to the greatness of the occasion which has presented itself.

Dr. Kalidas Nag spoke on the achievements of Poland in the domain of culture and humanity.

Dr. Maryla Falk, a Polish lady who is a teacher in the Post-graduate department of the Calcutta University and is one of the Secretaries of the Association, in an illuminating address referred to the history of Poland and concluded by saying that both Poland and India had *Kaliyuga* and both were looking forward to the dawning of *Satyayuga*. She said both India and Poland would unite their efforts to resurrect humanity.

Dr. Hiranmoy Ghoshal, Professor of Bengali in the University of Warsaw, an eye-witness of Poland's recent indescribable sufferings, who attended the meeting with Mrs. Ghoshal, a Polish lady, referred to the formation of a similar Indo-Polish Association in Poland at Warsaw. He appealed to all Indians to unite their efforts in the defeat of the forces of destruction.

Sir J. J. Thomson

LONDON, Aug. 30

The death is announced of the physicist, Sir J. J. Thomson.

Sir Joseph John Thomson, born near Manchester on the 18th December, 1856, had his education in Owens College and Trinity College, Cambridge. He was the Second Wrangler and Second Smith's Prizeman in 1880.

After obtaining the O.M. and D.Sc. (Oxon.) he had an eventful career, as a Professor in Dublin, London, Victoria, Columbia (N. Y.) Cambridge, Gottingen, Oslo, Sorbonne and Edinburgh Universities. He was Honorary F.R.S.E., LL.D. (Princeton, U. S. A.), F.R.S. in 1884, and was Master of Trinity College, Cambridge since 1918, where he had all through a great career.

Besides copious recognitions for his great mind and achievements, including the Presidentship of the Royal Society, Sir Joseph Thomson was awarded the Nobel Prize for Physics. Among his numerous publications, some important ones include 'A Treatise on the Motion of Vortex Rings' in 1884; 'Application of Dynamics to Physics and Chemistry.' He dealt exhaustively with electricity and magnetism and was made famous for his thesis on 'Rays of Positive Electricity,' which had won for him the best recognition in his lifetime.

LONDON, Aug. 31.

The Press pay tributes to the life and work of Sir J. J Thomson eminent physicist and for 22 years Master

of Trinity College, Cambridge, who died yesterday, aged 83. Thomson who was recipient of academic honours from all parts of the world is universally recognised as discoverer of the electron. His work as Cavendish Professor of experimental physics in which he succeeded Lord Ray Leigh had revolutionary influence on theory of physics. He later became professor of physics in the University of Cambridge.—*B. O. W.*

While physicists are acquainted with his achievements in detail, to laymen he is known chiefly as the discoverer of electron.

Relief Urgently Needed For Flood-devastated Contai

Sj. Pramatha Nath Banerjee, a resident of Contai and a member of the Central Contai Flood Relief Committee, has issued the following appeal :

Contai has been experiencing heavy inundation for two months owing to excessive rainfall, once in the first week of July and again in the first week of August. There was also a heavy shower on the 15th August last. To add to it fresh heavy shower again increased the water level. The fields look like a vast sheet of water even in this month of Bhadra, when green paddy plants would have pleased the eye-sight. The rainfall was 7 inch on the 26th instant and the day following. Reports have reached us from different thanas of the sub-division that the transplantation in rare high fields has again been submerged under water and thus the little ray of hope for cultivation of high fields in some parts of the sub-division has vanished altogether and the cultivators have been struck with panic and despair.

Famine and starvation are staring at the face and the Marwari Relief Society is the only organisation, which has taken up relief work in two out of the 20 Unions of the Contai thana. Relief work has not yet been started in other thanas for want of funds. The Hindu Mahasabha has not yet started the relief work. Famished people are crowding the relief headquarter and the Congress office for help. But many of them are going back in despair as no adequate help could be given for shortage of funds. The local Congress workers are collecting funds from the rich people to meet the situation but their collection is insignificant compared with great needs of the exigency. Contai is faced with a serious famine unless timely help is rendered by the different relief organisations of the country. Thousands of people of the Contai sub-division rely entirely on the charity of the generous public in general for saving their lives. The distress of the cattle has also become intense and report has reached that cattle are dying for want of fodder. Reports of house-collapse are coming from interiors.

The latest report shows that the Kaliaghai river is breached at Gokulpur. The Contai-Midnapur road is under water at many places, Palashpur thana flooded. Due to onrush of water towards Bhagwanpur, Egra and Contai thanas great danger is apprehended. Will not the Government start relief work even at this stage ?

Contai is a sub-division of the Midnapur district. Its population numbers some nine lakhs of people. While some other parts of Midnapur have also been inundated, Contai has suffered most. Relief is most urgently required. There is no doubt that it is the bounden duty of the Government to give the flood-stricken people adequate relief, but we the people must also do our duty. Even if the people of Contai had no claim to our gratitude, they would be entitled to our fraternal help as fellow-countrymen. But during the stirring times of the last great struggle for freedom they made great sacrifices and suffered most heroically. That is an additional reason why we should come to their rescue.

At a public meeting of the citizens of Calcutta a Central Contai Flood Relief Committee has been formed with Sjt. Ramananda Chatterjee as president, Kumar Devendra Lal Khan as treasurer, and Sjt. Amarendranath Chatterjee, M.L.A. (Central) as secretary.

We earnestly appeal to all our readers to send their contributions quickly to the treasurer of the Committee, Kumar Devendra Lal Khan, 3 Minto Park Road, Bhowanipore, Calcutta. There is no time to lose. Even a few pice will go to prolong a life for a day and perhaps to save it.

Latin Address Read At Oxford Convocation in Santiniketan

The Latin address read by the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Henderson at the special convocation of the Oxford University held in Santiniketan on the 7th August last for conferring the degree of Doctor of Letters *honoris causa* on Rabindranath Tagore, was composed at Oxford by the authorities of that university and sent out to India in a printed form. It was translated into English by Sir Maurice Gwyer, Chief Justice of the Federal Court of India, and the translation was read by Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan. Oxford's appreciation of the Poet as manifested in the Latin address, is quite noteworthy.

Abdication of King Carol of Rumania

On the 5th September last King Carol of Rumania abdicated in favour of his son, the Crown Prince Michael.

Rumania has had recently to part with much of her territory. King Michael will be king practically only in name, as the country will be ruled by a dictator.

The forced cession of Rumanian territory to Hungary seems to have been the cause of a "reign of terror" in the ceded territory.

BUDAPEST, Sept. 16.

A semi-official statement accuses the Rumanian army of a ten-day reign of terror against the Hungarians living in the territory ceded to Hungary.

The statement adds Rumanians were also proceeding against the 700,000 Hungarians still under Rumanian domination and declares: "It is evident the crisis between the two countries continues."—*Reuter.*

Japan's Territorial Gains in China

We read in the *News Release* of the China Information Committee, dated July 29, 1940:

During the three years of war between July, 1937, and May, 1940, Japan has penetrated 552 of China's 1973 *hsien* (countries) and occupied 15 of China's 23 municipalities, stated an official report of the Board of Military Operations.

The 552 penetrated *hsien* represent only 28 per cent of China's total territory. Even in many so-called occupied *hsien*, the report said, Chinese district administration carries on in the countryside. Japanese penetration is most extensive in Hopei, Shantung, Shansi, and Kiangsu. Only one *hsien* in Kwangsi Province is lost to the enemy and two in Hunan. Taking the fifteen war-affected provinces of Suiyuan, Chahar, Shantung, Hopei, Kiangsu, Shansi, Anhwei, Hupeh, Fukien, Chekiang, Kiangsi, Hunan, Kwangtung, Honan, and Kwangsi into consideration, the Japanese have partly or fully occupied 552 out of a total of 1,186 *hsien* and 15 out of 16 municipalities.

It has taken Japan three years' ruthless warfare involving an expenditure of billions of yen and hundreds of thousands of casualties to occupy 28 per cent. of Chinese territory. If she wants to occupy the whole of China, assuming that to be practicable, it would take another nine years to do so.. China has at present a better trained and a bigger army than when the war began, and the natural resources of the country are better developed than before. It is true, Japan has created great obstacles in the way of China's getting arms and ammunitions and war materials in general from abroad. But the difficulties have not yet proved insuperable.

On the whole it seems China can hold out longer than Japan can fight.

Personnel of the Oudh Chief Court

One of the reasons why, according to the British Government's spokesmen, it ought to remain in India as arbiter of her destinies, is that minority interests must be safeguarded and protected. The paragraph extracted below from *The Leader* shows how that is done in the United Provinces, where the Muslims form 14 per cent. of the population and the Hindus 84. Protection of minority rights evidently means in the British official lexicon the ignoring of the rights of the majority, if they have any.

Why has Mr. Ghulam Husain Butt been appointed to the bench of the Chief Court of Oudh until December next? Now the constitution of the bench will be one Indian Christian, two British I.C.S. officers and two Muslims. It will be noted that there is not a single Hindu on the bench. If this is the British Government's notion of communal fairness we wish them joy of it. Their anxiety to please the Mahomedans may be human, but it does not on that account make it commendable, —or wise, even from their point of view, as it is not calculated to draw the Hindus nearer to the Government. What is the sense or the logic or the fairness of the Government's feeling against the Congress being thus expressed against the Hindu community as a whole?

Sri Rajagopalachariar's "Sporting Offer" and Non-rejection of Pakistan Proposal

Both the Viceroy and the Secretary of State having said that "important elements in the national life of India," the Muslim League included, denied the authority of the Congress, Sri Rajagopalachariar made a "sporting offer" to Mr. Jinnah that if the Government agreed to the establishment of a National Government the Prime Ministership might be offered to a Mussalman who would have the right to choose his cabinet and that he (Rajaji) undertook to obtain the consent of the Congress to this proposal. He did this to test the sincerity of the Government, saying in effect that if the League would not obey the authority of the Congress, the Congress would obey the authority of the League. With reference to a Muslim criticism of this "sporting offer" that it was a dodge to make the Muslim League give up its Pakistan proposal and accept the Congress belief that Hindus and Muslims and other Indians form one united Indian nation, Rajaji said further that the acceptance of his "sporting offer" would not stand in the way of the League going on with its efforts to divide India into Hindusthan and Pakistan.

Sri Rajagopalachariar acted unwisely in making the offer that he did and he further embittered the minds of the Hindus by saying what he did about the Pakistan proposal, as it led them to infer that he was not an out and out opponent of the Pakistan proposal.

Neither the British Government nor the Muslim League has taken any notice of his "sporting offer." They may have considered it beneath notice. Sri Rajagopalachariar may or may not have learnt a lesson from this treatment of his offer.

After the insulting telegraphic reply which Mr. Jinnah gave to Maulana Abul Kalam Azad's confidential telegram to him, both of which Mr. Jinnah published without obtaining the Maulana's permission, it was thought the Congress and Congressmen individually would have nothing to do with Mr. Jinnah. But that anticipation has not proved correct.

Surya Kumar Shome

Sj. Surya Kumar Shome, M.L.A. (Central), of Mymensingh died in Calcutta on the 18th September last.

Sj. Shome was a leading lawyer of Mymen-

singh. He joined the Non-co-operation movement in 1921, suspending a lucrative practice at the instance of Deshabandhu Chittaranjan Das, of whom he was a close associate and devoted follower. In 1921, when the late Deshabandhu and his immediate successor Sj. Hardayal Nag were arrested, Sj. Shome was appointed the 'Dictator' of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee. Sj. Shome was elected uncontested to the Central Legislative Assembly and had been a member of the Congress Nationalist Party. His unostentatious manners and sincerity of purpose endeared him to all parties and in the early days of the nationalist movement he played an important part in the political life of Bengal.

Sj. Shome was also arrested and convicted during the Civil Disobedience movement in 1931.

Soviet-Danish Trade Talks

LONDON, Sept. 18.

Trade talks between Denmark and Russia are shortly to begin. A Danish Trade Delegation is on its way to Moscow.

A commercial mission has arrived in Rome from Finland.—*Reuter.*

As Denmark is at present practically a part of Greater Germany and Finland is within the "sphere of influence" of Soviet Russia, are these commercial talks and missions indirect methods to bring about rapprochement between Russia and the Axis Powers?

Italians in Egypt

CAIRO, Sept. 17.

A war *communique* states that "continuing their advance along the coastal belt in Egypt, two enemy columns supported by strong forces in the rear occupied Sidi Barrani last evening.

Throughout the day the enemy sustained casualties from the bombing and harassing action by advanced elements of our tanks and artillery.

On other fronts there is nothing to report."

A series of bombing raids were made last night on enemy motor transport concentrations east of Bugbug, says an Air Force *communique*. Many direct hits were observed, resulting in numerous fires and explosions.

In air operations against Eritrea, there was successful attack against the Asmara aerodrome and direct hit was scored on the hangar.

A formation of enemy bombers approached Malta yesterday but turned away without dropping any bombs when our fighters appeared. From all of yesterday's operations our aircraft returned safely.—*Reuter.*

BRITISH STRATEGY AIMS AT SMOTHERING ITALIAN ADVANCE AT SOURCE

LONDON, SEPT. 18.

Although the Italian advance into Egyptian territory hitherto amounts only to about 60 miles and that attackers are permitted to go on is for the simple reason that they cannot halt, writes *Reuter's* military correspondent. At Sollum, there is only a small harbour through which supplies cannot be obtained even if the Italian Navy is able to ensure them.

Sidi Barrani, now the advanced post of the enemy, was previously lightly held by British mechanised forces amounting to about one company. General Wavell never had any intention of resisting an Italian advance in that neighbourhood. The British policy was one of elastic defence and aimed at inducing the Italian army in Libya to put its head—like a tortoise—out of its shell—and then hit the head.

Hitherto all reports confirm that the Italians have been given nothing to attack but the situation now becomes more active as from Sidi Barrani onwards, a metalled road will be available.—*Reuter.*

Manufacture of Some Chemical Products in India

SIMLA, SEPT. 18.

For the first time chloroform, calcium lactate and acid have been produced by Indian firms and samples have been received by the Medical Stores Department for tests.

Samples of carbolic acid and cresylic acid, a disinfectant, have been found satisfactory. The latter is required to the manufacture of lysol. A sample of saponified cresol made by this firm is being tested at the Central Research Institute, Kasauli.

The choloroform has been produced by a Bengal firm and the sample is being tested for quality at the Biochemical Standardisation Laboratory, Calcutta, which is also testing a sample of calcium lactate.

Samples of anasthetic aethar prepared by a Bengal firm have been tested by the Medical Stores Depots and found satisfactory. This item has been in production for two years by the Department.

An Indian firm is making five to ten tons of acetic acid glacial per month and is able to increase it to 30 tons a month without additional plant. It has raw materials sufficient for one year.—*U. P.*

Muslim League's Demands Condemned at Simla Public Meeting

The Muslim League's demands were strongly denounced at a public meeting of Hindus and Sikhs with Raja Sir Daljit Singh in the chair held at Simla on the 17th September last.

The meeting passed a resolution viewing "with deep misgiving the negotiations which His Excellency the Viceroy is carrying on behind closed doors with the Muslim League" and affirming "that if Mr. Jinnah's unreasonable demands are conceded, it would alienate the sympathies of other communities and classes and create serious difficulties in the way of co-operation."

The meeting also placed on record its definite opinion and firm determination

"that in order to maintain internal order and secure the safety of India from foreign aggression, it is imperative that India's resources in men and material should be mobilised without any further delay and its defence organised on a sound basis and on up-to-date lines."

Dr. Moonje, Sir Jogindar Singh, Sir Gokulchand Narrang, Sir Jailal, Mr. Shamdas P. Gidwani and Sardar Gangasingh spoke on the resolution.

Sir Jogindar Singh said:

"H. E. the Viceroy must be aware that while he has been negotiating with the Congress and the Muslim League, who have been bargaining and hesitating, the martial and other classes have been aware of the dangers and of their duty and giving their unstinted support in men and material." He could not imgine that the Viceroy would betray their faith by conceding to Mr. Jinnah's demands.

Dr. Moonje asserted that

The result of accepting the Muslim League's demands would be to place Hindus under Muslim domination. Hindus, he declared, would never accept that position. Hindus were the natural and rightful owners and Rulers of the Land; but by tradition, culture and civilisation they had never in the past committed and would never in the future commit aggression on peaceful minorities.

Raja Sir Daljit Singh said that

He was one of those who had given the best years of his life to the service of the King-Emperor. He could not help striking a note of warning against the idea of enthroning a single community in seats of authority. "This would mean," he said, "converting the majority into a minority. This would be against all sense of justice and would be illegal and unconstitutional. Already people are apprehensive that their co-operation may only help in establishing Muslim dominance. As a loyal subject of His Imperial Majesty I feel it my duty to say without hesitation—reflect before you take the final plunge. Do not sacrifice India and justice because you have involved yourself in a net from which the only way of escape is to break it. Britain is fighting in the name of freedom, liberty and justice. Britain cannot afford to betray these principles of allying with a single community at the risk of losing the confidence of over 300 out of 400 million Indians."—*A. P.*

A Distinguished Lady Student

DACCA, Sept. 13.

Miss Anima Sen stood first in First Class in the Dacca University M.A. Examination in Philosophy held last July. She is the first woman to get this distinction. —*U. P.*

France's Cup of Misery

NEW YORK, Sept. 13.

Petain Government is reliably reported to have received a demand from Italy for the demobilisation of all French troops in North Africa and a demand from Germany for the surrender of 58 per cent of livestock in unoccupied France.

DEMANDS REJECTED

Both the demands are said to have been rejected and diplomatic quarters in Washington believe, as a result, the future of the Petain Government and unoccupied France may be vitally affected.

But Germany and Italy are in a position to enforce their demands.

A Reuter's message appeared in the papers recently to the effect that Germany has asked France to pay 20 million reichs marks per mensem as the cost of the army of occupation in the parts of France occupied by Germany.

To call upon a people to pay for the maintenance of their servitude is adding insult to injury. Enslavement is hell. But the French people are finding that there is a lower depth of degradation than hell itself.

Bill to Promote Widow Marriage

Sjt. Manomohan Das, M.L.A., has introduced a Bill in the Bengal Assembly for the promotion and propagation of widow marriage. Considering the very large number of Hindu widows of marriageable and child-bearing age in Bengal, and considering also that many Hindu castes in Bengal are rapidly dwindling in numbers because of lack of brides who are maidens, all reasonable means should be adopted for promoting the marriage of widows.

The Bill in question makes it penal for any widower to marry a spinster. If he wants to marry, he must marry a widow. We would support even this drastic step if it had a chance of producing the desired effect. But we do not think it would result in any appreciable increase in the marriage of widows. But we may be mistaken. So, though in the abstract we are against all interference with human freedom in nuptial matters, we are ready to waive our objections and give the Bill a trial—so great is the need and desirability of the marriage of young Hindu widows in Bengal.

Legislation Against "Bridegroom-price" and "Bride-price"

Perhaps the practice of the guardians of bridegrooms demanding extortionate dowries from the brides' guardians is not confined to Bengal. But in Bengal, many young girls having committed suicide to save their poor parents from the trouble and misery of finding the dowries demanded, this province has earned an unenviable notoriety for the prevalence of this disgraceful custom. All practicable steps should therefore be taken to put an end to it. Legislation may not be an entirely effective remedy, but it is bound to produce some effect. Sjt. Surendranath Biswas, M.L.A., has, therefore, introduced a Bill in the Bengal Assembly making it penal to accept or give a dowry of more than Rs. 51 in cash or of things of more than that value. There ought not to be any objection to such a measure. It is understood that a Muhammadan M.L.A., has also drafted a similar bill for his community.

There should be similar legislation making it penal for a bride's guardians to give her in marriage for any pecuniary consideration or for

the bridegroom's guardians to offer any such inducement to secure a bride.

Sri Aurobindo's Donations to War Funds

Sri Aurobindo is reckoned one of the intellectuals of the world and that spiritually he is highly advanced is admitted on all hands. His donations to War Funds are for these reasons worthy of note.

OOTACAMUND, Sept. 18.

Sri Aurobindo Ghose, of the Aurobindo Ashram, Pondicherry, has made a contribution of Rs. 500 to H. E. the Governor's War Fund. This is announced in a press note issued from the Governor's secretariat today. Sri Aurobindo accompanied his generous gift with the following letter :

To the Private Secretary to H. E. the Governor of Madras.

"Sir,—We are placing herewith at the disposal of H. E. the Governor of Madras a sum of Rs. 500 as our joint contribution to the Madras War Fund. This donation, which is in continuation of previous sums given by us for the cause of the Allies (10,000 francs to the French Caisse de Defence Nationale before the unhappy collapse of France and Rs. 1,000 to the Viceroy's War Fund immediately after the armistice), is sent as an expression of our entire support for the British people and the Empire in their struggle against the aggressions of the Nazi Reich and our complete sympathy with the cause for which they are fighting. We feel that not only this is a battle waged in just self-defence and in defence of the nations threatened with the world domination of Germany and the Nazi system of life, but that it is a defence of civilisation and its highest attained social, cultural and spiritual values and of the whole future of humanity. To this cause our support and sympathy will be unswerving whatever may happen; we look forward to the victory of Britain, and as the eventual result, an era of peace and union among the nations and a better and more secure world order.

Yours Sincerely,
Sri Aurobindo.
—*A. P.*

Gandhiji's Message to a British Paper On Freedom of Speech

In the course of an interview given in Bombay to a London newspaper on the 19th September last, Mahatma Gandhi gave a special message to the British people. Replying to the charge of apparent inconsistency between his previous declarations and his present attitude, Mahatma Gandhi explained :

"I thought that I had clearly and sufficiently explained my position in my speeches in anticipation of the charge of inconsistency. If there is any inconsistency it is due to the everchanging and, in this particular instance, changed circumstances.

"My sympathy is not only the same as I expressed in Simla on the declaration of war, but it has grown deeper because the imaginary has become so vividly real. In Simla, almost a year ago, I had expressed my grief over what might befall Britain. Today the dreaded thing has happened and is still going on. By nature I am so framed that every calamity moves me, irrespective of the people whom it may overtake, but the expression of my sympathy, even though deeper today than a year ago, has undoubtedly changed in form. I was unprepared for the recent declarations and I claim that it is the genuineness of my sympathy which has made me single out the one fact which Britain can easily recognise and yield without any difficulty in her prosecution of the war. I readily granted that there might be some reason for not dividing responsibility for the conduct of the war with those who are determined opponents of British Imperialism and all that it implies, and therefore I felt that if Congress continued to abide by its policy of non-embarrassment which is inherent in its non-violence, Congress should for the moment abate agitation, by way of direct action, for independence.

FREEDOM OF SPEECH

"But freedom of speech and corresponding action is the breath of democratic life. Freedom of propagating non-violence as a substitute for war is most relevant when indecent savagery is being perpetrated by the warring nations. Congress will forfeit the right to be considered a non-violent organisation if out of false sympathy or, what would be worse, fear of consequences, it ceased to agitate against the inhumanity that is being perpetrated in Europe and which, if not checked by somebody or some organisation, may overtake the whole world.

CONGRESS CLAIM

"I hope this statement of Congress policy, as I interpret it as its sole guide, will not only satisfy British public opinion but will make it range itself on the side of Congress so as to enable the Viceroy to recognise the justice of the Congress claim, which is a claim not for itself but on behalf of freedom of speech, no matter by whom exercised, so long as it does not promote violence in any shape or form."—*A. P.*

" Mass Production of Heroes "

The St. Louis *Post Despatch* of the United States of America says :

England is producing heroes on a mass production scale and cites examples, such as a raid warden who patrolled a delayed action bomb area until the bomb exploded, killing him; the suicide squad which removed the bomb from the precincts of St. Paul's, and countless stories of doctors, nurses and firemen who have performed their duties under heavy fire.

It says : "Plain citizens have risen to heights of epic gallantry under Nazis' wanton onslaughts on their homes." "England," concludes the paper, "remains."—*Reuter.*

Manchester ' Guardian ' Wants Mediator Between Congress and Muslim League

The *Manchester Guardian* in the course of a leading article on " The Deadlock In India " wrote on the 19th September last :

The Congress seems to have an idea that the Government is anxious to destroy its voice and Mr. Gandhi talks as though the Government thought of silencing him.

The Government knows that the Congress and Mr. Gandhi represent too much of India to be silenced. But what is needed is not that the Congress and the Moslem League should retain their freedom to think and speak their views but that they and other sections

of Indian opinion should speak with each other in a search for agreement.

The two great organisations have too much an air of demanding freedom and at the same time asking British Government to give them each what it wants. A mediator is wanted and if he cannot be found in India, he should go out from here.—*Reuter*.

It is absurd to speak of the Congress and the Muslim League in the same breath as great organizations. But that is by the by.

The Congress stands for the unity of India and the Indian people. The Muslim League stands for the vivisection of India into Hindu-majority India and Muslim-majority India. How is mediation possible between two such bodies? The Congress, or at any rate those leaders of the Congress who do not belong to Bengal, the Panjab, Sindh and the N.-W. Frontier Province, may agree to such vivisection in pursuance of the policy of Muslim appeasement, but there is the inconvenient Hindu Mahasabha with its potential following, in this matter, of at least 250 millions of Hindus in round numbers. How is the Maha-abha going to be squared?

"*Pakistan In Action*"

A former Secretary of State for India used the expression "Dominion Status in action" in order to convey the impression that, though India was not yet a Dominion in name, yet in reality she was treated as a Dominion and enjoyed all the rights and privileges of a Dominion —which, by the by, was entirely false. Following his example, we may say that, though the Pakistan proposal has not yet assumed a concrete shape and though no part of India was as yet known as Paki-tan with Bengal as one of the regions included in it, yet the people of Bengal, both Hindus and Muslims, are having a foretaste of what Pakistan would be like if the proposal ever took a substantial form.

It is understood that Pakistan would not be an independent State. It would be a part of the British Empire subject to British rule and paramountcy. In it a Muslim cabinet would not have greater powers than the Bengal cabinet at present possesses—for evil or good.

That being so, one may rightly guess that the condition of the Muslim masses of Bengal, mostly peasants, will not be better than it is at present. What that condition is they know very well. It does not approximate to that of souls in *Behesht*. As for the Hindus of Bengal, as they have not yet been crushed, so will they not be crushed in Pakistan.

Sursum corda!

Iron Ore Discovered in Kangra Hills

LAHORE, Sept. 19.

Rich deposits of iron ore, have been discovered in Kangra hills. These extend over an area of seven square miles on the outer peaks of Khud Uhl bordering the Mandi State.

Attempts to refine the ore have been made on a small scale by local inhabitants and it is believed that the resultant metal can stand comparison with the best iron available from mines in Sweden and other European countries. No scientific attempt has, however, been made so far to open up these deposits.—*A. P.*

These deposits should be utilized by an Indian company with the help of Indian experts. Both capital and experts are available in India.

Muslim Campaign in the Panjab Against Pakistan Scheme

It has been published in the dailies and other papers that Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan, prime minister of the Panjab, has said that he continues to be opposed to the Pakistan proposal and that he thinks that the Panjab cannot be governed by any single community in that province. But it is not so well known outside it that the Arhar party there has been carrying on a campaign against the scheme. *The Tribune* of Lahore writes:

The enthusiasm and persistence with which the Arhar Party is carrying on its campaign against the *Pakistan* scheme are, indeed, praiseworthy. There is hardly a meeting organised by it at which the utter unworkability and viciousness of the Jinnahian plan are not thoroughly exposed. Presiding over a conference at Dalhousie the well-known Arhar leader, Sahibzada Faiz-ul-Hassan, declared that it was impossible to establish an independent Muslim State and even if somehow it was established, it could not be guaranteed that the Muslims in Hindu India would be happy and prosperous.

Our contemporary observes:

We have ourselves repeatedly pointed out in these columns that the *Pakistan* scheme does not embody any solution of the communal problem and if it is enforced it will make the situation worse. Both internally and externally the communalised provinces will be in a state of ferment and chaotic conflicts may ensue. The suggestion that a re-adjustment of the population may be effected is manifestly absurd. Nobody is willing to leave his home. In fact, the overwhelming majority of Muslims maintain with Sahibzada Faiz-ul-Hassan that the whole of India is their home. As the *Pakistan* scheme is calculated to destroy it, it cannot be tolerated.

"*How Will India Benefit If—*"

At a darbār held at Poona the Governor of Bombay asked: "How will India benefit if the hands of Britain will weaken in this battle?"

As even a cat may look at a king, a counter-question or two may be asked: "How does Britain benefit by keeping India weak?" "In what way will Britain become weakened by

allowing India to become strong by self-rule ?" Of course, selfish imperialist Britishers might reply, "We become rich by exploiting weak India, and if India were to become self-ruling and strong, she would prevent such exploitation." But such a frank reply would at once expose the pretension of ruling India from altruistic and philanthropic motives.

If it had been the intention of Britain's enemies to liberate India by defeating and weakening Britain, the weakening of Britain's hands would have benefited India. But that is not the intention of Britain's foes. And we have not the least desire to exploit any nation's difficulties, misfortune, or weakness. We wish all success to Britain and wish at the same time that she were less selfish than she has been and still is in her dealings with India.

If it had been the intention of the leaders of India to make their country free by armed rebellion, they could have looked forward to any possible weakening of Britain's hands as a great opportunity for such a rebellion. But India's foremost leaders do not contemplate armed rebellion. They believe their non-violent weapons would be efficatious even if their opponents were very strong.

His Excellency claimed that "in Great Britain the armed forces and the whole people are conscious that they are fighting and suffering not for themselves alone, but also for every people and person who wants the conception of freedom to survive." We quite admit that Great Britain's victory will enable "the conception of freedom to survive" in the world more surely and easily than if she were defeated. But we are not so endowed with prophetic powers as to be able to assert that, if she were defeated, "the conception of freedom" would certainly die out, in America for example, though undoubtedly if Britain were defeated America would find it rather difficult, though not impossible, to remain free.

There is not the least difficulty in admitting that Britain's fight for freedom, though it is mainly for her own freedom, is not indirectly a fight for the freedom of some other *free* peoples, too; for if Britain were defeated, Germany would attack these free peoples also. But there is no proof, at any rate there is no proof so far as we subject people are concerned, that Britain is fighting for the freedom of peoples who are not free. We and other subject peoples have read in books that there is such a thing as "the conception of freedom," and whether Britain wins or loses the battle, "the conception of freedom" will not be erased from the pages of all books. What the people of India as a subject people want to know how and when "the conception of freedom" will become the reality of freedom in their case in consequence of Britain's fight for freedom.

In conclusion it may be allowable to remind Britons that it is because their own freedom is at stake that they are fighting for all the world's freedom, but when only some other people's freedom, *e.g.*, that of the Abyssinians, was at stake, they did not do anything to help them.

"The Ministry of Supply Mission"

It has been communicated to the papers that the Ministry of Supply Mission, better known as the Roger Mission by the name of its Chairman, Sir Alexander Roger, will, it is learnt, arrive in Calcutta in the first week of October. During its short stay in Calcutta, the Mission will examine the production capacity of the existing factories in the city and suburbs and see how these factories can be utilised for manufacturing war materials. It will also meet the various chambers of commerce and other representative industrial and commercial bodies and discuss with them the industrial potentialities of the province.

The word 'Mission' is generally associated with religions and philanthropic movement, as the Christian Missions, the Ramakrishna Mission, etc. But the Tibetan Mission had no spiritual or philanthropic objective. The Roger Mission is a sort of a cousin of that mission.

In the last world war Britain promoted in her own interest the industrial development of India in certain directions. Some of the industries which grew up in our country in consequence, ceased to exist after the conclusion of peace, because of lack of State help and encouragement.

In the hour of her need Britain is going to use India again industrially for imperial ends. What the ultimate result will be cannot now be foretold. But nationalist India is unanimous in holding that India needs industrial and other similar economic independence as well as political independence.

Important Amendment By the King of Instructions to the Governor-General

SIMLA, Sept. 20.

The *Gazette of India*, publishes instructions passed by the King under the Royal Sign Manual and signed by the Governor-General of India and thereby amending the instructions issued to him on March 8, 1937, as under:

"Whereas it is expedient, owing to the conditions created by the hostilities in which we are now engaged, to amend our said instructions:

"Now therefore, we do by these our instructions under our Royal Manual declare our will and pleasure to be as follows :

"It is our will and pleasure that our Governor-General shall not regard himself bound by the injunction contained in Paragraph XIII of our said instructions, if, on any occasion, when under that paragraph it would fall to him to submit for the signification of our pleasure any Bill, he is satisfied that conditions created by the present war have rendered it impossible or inexpedient that he should act in accordance therewith."—*A. P.*

It will be remembered that some months ago by an amendment of the Government of India Act of 1935 the Governor-General of India was authorized to act in quite a number of important matters without reference to the Secretary of State. The present amendment, not of the Act, but of the Instrument of Instructions to the Governor-General, makes the latter more of an autocrat and a Dictator than ever before. The Dictators of independent countries derive their power from the express or tacit consent of their peoples. They have a gradual training for dictatorship which fits them for their task. Lord Linlithgow has had no such training and has been made a Dictator by a foreign authority without any reference to the will of the people of India.

Soviet Pacific Fleet Manoeuvres

TOKYO, Sept. 20.

Simultaneously with the staging of army manoeuvres in Western Russia the Soviet Pacific Fleet has also been engaged in sham battle practice, according to a Moscow despatch to the Domei News Agency.

The Soviet naval operations are reported to have included night minelaying operations and night battle practice against theoretical enemy squadrons advancing against the main Soviet naval base.—*Reuter.*

There will be speculations all over the 'civilized' world regarding the significance of these manoeuvres.

"Mustard Oil Railway Rates from the United Provinces Unduly Preferential"

That the relative rates for mustard oil in wagon loads from the U. P. Oil Milling centres to Calcutta were unduly preferential, is one of the findings of the Railway Rates Advisory Committee which recently examined the question of relative rates of freight for mustard seed and mustard oil from certain U. P. stations to Calcutta (Howrah).

The question of the reduction of freight rates on mustard seeds had formed the subject of protracted negotiation between the Railway Board and the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce from 1933 to 1935. The Chamber had submitted a number of detailed representations to the Board urging for the reduction of the freight rates. At the suggestion of the Chamber the Bengal Oil Mills Association took up the matter with the Railway Rate Advisory Committee which, while being of opinion that the rates for mustard seed to Calcutta were not unreasonable, have expressed the opinion that the rates for mustard oil have been unduly preferential.

The Government of India have decided to revise rates for mustard oil from the 1st October, 1940.—*U. P.*

Purpose of Gandhiji's Visit to Viceroy

Mahatma Gandhi issued the following statement on the 20th September last :

"I see from Press comments that the main purpose of my contemplated visit to H. E. the Viceroy is being missed. It is well that I should not be misunderstood as to the purpose of my visit. Assuming that the interview is granted, I do not go to hold a pistol at the Viceroy's head if the contemplated Civil Disobedience is to be taken as such. But I go as I explained in my speech before the All-India Congress Committee in order to make sure I am right in the inferences I have drawn from the acts of Government commencing from the declaration of His Excellency the Viceroy. If the premises on which the Congress case is built are wrong, there is no case for Civil Disobedience. I could not be able to approach my task with confidence and firmness unless I made myself sure of my facts and conclusions to be deduced therefrom."—*A. P.*

Congress President on Duration of Suspension of Civil Disobedience, Etc.

BOMBAY, Sept. 20

In an interview to the Press Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad, the Congress President, said that it was not necessary to call a meeting of the Working Committee after Mahatma Gandhi's interview with the Viceroy because Mahatma Gandhi as a captain invested with full powers could take any step which he considered desirable, without consulting the Congress executive.

Questioned as to how long the directions given by the Working Committee for the suspension of all civil disobedience, were expected to be in force, the Congress President said that the suspension would be a matter of only a few days.

Referring to the annual elections of the Congress, he said that in case of an emergency there would be no elections. Otherwise they would be held in December. -*A. P.*

Congress And The Next Census

Congress non-co-operation with the last Census was very unwise. It is to be hoped that the next Census will not be boycotted by the Congress.

Disturbances in Kerala

MADRAS, Sept. 16.

As a sequel to a prohibition on the "Protest Day" against the Viceroy's statement a grave situation is reported from Cannanore where, it is said, a Sub-Inspector was stoned to death by an infuriated mob at a Peasants' Special Conference held in Moraya near Kalliasseri. It is reported that the police fired one round.

At Cannanore, the police made a *lathi* charge to disperse a huge gathering when several were injured. The Town Congress Secretary was arrested. Nine policemen were sent to the hospital.

A grave news comes from Tellicherry. It is re-

ported that the police resorted to firing resulting in two deaths. It is said that the mob threw brickbats which hit a Joint Magistrate who received bleeding wounds. Over a dozen were sent to the hospital.

Nineteen persons were arrested in Calicut yesterday. It is learnt one more Constable in Cannanore succumbed to injuries.—*A. P.*

German Control of the Danube

BELGRADE, Sept. 18.

The Germans have virtually replaced the International Danube Commission—on which Britain and France were represented—by a consultative commission, permanently presided over by a German, Herr Martius, who alone has the right to convoke the sessions.

It is reported that this decision was taken at a recent Danube Conference, attended by the representatives of Germany, Italy, Hungary, Slovakia, Yugoslavia, Rumania and Bulgaria.—*Reuter.*

Staggering Cost of the War

NEW YORK, SEPT. 18.

"The capitalist economy of Europe is slowly bleeding to death and the increased drain upon it has been such that since the outbreak of war, it is doubtful if Europe can endure much longer and still survive in anything like its previous economic and financial form."

The foregoing view is expressed by Mr. Wallace Deuel, correspondent of the *Chicago Daily News* and *New York Post* in a dispatch from Berlin.

Mr. Deuel computes that the war is costing Germany four and a half billion marks monthly and other belligerent and neutral states—even the United States—must be spending quite as much proportionately.

He estimates that the Nazis have borrowed between 65 and 70 million marks since they came to power.—*Reuter.*

Government of French India to Side With General De Gaulle

CHANDERNAGORE, Sept. 19.

Before a meeting of the members of elective bodies, Government Officers and private gentlemen, convened at his residence on Tuesday evening, the Administrator of Chandernagore read out the declaration of Monsieur Bonvin, Governor of French India to the people of Pondicherry. His Excellency M. Bonvin declared that His Government had taken up the cause of free France under General De Gaulle, that he had instructions from the Vichy Government to live on friendly terms with the Government of British India, that he hoped all will follow the General's lead to victory with the help of Great Britain which grew every day stronger with American Assistance, that free France gave every body his freedom of action and that there will be no violence used against dissenticnts.—*A. P.*

Will this declaration make the political status of our countrymen living under French rule higher than it is at present ?

C. W. C. Decision on Kerala Question

The Congress Working Committee have passed the following resolution on the Kerala Congress Committee :

Dr. P. Subbaroyan and Mr. R. K. L. Nandkeolyar, Inspector of the A.-I. C. C. office, are to enquire into the complaints of indiscipline, etc., brought against the Kerala Provincial Congress Committee or its members, more especially the question as to how the recent ban on processions and meetings in that province came to be defied and whether the defiance was directly or indirectly countenanced by the Committee or its members and the disturbances that took place at the meeting on the 15th instant. They are also to report what action, if any, should be taken to ensure disciplined running of the Congress organisation in the province. They should report to the Working Committee within a fortnight from the date hereof. The officials of the Kerala Provincial Congress Committee be requested to let Dr. Subbaroyan and Mr. Nandkeolyar have access to the office records and to produce such papers and witnesses as they may require and afford them all the necessary assistance.—*A. P. I.*

Further news relating to these untoward incidents are given in the message printed below :

MADRAS, Sept. 18.

All is quiet now in the Malabar district, according to information received by the Government from the District Magistrate.

Mr. Manjunatha Rao, member of the A.-I. C. C. and treasurer, Kerala Provincial Congress Committee, Mr. A. Damodaran, president, Calicut town Congress Committee, and 17 Congress volunteers, who were arrested last evening in Calicut for defying the District Magistrate's order prohibiting meetings, processions and assemblies in connection with the "Protest Day" celebrations, were produced today before the Sub-divisional Magistrate and remanded to custody till September 25.

An order under Sec. 144, Cr. P. C. was promulgated yesterday by the Sub-divisional Magistrate, Calicut, prohibiting meetings and processions in Calicut municipality and areas within five miles from municipal limits for a period of one month.—*A. P. I.*

C. W. C.s Decision About U. P. Volunteer Organizations

On the 18th September last the Congress Working Committee also considered the situation in the United Provinces where the Quomi Sevadal and other volunteer organisations have been defying the Government's ban and courting arrest. As a result of discussions a resolution calling upon all Congressmen not to practise Satyagraha pending Mahatma Gandhi's interview with His Excellency the Viceroy was passed.

RESOLUTION

"In view of the resolution just passed by the All-India Congress Committee, the Working Committee calls upon all Congress organizations to stop all civil disobedience, individual or other, pending definite instructions from Mahatma Gandhi. He regards this suspension as indispensable for his impending interview with His Excellency the Viceroy and as a test of discipline of registered and unregistered Congressmen and all Congress-minded men and women, and also as a short course of obedience to law before recourse to civil disobedience, should it become necessary."

The Congress and Bengal

As we do not belong to any political party in the country, we cannot voice the opinion of

any party. Nor should we claim that this unattached position has qualified us to any extent to form an unbiassed opinion as to the political situation in Bengal. Nevertheless we consider it a duty to say that perhaps the All-India Congress leaders have not been paying sufficient attention to Bengal. Perhaps *The Tribune* of Lahore feels like us on the subject, and so it writes :

> The Congress has made a fetish of discipline and paralysed one of its vital limbs. The pity is that it does not realise what harm it has done to itself. Instead of restoring Bengal, which has always been extremely helpful to it in executing dynamic programmes, to its original position, it persists in treating it as if its aid would be of no value to it. None of the persons competent to speak on behalf of Bengal was invited to Bombay to participate in the important deliberations that took place there and naturally it caused much resentment in the province. The Bengal Congress Parliamentary Party has described the refusal of the Congress to consult it as an insult to Bengal and asked the President not to ignore its protest. It was a serious mistake on the part of the Congress to give a hard blow to a useful province with the rod of discipline.

Virulent Communalism and Economic Ruin in Sind

Mahatma Gandhi has published an article of his in *Harijan* under the caption "Economic Ruin in Sind." It begins thus :

> The following printed letter has been circulated by Shri Tarachand D. Gajra and Shri C. T. Valecha :
>
> "We trust you received our previous communication, 'a note on the present state of lawlessness in Sind.' Herewith follows another one 'Economic ruin due to the lawlessness in Sind.' It is a sad story of silent misery that has befallen those who are migrating without any financial aid from the public or the authorities. Elsewhere such a thing would evoke wide international public support and sympathy. We hope your interest in our Province will grow."

Gandhiji then writes :

> I take the following from the statement referred to in the letter :
>
> "Great havoc has been wrought in the economic life of the Province by the present lawlessness in Sind. The village life is almost at the brink of total ruin. The peasantry whose only property and means of sustenance are the bulls and the milch cattle, find themselves without both on account of depredations by thieves, as thefts of cattle have risen to abnormal proportions. The lot of the cultivator has come to this that he passes the day of toil followed by a night of vigil.
>
> "The Hindus in the villages do not feel themselves strong enough to face thieves and dacoits. Hence they have taken to migrating from smaller villages to bigger villages and those who are in bigger villages are leaving for urban areas.
>
> "With a view to having some idea of this migratory movement, herein below are given figures about one of the sixty-one Tahsils in Sind, namely, Hyderabad Taluka. These have been collected by Prof. Ghanshyam, M.L.A. (Congress-Hyderabad Rural Constituency). From several villages almost all Hindu families have left, and from most of the remaining ones nearly fifty per cent of the Hindus have migrated."

The article proceeds :

> Then follow the figures about the migration from 42 villages in the single tahsil of Hyderabad. Of these all the Hindu families in 17 villages have migrated. Of the rest some villages had only one family left. More than fifty per cent of the families had left all the other villages.

Gandhiji then says that "the framers of of the statement thus comment on the figures" :

> "To fully grasp the significance of the above figures, it should be borne in mind that Hyderabad Tahsil is in one of the best situated parts of the Province. It is immediately round the district headquarters, while the Hyderabad district itself is the central district of the Province—both the eastern desert boundary and the hilly western border of the Province lying far away. Even the Sukkur ditrict which witnessed the recent abominable atrocities, is far distant from Hyderabad. If that is the state of affairs in the safest part of the Province, the extent of migration from villages in the Tahsils in other districts such as Dadu, Jacobabad, Larkana and Sukkur can easily be imagined."

Mahatma Gandhi's own comments are :

> "I need not reproduce the other paragraphs of the statement. The whole of it is a dignified and dispassionate narrative of the calamity that has overtaken the Hindus. The narrative shows that it has begun to affect the Muslims also. The Hindus of Sind are enterprising. They supply the felt wants of the Muslim agriculturists. The two are closely intertwined. Communalism of the virulent type is a recent growth. Lawlessness is a monster with many faces. It hurts all in the end, including those who are primarily responsible for it.
>
> "The writers of the covering letter are right in saying that the Sind calamity is an All-India concern. It is as much the duty of the Congress as of the Muslim League and the Hindu Mahasabha to deal with the situation in the right spirit. The Government of Sind will be judged by the manner in which they handle the situation. Nor can the Central Government look on indifferently while a Province of India, which is watered by the mighty Indus and which contains the remains of our proud and ancient past, is being devastated by lawlessness which if not checked in time, may travel beyond the imaginary boundary of Sind. For what happens in India, whether good or bad, in one part, must ultimately affect the whole of India."—*A. P.*

The framers of the statement are quite right in observing that "Elsewhere such a thing would evoke wide international public support and sympathy." If such murders, plundering and other acts of lawlessness with consequent mass migrations as have disfigured recent Sind history had taken place in any country outside the British **Empire,** the British press would have raised an outcry and the press in other 'civilized' countries would have joined in it. But as the means of publicity abroad, available in India, are entirely under British control and as such true stories as

those relating to contemporary Sind are not published in British-owned papers in India nor are they allowed to be transmitted abroad, particularly in these war days, how can international sympathy be roused abroad for Sind? Even if these things are published in Indian-owned papers and they reach any foreign country, there is no great chance of their being believed in or reproduced in papers other than those hostile to Britain. For, we have observed on various occasions that even those foreign papers which have the reputation of being pro-Indian generally use the Anglo-Indian papers' version of incidents in preference to the version published in Indian papers.

For more than a century, British historians, travellers, journalists and other British writers have had the ear of the world public. They have used this advantage to produce a belief in the minds of the public outside India that this country is ruled so efficiently, impartially and philanthropically by the British people that misrule and lawlessness and misery caused thereby are impossible here.

Mahatma Gandhi says that the calamity that has overtaken the Hindus has begun to affect the Muslims also. As that is so, may it be hoped that the Congress will do what it can to bring about some improvement in the situation? And perhaps, if the Muslim League be satisfied that what has injured the Hindus has begun to affect Muslim interests also, the League may also try to eradicate the virulent communalism which is rampant in Sind.

Mahatmaji rightly observes that it is the duty of the Congress as of the Muslim League and the Hindu Mahasabha to deal with the situation in the right spirit. The part which the Congress and the Muslim League can play has been referred to above. As regards the Hindu Mahasabha, it is to be hoped that its efforts to deal with the situation will not be described by Congressmen as due to communalism, whatever the Muslim Leaguers may say.

The Sind calamity is undoubtedly an all-India concern. But owing to the blessing of "Provincial Autonomy" which the British Government has conferred on India, such has been the growth of provincialism that it has shut the doors of sympathy against all who do not belong to "our" province, just as the Communal Decision has circumscribed sympathy within the bounds of one's own community. Political partisanship has also narrowed our sympathy. Else there could have been an all-India outcry against Pakistanism in Bengal and virulent communalism in Noakhali and Sind.

Mahatmaji justly observes that the Government of Sind will be judged by the manner in which they handle the situation and points out the duty of the Central Government, too.

Sind Situation and the Provincial and Central Governments

Section 52 of the Government of India Act of 1935 reads as follows, in part:

> "52.—(1) In the exercise of his functions the Governor shall have the following special responsibilities, that is to say:—
> (a) The prevention of any grave menace to the peace or tranquillity of the Province or any part thereof;
> (b) The safeguarding of the legitimate interests of minorities;

There is not the least doubt that in Sind there has been not merely *grave menace* to peace or tranquillity but actually the exact opposite of peace and tranquillity. And the legitimate interests of the minority (*e.g.*, the Hindus) have grievously suffered, as both their lives and property have been anything but safe.

As Provincial Governors have special responsibilities, so have they been vested with special powers to discharge the same. No information is available to the public to show that either the Government of Sind or the Governor of Sind in his personal capacity has effectively dealt with the situation in that province.

Presumably because the provincial authorities had failed to give that protection to the Hindus to which they were entitled, the Hindus of Sind wanted to wait in deputation on the Governor-General to acquaint him with their grievances for redress. But he has refused to receive their deputation, on the ground that their grievances were a provincial matter to be dealt with and disposed of by the provincial authorities. But as these authorities have not been able to give them protection or succour, does not the law give them any further hope of relief? It does.

Section 12 of the Government of India Act of 1935 runs as follows, in part:

> "12.—(1) In the exercise of his functions the Governor-General shall have the following special responsibilities, that is to say:—
> (a) The prevention of any grave menace to the peace or tranquillity of India or any part thereof;....
> (c) The safeguarding of the legitimate interests of minorities;

The law gives the Governor-General special powers to discharge these special responsibilities.

Obviously these provisions in the Government of India Act of 1935 are there not as decorations but are intended to be utilized in case of need. The situation in Sind is a proper occasion for their utilization, as the Hindu

minority there has failed to receive protection and succour, as the peace and tranquillity of that province have been disturbed and as there is unfortunately every likelihood of a continuation of lawlessness in that luckless land.

Closer Defensive Co-operation Between English-speaking Parts of the World

NEW YORK, Sept. 20.

According to the Washington correspondent of the *New York Times*, conversations have been going on between the United States Government and representatives of the British Empire as to the possibility of informal but closer co-operation between English-speaking parts of the world, particularly with regard to the joint use of air and naval bases for mutual defence.

These talks, it is learned in diplomatic circles, have been carried on by Mr. Cordell Hull jointly with Lord Lothian and Mr. Casey, the Australian Minister in Washington. It is stressed that they are still in the preliminary stages. No decisions have been asked for or taken and no commitments made on any side.

The possibility as to whether arrangement for the use of bases embracing South Africa, Australia and New Zealand would not be mutually beneficial is now being explored, the correspondent continues.

Diplomatic circles in Washington say that what is being discussed is merely an arrangement on the use of bases which might be handled by executive action as far as the United States are concerned. No final decision is expected until November.

It is learned that fairly completed information, held by the United States and Britain on the situation in various parts of the world, has been exchanged in the current conversations.—*Reuter.*

LONDON, Sept. 20.

It is confirmed in London that talks are proceeding in Washington between Lord Lothian, Mr. Cordell Hull and Mr. Casey on matters of mutual significance which are understood to include defence measures in relation to the Pacific.—*Reuter.*

Combination of Peoples Having the Same Mother Tongue

Men have combined for defensive and offensive purposes according to tribe, nation, race, or religious persuasion. The combination referred to above is to be according to a language spoken by peoples dwelling far apart from one another. The same language may be spoken by persons belonging to different countries, nations and races and professing different religions. Hence a classification and combination of peoples according to their mother tongues cannot but cut across national, racial and religious classifications or divisions. Therefore, so far as nationalism, racialism and sectarianism divide people from people and set them one against the other, a linguistic combination of peoples of different nations, races and religions may be a blessing. But we must not expect too much from it. For, there are, as we know to our cost in India, or may be linguistic fanatics as there are racial and religious fanatics.

People speaking the same language have a common literature. And literature is perhaps the greatest and most comprehensive and inspiring embodiment of culture. Whether cultural ties can be as strong as national, racial or religious ties, it is difficult to say. But perhaps culture does not lend itself to the promotion of fanaticism so much as nationalism, racialism, and religiosity.

Among the languages of the world, Chinese is spoken by the largest number of persons—four hundred millions according to Whitaker's Almanack. According to the same authority, among European languages English is spoken by the largest number—two hundred millions, Russian and German coming next with 140 and 80 millions respectively. So a combination of peoples speaking English would be the biggest linguistic combination of peoples speaking any single European language.

India in the Toils of British Business

Many of us have the idea that the economic life of India is controlled by British industrialists, merchants and other capitalists. But it is generally a vague idea that we have. Within a brief compass Mr. Asoka Mehta's article on "Oligarchs of Our Industries" in our present issue gives one some definite idea of the hold which British business enterprise has over the economic destinies of India. To call attention to only one out of the many series of facts which his article contains, he mentions some forty Trusts which control about 450 concerns whose total capital exceeds Rs. 110,00,00,000. Of these, *thirty-two* leading Trusts are British, against which he mentions only *three* leading Indian Trusts, namely, Tata Sons and Co., Birla Bros., and Dalmia, Jain & Co. He says, "Walchand's and Karamchand Thapar's concerns are fast expanding and they will soon reach the status of Trusts."

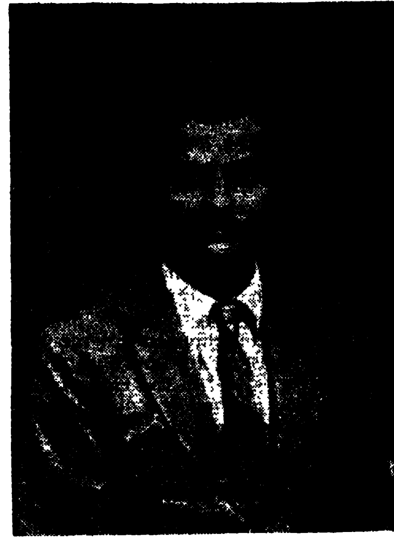
To free India from the tentacles of British business, Indian industrialists and other men of business of all provinces must strive to the utmost of their capacity. Extensive and intensive team work among them will be required. Nowhere is such team work more necessary than in Bengal, where indigenous business enterprise is still in its early stages.

Dass Bank Limited

In this connection we may mention the Dass Bank Limited. It is the latest of the concerns which owe their inception to the enterprise of



Karmavir Alamohon Dass



Mr. Nanda Lal Chatterji

Sjt. Alamohan Dass, some of his earlier achievements being a Jute Mill and an Engineering Works for the manufacture of various kinds of machinery. We are glad to note that the Dass Bank has already earned the appreciation of *Arthik Jagat* (Bengali financial weekly), *Bharat* (Bengali daily), *Indian Banking Journal*, and other papers. In its review of banks in the September number the *Indian Banking Journal* writes that "The efforts of Karmavir Alamohan Dass are obvious in the notable growth of the Bank." "In our opinion the safety proportion of cash and Bank balances to Deposits Account has been maintained." This journal gives some facts and figures to show the sound position of the Burrabazar Branch of this Bank, and goes on to state :

"We are informed that this Branch was started on 9th May, 1940 under the management of its Calcutta Manager, Mr. Nandalal Chatterji, B.L. having 17 years' banking experience in the Central Bank of India, Ltd. Clean Overdraft in that constitution on 27-6-'40 was Rs. 37,130-12-4, when it was decided that recovery of this money was necessary for the audit preparations of the house. And this difficult and time-taking task was accomplished by Mr. Chatterji by 30-6-'40 (a period of 3 days only), who then reported the whole amount received back and overdraft nil. This achievement is surely an extraordinary feat in Banking spheres and we are certain that it is unique.....We are really thankful to the non-Bengalee communities of Burrabazar commercial circle who have been supporting Mr. Chatterji in his endeavour to make the Bank achieve the above success and we believe that this service will not be denied him at any time."

Sjt. Nanda Lal Chatterji deservedly enjoys the reputation of being an able and devoted officer.

The Calcutta Municipal (Amendment) Bill

In spite of the strong criticism to which the Calcutta Municipal (Amendment) Bill has been subjected in the press, on the public platform, by the Calcutta Corporation and by members of the Bengal Legislative Assembly, it has been referred to a select committee and is expected to become law in due course. In the course of the debate on it, Sjt. Santosh Kumar Basu, ex-Mayor of Calcutta and Deputy Leader of the Congress Party in the Assembly threw out a challenge to the Ministry, which was not accepted, of course. Said he :

"May I make a suggestion even now to test the *bonafides* of the accusations levelled by the Government against the Corporation ?"

"Instead of sending the Bill to the Select Committee, let them pass the clause lowering the franchise and hold a general election in January next, only for the purpose of ascertaining the opinion of the electorate on the question of the alleged inefficiency, nepotism, favouritism and corruption, and on the remedies suggested in the Bill, namely, an official Chief Executive Officer, a Services Commission and dissolution and supersession of the Corporation and its departments. If the Government get the clear verdict of the rate-payers on those vital issues, the Bill may be brought up in the Budget session before this House and passed without a dissentient voice. Can Government muster up courage to accept this offer ? Let it be the acid test of their *bonafides*."

We regret we have no space to even briefly notice all the effective speeches made by members of the Opposition in condemnation of the Bill. But an exception has to be made in the case of the speech of Sjt. Nalini Ranjan Sarker,

ex-Minister, because of the inside knowledge which he possesses of the working of the minds of his former Muslim colleagues. Said he in the course of his speech in the Assembly :

The first Amendment Act sought, through the familiar devise of creating hedged-in-constituencies and through nominations, to turn the Hindus into a minority, though by strength of their number and contributions, they have a right to retain control over the Corporation. And it succeeded. The Hindus are in a virtual minority and if the elected Muslims, nominated members and the Europeans join to form an alliance the enfeebled Hindu opposition cannot shake it. But not satisfied with this *de facto* sovereignty they are out now to legalise their rule over a hitherto autonomous and democratic institution, which is the biggest of its kind in India. For rich are the rewards to be earned in the Corporation and the prospect of acquiring so much power and patronage which they can turn to personal and party advantage is a temptation too strong to resist.

Pledged on the assumption of the office nearly forty months ago to solve the *dal bhat* problem of the masses, the present Ministry has yet had no time to evolve any effective planned scheme for the betterment of the condition of the ryots. Yet the Government have neither been idle nor entirely ignorant of the value of planned action for a particular objective Their legislative record is strewn with instances, which show tenacity, determination and foresight for the purpose of aggrandising communal power in Bengal. The real interests and benefits of the masses have been completely lost sight of. Instead, the interests of a communal oligarchy absorb all the attention of the Government. All their planning, all their ingenuity and shrewdness and in fact, every moment of the Minister's waking hours has been devoted to one particular objective, the aggrandisement of that communal oligarchy in every possible sphere by a brazen use of power politics. There could hardly be a sadder commentary on the career of the Ministry.

Bengal Secondary Education Bill

The reception which the Secondary Education Bill has had from the public—in the press, on the public platform and at the hands of the members of the Opposition in the Assembly, has been similar to what the Calcutta Municipal (Amendment) Bill has received. Rather, the public opposition to it has been more intense and more widespread. Protest meetings continue to be held in condemnation of it. Nevertheless, it has been referred to a packed select committee and is expected to be placed on the statute book in due course.

It is in contemplation to hold an all-parties conference some time in November next to consider the constructive steps that would have to be taken for the education of Hindu and other non-Muhammadan children in the event of the Bill becoming law. Sir P. C. Ray is expected to preside over the conference. An influential all-parties reception committee with Sir Manmatha Nath Mukherjee as chairman has been formed.

In the Assembly in the course of the debate on the Bill many telling speeches were made by many members of the opposition. It is to be regretted there is no space to notice them. Only from the speech of Sjt. Nalini Ranjan Sarker, we extract a few sentences for the same reasons for which we have noticed his speech on the Calcutta Municipal (Amendment) Bill. Said he, in part :

Government have no schools of their own in rural areas. The bulk of the Muslims and other backward classes live in rural areas and are poor. If they are now making some progress, that is only because they could find an increasing number of high schools (founded and conducted for the most part by the Hindus.—Ed., *M. R.*) developing at their doors to which they could send their boys. Nobody denies that many of these schools are ill-equipped. But what astounds one is that instead of attempting to increase their efficiency, they are proposed to be completely wiped out and poor peasants are to send their boys to live in expensive hostels at a great distance from their homes, and pay higher fees. If there is any scheme behind the bill at all, it is that most of the boys now reading in high schools should be debarred from high school education, that a fewer number of boys would get education in better equipped but more expensive schools. Is that the way to spread education among backward classes or is it an attempt to confine high school education to the boys of the wealthy middle class ?

Further, the House must not think that the above estimates are based on the idea of imparting a better or more varied type of education in the schools. It is the same type of schooling as is being given now, though the fortunate teachers will be better paid, and there will be a larger library. This is how the Chief Minister proposes to give a better chance to the children of artisans, shopkeepers and boys of the palace.

The House should also remember the capacity of the persons in power to plan. If there are to be 400 or 500 high schools in the province instead of the present 1,400, how are they to be distributed ? Is it going to be distributed according to an arithmetical plan. If the past records of the Minister are any guide, we can never think of that. The House can not expect a better plan in the location of these schools. For, in no department of work have the Government shown any indication of working according to some well thought-out plan. There should be a clear warning to the poorer peasants of this province of what evils this bill holds in store for them. And to the supporters of the oligarchy in power, it should be made clear that they have not been able to hide their real intentions behind a smoke-screen of high but empty phrases. What they are primarily anxious about is not so much the interests of secondary education, or the desire to reorganize it on a planned basis, but merely to secure control over secondary education through the instrumentality of the proposed Board. **In fact, it would be more appropriate to call this Bill, not the Secondary Education Bill, but a Bill to strangle secondary education.**

Drastic and Extensive Use of Defence of India Act

In and outside Bengal the number of persons arrested under the Defence of India Act is considerable, and the number is mounting day by day. A large proportion of the persons arrested consists of members of the Congress. In no sense

can it be said that they had attacked or were planning to attack India. Neither can it be said that it is by imprisoning them that the problem of India's defence can be solved. That problem can be solved, not by imprisoning even all Congressmen and other nationalists, but only by having a large, well-trained and well-equipped army, a large and strong up-to-date navy and a large air-force.

Allowances for Detenus and Externees

The answers given to questions in the Bengal Assembly as to whether allowances would be given to detenus and externees cannot be said to be disappointing, for better answers were not expected. But as men punished after trial with imprisonment or transportation are maintained at the cost of the Government, surely those who are deprived of their liberty and confined without trial are entitled to receive an allowance at least for their own maintenance. And, if any one is driven away without trial from his usual place of residence where he was earning or trying to earn money for himself and, in many cases, for his family, he also is entitled to receive an allowance.

Honorary D. Sc. for Sir Nilratan Sircar

The Calcutta University has decided to confer the degree of Doctor of Science *honoris causa* on Sir Nilratan Sircar. It would have been a well merited honour even half a century ago.

Thirteen Lakh Britons Demand Re-opening of Burma Road To China

LONDON, Sept. 20.

The China Campaign Committee has written to Mr. Churchill stating that 1,300,000 people in Britain have informed the Committee that they support a demand for the immediate unconditional reopening of the Burma Road.—*Reuter*.

Change in Status of Jews in Rumania

BUCHAREST, Sept. 20.

All recent measures against Jews and sects including Baptists, and particularly decrees restricting worship and concerning synagogues, have been annulled. Under previous decrees, a large amount of religious property was to go to the State.

Pending new decrees, it is expected that the status of Jewry in Rumania may undergo a radical change in the near future.—*Reuter*.

Sjt. K. C. Neogy's Candidature

We are glad to learn that Sjt. K. C. Neogy is a candidate for the seat in the Central Assembly which has fallen vacant by the death of Sj. Surya Kumar Shome. Sjt. Neogy did very good work when he was a member of the Assembly.

Anti-Pardah Conference in Calcutta

The Anti-Purdah Conference of Marwari *purdah* ladies in Calcutta, organised and conducted entirely by themselves in September last, is an auspicious sign of the times. We wish the movement all success.

The Meaning of Gandhiji's Free Speech Demand

In one of Gandhiji's two speeches on the latest A.-I. C. C. resolution, he said, in part:

"If we can get a declaration from the British Government that the Congress can go on carrying on its anti-war propaganda and preaching non-co-operation with the British Government in their war effort, we will not have civil disobedience." "I will tell the Viceroy that this is the position to which we have been reduced: 'We do not want to embarrass you and deflect you from your purpose in regard to war effort. We go our way, and you go yours, undeterred, the common ground being non-violence. Left free to ourselves, there will be no war effort on the part of our people. If on the other hand without your using any but moral pressure you find that they respond, then we cannot help it. If you get assistance from the Princes, from the zemindars, from anybody, high or low, you can have it, but let our voice also be heard.'"

As a thoroughgoing ahimsāist and pacifist Gandhiji is morally and logically justified in making a demand like this. India can also justly make such a demand if all India, that is most Indians, be in favour of complete non-violence, as, though in many independent countries having national governments which are parties to the war by their own choice the right of free expression of opinion has been seriously curtailed during the war, India has no national government and has been made a belligerent without being consulted. But for the C. W. C. & A.-I. C. C., which only a short while ago offered active help to the British Government in the war if India were given freedom equal to that of Britain and, which gave expression to the anti-Gandhi view that in free India complete non-violence would not suffice for the maintenance of internal order or for repelling foreign aggression, it has not been logical or consistent to completely go back on their former opinions and accept and endorse Gandhiji's views. But, as we have said in the course of a previous note, the Congress Committees have taken up this illogical and inconsistent position probably in order to secure Gandhiji's leadership in the probable future Civil Disobedience Campaign.

Some Hindu Mahasabha Resolutions

The Working Committee of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha which is in session in Bombay, has released the following resolution which it adopted on the 22nd September last :

"Resolved that in view of the opportunity that the present war offers for the general militarization of the Hindus and for the organisation of the system of India on sound and up-to-date modern lines so that India be converted into a self-contained defence unit, the Hindu Mahasabha is prepared whole-heartedly to work out the schemes of the expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council and the War Advisory Council, but on honourable terms of equity and justice as stated below :

(1) In view of the declaration made by the Muslim League of its 'determination, firm resolve and faith' that the partition of India is the only solution of India's future constitution, the Hindu Mahasabha urges the Viceroy to make a clear and definite declaration that the Government has not approved or accepted any such proposal or scheme.

(2) That in view of the reported understanding between the Viceroy and the Muslim League that the League would be given two seats on the proposed extended Executive Council and five seats on the proposed War Advisory Council, the Hindu Mahasabha claims representation of six seats on the extended Executive Council and fifteen seats on the War Advisory Council on the population basis.

(*b*) That out of these six seats one be given to the Sikhs and one to the Scheduled Castes and the rest be given to the nominees of the Hindus Mahasabha.

(*c*) This Committee considers the demand of the Muslim League of fifty per cent representation on the proposed Executive Council and elsewhere as undemocratic, unconstitutional, unreasonable and preposterous and it would urge the Viceroy to give an assurance to the Hindu Mahasabha that no such demand would be entertained."

On the 23rd it passed another.

The resolution criticises the Viceregal declaration and Mr. Amery's statement in the House of Commons, characterises them as "highly unsatisfactory and disappointing in that they make no reference to India's right to independence," deplores that the reference to Dominion Status is "vague and uncertain" and demands Dominion Status of the Westminster variety within one year after the termination of the War.

Franco-Japanese Agreement & China's Bold Stand

SHANGHAI, Sept. 23.

The agreement includes the granting to the Japanese of free air bases in Tonghing and free right to station six thousand Japanese troops to guard them, the right of passage for the Japanese from South China through Indo-China by a delimited route and permission to land and station a certain number of effectives at Haiphong.

LONDON, Sept. 23.

The Official Chinese newspaper in Shanghai asserts that all preparations have been made to meet any Japanese attack through Indo-China. The Chinese have proclaimed Martial Law throughout the province of Yunan.

How Will India Benefit If Britain Is Strengthened ?

His Excellency the Governor of Bombay asked in a recent Darbār speech of his, "How will India benefit it Britain is weakened. ?" We have commented on his question in a previous note. May we ask; "How will India benefit if Britain is strengthened ?" Britain emerged out of the last world war stronger and with a bigger Empire, and India had the Rowlatt Acts and Jalianwala Bagh. We hope and believe Britain will be stronger after this war. But how will India fare after it ?

Scheme to Train Mechanics

SIMLA, Sept. 17.

A Press *communique* issued by the Government of India states :

As has already been announced the Government of India intend to train 2,000 mechanics a year so that the Air Force will have a reserve of ground personnel to draw on as occasion arises. This plan, it may be stated is being organised in association with the scheme of training outlined by the Technical Training Enquiry Committee and accepted by the Central Government.

An advertisement has already appeared in the press on September 12, inviting applications from those who wish to train as mechanics under this scheme. Selection will be made in a number of places by selection boards and applicants so selected will be allotted for training at certain technical training schools in British India and in certain Indian States. Details have already appeared in the advertisement abovementioned.

NINE TRAINING CENTRES

It is at present contemplated that there will be nine training centres for mechanics and although every effort will be made to post applicants to centres near their own localities, this cannot be guaranteed and they will be required to train at any centre to which they are allotted by the Government. Training will be at Government expense and in addition a subsistence allowance will be granted to them during training. The training will extend over a period of twelve months and trainees will be expected to devote their whole time to the course. The course will include engineering and workshop experience. It is emphasised that the intention of the training scheme is to form a potential reserve of mechanics and the fact that a candidate is accepted for training implies no guarantee that he will eventually be employed by the Air Force; this must obviously be dependent on future developments.—*A. P.*

Notice

On account of the Durga Puja Holidays the Modern Review Office and Prabasi Press will remain closed from the 6th to the 20th October, 1940, both days included. All business accumulating during this period will be transacted after the holidays.

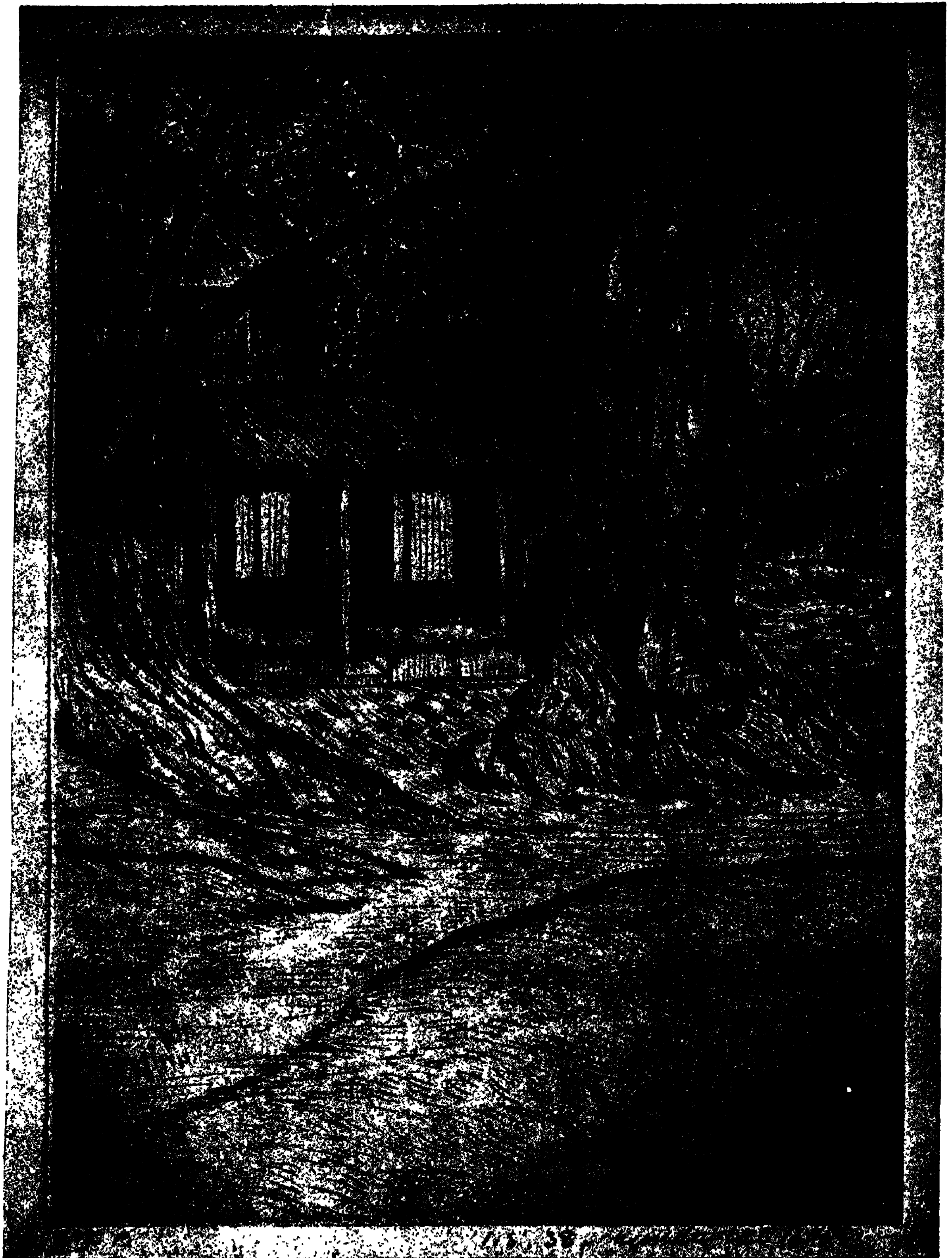
Ramananda Chatterjee,
Proprietor, "The Modern Review" and
Prabasi Press.



Fresco at the Gaekwad Memorial, Baroda
By Nandalal Bose



Siva
By Nandalal Bose



Cottage
Etching By Nandalal Bose

THE MIND BEHIND "PAKISTAN"

BY SURESH CHANDRA DEV

THERE is a disposition among a certain section of Indian public men and publicists, opponents of the Pakistan scheme, to put the blame for the whole matter on the thin shoulders of Mr. Mahommed Ali Jinnah. This disposition is specially marked in the utterances and writings of Muslim public men and publicists. The suggestion in their criticism and condemnation appears to be that Mr. Jinnah has been misleading the section of the Muslim community that is represented in the All-India Muslim League which has been following him as so many sheep blindly. This line of approach to the problem is so very unhistorical that it should not and cannot be accepted as a satisfactory explanation of the developments in the country that appear to have created a stalemate in it. Those who are seriously and on principle opposed to schemes like that envisaged in the Muslim League resolution minimise chances of the success of their opposition to these by making personal pique responsible for the birth of these subversive movements. The more real explanation would be to recognise that the Pakistan resolution tries to give voice to certain conceits and ambitions in the heart of a section of the Muslim community in India. This recognition would enable the Indian public to rightly measure the strength and weakness of the movement, to fight it on the psychological plane where conceits and ambitions have their birth and nursing ground. To subject these conceits and ambitions to analysis, to chart the unknown region where they are nursed, to extract therefrom all the implications for good or evil in them, and to utilize these insights into the nature of Muslim communalism in India for building up a composite national life in this country—this is the task laid on the Indian public man and student of affairs. This method of approach will yield us the truth in the many activities of the Muslim community in India.

The wide discussion that followed the passing of the Pakistan resolution at the Lahore session of the Muslim League in February last leaves the impression in the mind that it caught the Indian public almost unawares,—the thing appeared to be so sudden, it appeared, as many papers put it, as a bolt from the blue. Yet the fact is there that behind this resolution was a sedulous preparation of the Indian Muslim mind for the reception of the idea that the Muslim community was a "separate nation" in this country. At a session of the Sind Provincial Muslim League held in the early part of October, 1938, was passed a resolution appointing a committee to draw up a scheme of federation of "Muslim States and non-Muslim States." Muslim public men and thinkers had prepared and broadcast seven schemes for the future federation of India. These schemes did not owe their inspiration to Mr. Jinnah. These were having their publicity beyond the knowledge of the general public of India. We get an idea of these by a record in the *Islamic Culture*, a quarterly journal published under the auspices of the thought-leaders of the Nizam State, in its "Cultural Activities Section" of April, 1940. These were :

"Sir Sikander Hyat Khan's Scheme, the Pakistan Plan, the Quinquepartite Scheme of the Nawab of Mamdot, the Pakistan Caliphate, Dr. Latiff's Cultural Future of India, the Scheme of Muslim Federation, and the Eastern Afghanistan Scheme."

Of these schemes, Sir Sikander Hyat Khan's and that of Dr. Abdul Latiff have appeared in the English-language press. The others have not been given that publicity. From a summary published in the *Islamic Culture* we come to know of their nature.

"The Punjab Muslim Students dream of a Pakistan Caliphate in the North; Moulana Abdul Wadood of the Jamiat Ulema, Sarhad, envisages an independent Muslim State to be called Eastern Afghanistan. The proposed Pakistan Caliphate is to comprise not only Sind, Beluchistan, the North-West Frontier Province, Kashmir and the Punjab, as included in the original Pakistan Scheme, but also embraces in its fold parts of the United Provinces, and the Central Provinces and Berar running along with the Ganges right up to Bengal and Assam. Both the schemes aim at an exclusively Muslim State in Northern India......The Muslim Students Federation which has propounded the Scheme of *Pakistan Caliphate* claims the birth-right of Muslims in Northern India as their homelands, and in other words, means exclusive rights of Muslims where they predominate. The proposed Muslim State, according to its authors, will be ruled by a spiritual dictator who will be the shadow of God on earth......in accordance with the injunctions of the Holy Quran. The Scheme has already found support among the tribes—Mohmands, Afridis, Wazirs, and various tribal areas."

The direction of the mind that is at the back of these schemes is unmistakable. These

make an instinctive appeal to the Muslim community reviving dreams of recapturing the reins of administrative authority in the State in India that had slipped out of Muslim hands about two hundred years back, dreams that can be made realities by resolute men during the changes that have been rocking the States all the world over on their foundations. Those who think that these separatist dreams and ambitions are new growths know not their own history, the history of India during the last hundred years. The history of the Wahhabi Movement in India has yet to be written, of what the dreamers and visionaries that worked under the inspiration of Syed Ahmed of Rai Bareilly dreamt and saw in about 1830. From hints and suggestions scattered through the writings of Muslim poets and writers one can pick up the impression that with the fall of the Muslim power in India the Muslims in the country, their leaders, ceased to think of themselves as sons and daughters of Hindustan, began to think of themselves as guests who had outstayed their welcome. This feeling found expression in the poems of Altaf Hossain Hali. one of the minstrels of Muslim awakening in India. In his *Shikwa Hind* he lamented as follows:

> "Morning and evening our eyes now behold that which we thought would be the end of thy gracious acceptance."
>
> "Quickly hast thou broken all thy pledges and promises, O India! We were told aright that thou wast faithless."
>
> "Hast thou ever beheld the men of Islam in this plight before? Was this the Islam which we brought with us from Arabia?"
>
> "Oh! Mill of Revolving Time, thou hast ground us small; enough; have done; what boots thee to grind us further?"
>
> "As the host of Greeks turned back from thy border, would that in like manner, we had turned baffled from thy door."

Words like these may be characterised as the song of a defeated people. At this period literature that mirrored the mind of the Muslim community was tinctured by a pessimism and tortured by a feeling of frustration that has left its marks on the thought and conduct of even the present generation of Indian Muslims. We are enabled to understand the inner workings of this mind, understand better the soul of the differences that appear to divide the Hindu and the Muslim in India, by a speech delivered by Mr. Wazed Ali as president of the Literary Section of the Bengal Muslim Literary Conference in 1939. He is a barrister; at present he is a Presidency Magistrate in Calcutta. In the course of his criticism of Muslim life and its rigidity, he took for illustration two contemporary literary men—Bankim Chandra Chattopādhyāya and Abdul Halim Sarrar, the Urdu novelist. This illustration indicated the cause or causes that have made the Muslim community in India so ill at ease with conditions of life in this country. I give the sense of his Bengalee speech in this article without accepting the truth or logic of this interpretation of recent history. He recognises that Bankim Chandra wields a deeper and wider influence over the life and thought of his people than Abdul Halim who, equally gifted, equally sensitive to the intimations of the time-spirit, could not be the fountain-head of inspiration, the harbinger of the needed awakening, the law-giver of the new times that the former has proved himself to be. The reason for this was not due to any defect in the mental or spiritual endowments of Abdul Halim, it was due to his surroundings, to the climate of opinion in which he lived, to the air which he breathed. Abdul Halim was an inhabitant of the United Provinces, then known as the North-West Province. He lived his life and did his work in an area where Hindus were 90 per cent of the population.

Mr. Wazed Ali explained the reactions of this population ratio on the mind and spirit of the generation to which Abdul Halim belonged. Patriotism and nationalism which are the driving forces of the modern times came easy to the Hindus of India, while in dealing with these themes the Muslim literary men in India had to face an inner conflict, "they even walk into a blind alley." He elaborated this argument in the following words:

> "The Muslims by accepting the ideal of patriotism would only be helping to deliver the reins of administration into the hands of the Hindus. Therefore Sarrar could not use his pen in popularising the ideal of patriotism. But Bankim Chandra could do it because he lived and thought and worked in an area, in the then Presidency of Bengal constituted of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, where the Hindus, Bankim Chandra's co-religionists, were about 70 per cent of the population. The ideal-end of all his work was the establishment of Hindu supremacy. As a sincere Hindu Bankim Chandra could thus accept this ideal and place at its service the superb powers of his intellect and the devotion of his soul; therefore could he dedicate his pen to the writing of *Ananda Mutt, Sitaram, Devi Chowdhurani,* to the writing of the song of *Bande Mataram.*

But Abdul Halim could not do it because he belonged to a minority community. This handicap has halted the inspiration of Muslim literary men. As an example of the influence of this handicap Mr. Wazed Ali cited Hali's "Musaddes"; he thought that even the great poet, Muhammed Iqbal, suffered from the same sense of frustration and inner conflict. This singer of "flaming songs to the assembly" of

Islam could not free himself from the struggle between the claims of country and creed. The man who could sing of

> "*Yunan-o-Mishra-o-Roma sab mit gaye jahan se*
> *Baki magar hai ab bhi Hindostan hamara.*"
> "Greece, Egypt and Rome have faded away from the world,
> But still lives my Hindostan."

Or,

> "O Brahmin! Thou art under the impression that God lies in the idols made of stone,
> But to me every particle of my country's dust is God."

could also sing

> "'Tis folly to take pride in race.
> Race pervades the body which is mortal.
> Why to search for the essence of community in the land of birth?
> Why to worship the elements of air, water, and earth?"

Tortured by this conflict did Muhammed Iqbal seek for a wider and a broader appeal to his people, wider than the country and broader than the sect, an appeal that would act as a dynamo to the Muslims of India. He thought that he had found it in Pan-Islamism.

> "The silence of the Hedjaz has proclaimed to the expectant years at last,
> That the compact once made with the people of the desert shall again stand renewed.
> The lion which came out of the desert and upset the Roman Empire,
> I hear from angels that he shall awaken once more."

But to Mr. Wazed Ali the Khilafat and Pan-Islamism as ideals of State life are out of date. He states his belief and warns his community.

> "In these ideals we do not find and feel the stirring of life. In the independent Muslim countries the ideals of community-life that Nationalism stands for have been accepted today. If we hug to our bosom an ideal that was valid in the past but is almost lifeless today, we shall fail in our literary life, in our State life."

The mirror that Mr. Wazed Ali has held up to the life and work of the poets and singers and prophets among the Indian Muslims reflects back the material and mental seed-plots of the separatist conceits of the community. These separatist conceits have had their birth long before, three quarters of a century before the Muslim League was thought of. And "Pakistans," the setting up of "Hindu Zones" and "Muslim Zones" are capable of being thought of today because these separatist conciets have been nursed in their hearts for a time much longer than the birth of the Muslim League. An indication of this state of maladjustment, an ancient maladjustment, was given by Maulana Akram Khan as president of the Cultural Section of the last session of the Bengal Muslim Literary Conference. For this purpose he divided the 740 years of Bengalee life since 1199, the year on which Muslim rule erupted into Bengal from outside. The first period was of 344 years from 1199 to 1533, the year on which Sri Chaitanya Mahāprabhu left the field of his mundane activities; the second period was of 224 years duration from 1533 to 1757, the year of the battle of Plassey; the third period was of 100 years, from 1757 to 1857, the year of the "Sepoy Mutiny"; the fourth period has been one of 83 years, from 1857 to 1939. To the mind of the Maulana Saheb the first, second, and about three-fourths of the third periods—about 633 years—have been barren so far as literature as the expression of the mind of the Bengalee Muslims was concerned; for according to his reading of history, to his interpretation of history, the Muslims foreign and native, appeared to have succumbed to the culture of the Hindus, and Muslim kings and *savants* and saints went out of their way to encourage the propagation of Hindu ideas and ideals, to encourage the adoption of Hindu practices with certain variations made. The years, these 633 years, were years of degeneration. And those literary men, Hindu and Muslim, who regarded and asked us to regard these periods as the golden age of Hindu-Muslim co-operation, of a new synthesis in India built up by the co-mingling of the two streams of Hindu and Muslim culture, misread their history, and were no friends of Islam, of the purity of Islam. Real history would say that in Bengal Islam has had a real chance since the days, about 1830, when Syyed Ahmed of Rai Bareilly (in the United Provinces) brought Wahhabism into this province.

The above is a picture of the mind of a part of the Muslim community as it emerges out of the writings of Muslim poets and thinkers. In understanding and explaining this I have avoided the politician, his writings and speeches. I have gone to poets and philosophers who, undisturbed by the market-place of affairs, unswayed by the prospect of material results, reflect and represent the mind of the community, of a section of it who have influenced developments in the country. The quotations that I have made reveal the stresses and strains, the unrest and a sort of fear, in the mind of the Muslim community. They give us an idea of the difficulties that they feel in this country which they find it difficult to remove with the help of the wisdom of their own traditions of

social and State life. It is these traditions, feelings and sentiments generated by traditions, that have created these difficulties for the community. These have constituted the core of the matter that has come to be known as the "Hindu-Muslim problem" in India. If it were a mere struggle for the promotion of material interests, the thing could have been managed and adjusted. But the quotations I have made raise the curtain from over the region of the imponderables of human life where only the thought-leaders of the community can penetrate; it is they only that can remove the twists and tangles of thought and feeling in the life of their community. The Hindu community cannot, dare not, intrude into the traditions and practices of Muslim life. How dangerous or explosive these are, or can be made, can be realised if, for instance, we understand the significance of the words used by a member of the Central Assembly, Kazi Muhammed Ahmed Kazmi, that "even up till today certain of our prayers are offered on the basis that it (India) was *Dar-ul-Harab* (door or country of enmity)." The occasion for the use of these words was when he was explaining the reaction of the Muslim mind to the abolition in 1864 of the posts of Muslim *Quazis* along with those of Hindu *Pundits*. Said he:

"It was at that time, that the Mussalmans began to think and consider whether India was *Dar-ul-Harab* or *Dar-ul-Aman* (door or country of peace) or *Dar-ul-Islam* (door or country of Islam)......It was at that time that continuous agitation was carried on by Mussalmans and they decided that India was not *Dar-ul-Islam;* it ceased to be *Dar-ul-Aman,* and it was *Dar-ul-Harab*. Even up till today certain of our prayers are offered on the basis that it (India) was *Dar-ul-Harab*......"

Readers of this article will by this time have realised where the seat of the conflicts and competitions lies. If the poets and philosophers quoted above be the authentic witnesses of what has been passing through the mind of the Muslim community of India, through the minds of the classes and groups that guide the masses, then, those who desire to contribute their share of thinking and acting towards the solution of this problem, should know the many processes of the thought, the many strands of the thought-structure of the Muslim community. For, it is then only that they, possessed of knowledge, can bring understanding to this difficult task, no more difficult than which has ever been set to men and women in India.

RAJ NARAIN BOSE

By SRI AUROBINDO

Not in annihilation lost, nor given
To darkness art thou fled from us and light,
O strong and sentient spirit; no mere heaven
Of ancient joys, no silence eremite
Received thee; but the Omnipresent Thought
Of which thou wast a part, and earthly hour,
Took back its gift.

[The Anniversary of the death of the sage and social reformer Raj Narain Bose, grandfather of Sri Aurobindo, was celebrated at Midnapur, the scene of his labours, on the 7th September last under the presidentship of Professor Priyaranjan Sen.]

ENGLAND PREPARES FOR THE NEXT PHASE

By Major D. GRAHAM POLE

The European scene at the present time can only be compared with that kind of Chinese painting which is really a series of paintings unfolding in a long roll. To understand the theme of the picture it is necessary to push the scroll back as you go, until you have "read" the whole story. But here of course the comparison breaks down. We see that a new Europe is unfolding but we cannot tell where the story will lead us: there are so many themes to be reconciled and composed. Nor can we hasten on the denouement. Of one thing only we can be sure. The War has changed the whole familiar scene. And the feeling is growing, in England at any rate, that there can be no finding a way back. Whether the War ends soon or late, we must go forward.

So many things have happened since I last wrote to India. Everything seems to have happened, in fact, except the invasion. First of all there has been the tragic, surgeon-like action against the French Navy at Oran. Then followed President Roosevelt's acceptance of the Democratic nomination and the sudden stepping-up of American interest and intervention in European and Far Eastern affairs. While the Pan-American Conference is showing how closely the Americas realise that they are affected by the situation in Europe—whether it is Nazi propaganda menacing their free institutions, or the British blockade closing down their trade with Central Europe. Less obvious but of greater satisfaction, Britain has made some restitution for the havoc wrought in her "appeasing" days and has recognized Abyssinia and Czecho-Slovakia. In the Far East and of no present satisfaction, but it is only for three months, Britain has closed the Burma Road for munitions into China. In the unhappy, exploited Balkans, Germany blew the whistle for another "general post" and Roumanians and Bulgarians trooped after each other to Berlin and Rome for orders. (But Russia has decided, since the game is really being played against her, to edge a little nearer to the players, and cut in with Jugo-Slavia—a point of vantage whence she can look right over the shoulders of her opponents, Germany and Italy.) In England's domestic affairs, there has been nothing less than a sudden democratic outburst at the attempt to foist on us Special Courts and Silent Columns and any such unnecessary and unwanted oppressions. There has also been the Budget and its missed opportunities to screw even more out of a public much more ready for sacrifice than seems to be realised by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Last but not least, there have been a whole spate of speeches, followed in Germany and Italy by a torrent of propaganda so far removed from realities as to suggest that our enemies are losing their heads. Yet outlined in one of those speeches, that of General Smuts, was the first official statement of Allied war aims.

Little that is useful can be added here to what has already been said about the British naval action at Oran. Its most mournful aspect is in the sequel, in the attempts made by the Petain Government to misrepresent the whole circumstances from start to finish. The French Government will not tell the truth either about our original proposals for the disposal of the French Fleet (made prior to the Armistice with Germany), or about the ultimatum we presented once the terms of the Armistice became known and it was clear that the French Fleet was in danger of passing into German control. But the cruellest stab of all was contained in that statement issued by the French Legation in Dublin and which described the Oran action as a surprise attack on Allies who were in the act of disarming. All the world knows that the French Fleet had eight and a half hours in which to decide to fight, but what comfort is that if the French people do not know? And, unfortunately, there seems no limit to the bitterness of the Petain Government. What kind of twisted recrimination, for instance, is behind that broadcast of France's information chief, M. Prouvost, when he said: "We have understood. It cost us too dear to be yesterday soldiers of Britain for us to consent today to be sailors of the Union Jack." Well, we can only hope that comment so pointed and so unhappy loses some of its effect in France where alas there are so many other things to be unhappy about.

The situation of France today is indeed most tragic. She is ruled by a handful of men who have so lost their bearings that at times they appear to be hankering after a poor imi-

tation of the Fascist State; at others to be looking back to France as it was in the days before the French Revolution—a France of about thirty-seven Provinces, each with its own Governor. (And Hitler, the Destroyer who always uses the cant of self-determination if it will break up a State from within, has already recognized Breton autonomy.) France's rulers, in fact, are faced with an impossible task. It will remain impossible because the Nazis, who are incapable of understanding how Nelson could pray for "humanity after victory," will do everything in their power to prevent French recovery.

Mr. Bullitt, American Ambassador in Paris, has been much criticised because he has just returned to Washington to see the President and has been standing up publicly for the unhappy Petain Government. His argument seems to be that the present French Government, not truly Fascist but only a pale reflection, had better be supported or else it may be replaced by one that is completely Nazified. To this end, it is suggested, Mr. Bullitt would even hand back to them the £400,000,000 worth of French assets which are now frozen in the United States. But Mr. Bullitt should know that the French Government threw away any chance there was of standing up to the Nazis when it threw away its weapons—instead of escaping with them abroad. What guarantee of anything was there in the *soldier's peace* that Petain asked for? None whatsoever. And there is nothing to keep the Petain Government in power for a single day longer than it suits the Nazis. Indeed they are already, over the radio in occupied France, inciting the French people against him. (So afraid, by the way, are the double-tongued Nazis of the disgust which their own people might feel, if they listened in to these and other Nazi foreign broadcasts, that it has now become a criminal offence in Germany to listen to broadcasts from German-controlled territories.)

It would be possible to devote all this article and more to the subject of France. To ask Mr. Bullitt, for instance, how it is that the Petain Government, if it is not truly Fascist, has made M. Marquet, formerly known as the Mosley of France, Minister of the Interior. How it is that the Press, information, films and radio services are all placed under the control of one man (M. Laval). How it is that the *Paris Soir* can deliver itself of such opinions as: "The total solution of the Jewish question is one of the essential conditions of our recovery." Or, that of six former French leaders who are to be tried for their part in declaring war and making war, four of them should be Jews. Or how it is that Marshal Petain himself, in a broadcast, attacked "international socialism and international capitalism." But present day France is not the real France. It is a France set upon the rack by the Nazis—and what is done in her delirium cannot be accounted to her. (But whereas, in the Middle Ages, the purpose of torture was served once the victim professed the true faith, the Nazis know no such clemency. No amount of imitation will please them. Over and over again, in articles in the German Press, France is told that her role in Europe will be a subordinate one; that she must be content with the place assigned to her, and so on. The intention is always to crow and to wound.)

The German treatment of France, in fact, like their treatment of the sturdy Dutch, is a very damaging accompaniment to their recent peace overtures. Only a week ago Hitler made what he termed a last appeal to reason and common sense in Great Britain to put an end to the War. He said he could see no reason why this war should go on. And following on that speech the Nazis have been pouring out propaganda, from every quarter, all fathered by the wish-fulfilment—theirs but they think it ours—that we are about to get rid of the "war-monger Churchill" and replace him by a cabinet of Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Lloyd George, and Lord Halifax who will make the peace. (After Lord Halifax's speech he was dropped and discovered to be a Jew! Nazi propaganda has its unconscious humours.) But do they really believe that any propaganda—even if it could call on the best brains of Europe, Asia, Africa and America—could speak louder than their *actions*? When we have seen the oppression of the Czechs and the Poles, and now of the French and the Dutch, cannot they realise that what they have done speaks so loud that we cannot hear what they say? We know that the French will starve, because the Nazis have pillaged their crops and their cattle. We know that French shopkeepers will be ruined, because the Nazis have forced on them a special issue of marks that cannot be exchanged outside of France. We know that in Holland the Nazis have stolen the property of the Dutch Labour Party, which represents twenty-five per cent of the Dutch people, and given it to the traitorous Dutch Nazis—a tiny minority whose members are greeted with catcalls and jeers whenever they dare show themselves on the streets. We know that German criminal law has been fastened upon the Dutch people. And that completely innocent

Dutch citizens have been victimised by the Nazis in the hope thereby of securing the release of Germans interned in the Dutch East Indies. All this we know—and Hitler, in his blindness, can see no reason why the War should go on.

But in the words of Mr. Churchill, broadcasting on the anniversary of the Fall of the Bastille, "the liberation of the Continent from the foulest thraldom into which it has ever been cast" remains the task before us. And the only question is: where are we going to begin, and how long will it take? Mr. Churchill foretells that England will take the offensive in 1942. Until that time presumably —and supposing we have not been invaded or that the Axis Powers open up the War by an attack on Gibraltar and by joint operations in East Africa—we shall remain on the defensive in this island. Though all the time our Navy will tighten its gray blockade of the enemy's coasts. And our Air Force will harry them at home, as it is already doing, with its very successful bombing of communications, aerodromes, oil dumps, and other military objectives; its gad-fly attacks on Italian forts and aerodromes and troop concentrations in Eritrea, Libya and Abyssinia.

(Apparently we are not going to carry the war fully on to the Italian mainland until we have to. To cut off Italy from her African Empire—to engage the Italian Navy whenever it gives us the opportunity—appear to be the present objectives. We seem to be too full of the milk of human kindness as yet to bomb Italy as she could be bombed. But we know, and Italy knows that we know, of the havoc we could cause there if we wished. We could, for instance, bomb the water power upon which the Italian railways and probably more than eighty per cent of her industrial plants depend. To quote Mr. Ulysses Bywater, an American Consul who has made a study of the subject:

Such bombing "would release millions of gallons of water at terrific pressure which would sweep all before it. Plants would be whisked away, fields and fertile valleys flooded and the rivers, into which the water usually runs through the turbines at an even flow, would receive vast quantities of flood water choked with cattle, debris of all kinds, spreading untold devastation. . . It would immediately stop all work in munition factories, ship-yards and industrial plants. It would black-out vast areas—no power for light, heat or cooking. It would throw the whole burden of transport for food and vital supplies on to the roads and force them to use up their supplies of petrol. It would demoralise the whole country, which even now has but little zest or morale for the war. . .").

Those who listened to Hitler's latest speech noticed that for the first time he suggested that Germany might not win the war. But I think the whole impression made by that part of the speech was one of doubts and uncertainties. Hitler says we might listen to him because he speaks not as vanquished but as victor. Yet he sounds not cocksure but *unsure*. Why does he hesitate to invade us, when his whole prestige is bound up now with the invasion of England? Various reasons are put forward. In the first place, he may guess that invasion has now become a hopeless proposition (especially since the French Fleet has not fallen into his hands.) Or he may not wish to move until he has made quite certain of his back-door in Eastern Europe, that back-door which Russia is pushing open all the time. This seems the likelier explanation at the moment of writing—as witness the comings and goings of Roumania and Bulgaria to Germany and Italy, all, in the last analysis, an attempt to set the Axis over the Balkans instead of the Hammer and Sickle.

There is a general awareness growing in fact that the tide is now running against Hitler. In spite of all his and Ribbentrop's scheming and cunning, Germany is once more back in the old fix, with the possibility of an enemy on two fronts—England in the West and Russia in the East. Russia may not declare war on Germany. She may not find it necessary. She can emulate Germany's action in 1938 and gain all she wants for the moment by agreeing to withhold her force. (Especially since England is really fighting Germany for her.) But in the background all the time Hitler will be aware of a Russia which, learning from Germany's own experiences in the present War, has decided to build up an equal strength in land, sea and air forces. The Nazis pride themselves on their understanding of "psychology." They have indeed had the most dismal successes and especially with their fear-propaganda. But they have overlooked the psychology of their most long-headed protagonist—Stalin. Did they really think that the work of a few months, the self-interested exchanges and accommodations which ended in the Russo-German Pact (which the busy-body Ribbentrop engaged in so eagerly and so blindly since it was all directed against England) could be more than skin-deep? They had threatened Russia for years. They had openly laid claim to the Ukraine. And yet they seemed to think that Stalin would forget all this, Stalin who has himself said that there is nothing sweeter than to plan a long revenge.

Another and recent failure of German "psychology," by the way, is in the torpedoing of the *Meknes*, that French ship which was returning with her load of naval officers and men who wished to be repatriated. The circums-

tances of the sinking made it nothing but an act of easy murder. But over and above this, since these were the sailors of a Power that had already surrendered to the attacker and were now out of the war, it was an act to outrage every decent feeling—not to mention every law of warfare. It is to be wondered whether Nazi spies in England have reported to the superstitious Hitler the effect upon opinion here. On all sides you hear that this act will draw on its own revenge. There will be one more such sinking, it is said, and America will be in the War. It is to be hoped, however, that the next crime is not directed against a shipload of children bound for America. Yet these are the only American ships likely to come into belligerent waters. The children of Europe have already suffered too much in the present war. One day all the facts will be put on record. Polish children have been forcibly taken from their parents. Dutch children of seamen serving with the Allies have been falsely told that they are orphans and sent into Austria to be brought up as "good Nazis." Young French boys make for the coast, take their lives in their hands and cross the Channel in any small boat they can find. (What does Laval think of these poor courageous children ?)

Well, though the conviction is growing that America may soon be in the War, we are not counting on it. For if the War has taught us anything, it is that we had better rely on ourselves and on the help we can count on from the British Commonwealth of Nations. All the same, it is worth noting that President Roosevelt, in a message to the Pan-American Conference, suggested that the war might be over in a year. And is there any chance of the end coming so soon unless such a new and important element as American intervention were to come into the picture ? American opinion is certainly moving rapidly towards active intervention. Indeed it is true to say that every thinking person in America now seems alive to the great danger their country would be in should England lose the war. So we can take it that they will not let us lose it if they can prevent it. And for the moment it may help us just as well if the aeroplanes they are making are available for our war effort rather than for their own. Although it would be a great comfort if they could emulate the many generous people in the British Commonwealth and give us some aeroplanes instead of merely selling them. English people get a little weary of the formula posed to American opinion in those ever-recurring Gallup surveys. Americans are so constantly invited to vote on the question of giving all help to the Allies short of war. But when did the *giving* ever begin !

That England is fighting not only for her own freedom, but for the freedom of every people on earth (including the German people) is of course by now a truism. Indeed it is a truth visibly incarnated in London today. As you go about the streets you may hear French sailors conversing beside you, or note a Polish soldier in his worn but attractive uniform with its cloak gathered to the shoulder. In Tavistock Square, Germans, Austrians and Italians flock to join the Auxiliary Military Pioneer Crops. On the radio you listen in to Dr. Benes reviewing his Czech troops. And every day there seems to be an announcement that the Poles or the Czechs or the Dutch or the Belgians are bringing out their own London newspapers. So that if Hitler does invade us, he will invade not only England but the last out-posts of European resistance.

My own opinion is that Hitler may, after all, be misguided enough to attempt invasion. What else can he hope to do ? To carry the war into Africa would eat up vast stores of supplies and of oil. Invasion of England may be a gamble, but at least it is a gamble. And it must not be forgotten that he has promised the German people that the war will be over in September. If he cannot end the war this year, in what state will he emerge from the coming winter ? The reports of shortage even now are formidable. The Dutch are being told to cut down their poultry to one-third because there is no feeding stuff for them. In Denmark they have been compelled to slaughter fifty per cent of their livestock and send it to Germany. In Belgium there have been butter riots. All over the Balkans (excepting Turkey who will not come to the rescue) the crops are well below normal. The food situation in France, alas, is so serious that the Red Cross have been sending in supplies. The worst reports, of course, come from these occupied territories. As all the world knows, Germany depletes them in order to feed her own war machine. But she has destroyed too much to be able to take now all she needs. And when the winter comes, not only famine will cross her frontiers, but disease.

The Spaniards have a proverb that he who sells his soul to the devil never gets the price. And the same seems to be true of Germany and her colossal war effort. Hitler and the Nazis set themselves to screw the last ounce of effort out of the German people in an attempt to make them invincible and in the end *Herrenfolk* who would rule the world. But he has made them not a super race but a race of the over-

strung and the under-fed. A book has just appeared on the subject, based entirely on German official publications, and the state of affairs which it describes is simply staggering. (The name of the book is *Heil Hunger! Health Under Hitler*. It is by Martin Gumpert and published by Allen & Unwin.) Amongst such a welter of misery it is hard to know what facts to select, but here are a few of them. The death-rate has increased, especially amongst young people and people under forty-five. Tuberculosis has assumed such proportions that the Nazis have decided that "the labour power of the tubercular cannot be spared." The marriage rate is falling. So is the birth rate. Infant mortality is increasing but disregarded. The Nazis argue that over-concern for a sick baby may postpone the birth of the next which (to them) is so much more important. In Munich, the Nazis' spiritual home, 96·5 of the school children suffer from rickets. Mental diseases have doubled. Venereal disease statistics have so increased that they are no longer recorded. And so it goes on. The crime statistics reflect the poor standards of physical health. Juvenile crime rose from 12,294 in 1934 to 24,519 in 1937.

The price which the German people have had to pay for Hitler is indeed a terrible one. But perhaps the time of their deliverance as well as ours is at hand. And Hitler will be defeated not only by the Allies but by his own people whom he has so betrayed. This month the German Freedom Station has again suddenly appeared on the air, and it is speaking the accents of confidence and victory.

But Hitler is surprised that we do not accept his word. As Dorothy Thompson, the famous American commentator, pointed out in a broadcast last week, Hitler declares that he has always been anxious to be friends with the British people. He had no quarrel with the British people but only with Winston Churchill. But he had no quarrel with Austria but only with Dr. Schusnigg. When Dr. Schusnigg was out of the way, he annexed Austria. After the settlement of the Sudeten question he had no quarrel with Czecho-Slovakia but only with Dr. Benes. But after Dr. Benes was out of the way he annexed Czecho-Slovakia. He concluded a ten years Treaty of Peace with Poland and over-ran and annexed that country without any declaration of war because its government had not accepted an ultimatum which it had never even seen. He had no quarrel with Denmark, but quietly over-ran it and stripped it of much of its food supplies and ruined the overseas market on which it lives. He had no quarrel with Norway, but he has treated it and occupied it as if it had been a belligerent country. Hitler is good enough to let us understand that in his view there is no further cause for the War to continue. If we allow the Nazi cross to dominate most of Europe, he will graciously allow the British Empire to continue. But unfortunately for Hitler the British people are behind Churchill. Indeed it is nothing less than the case to say that it was the people and not Parliament that put Churchill where he is. Be the struggle short or long, the British people and not Churchill alone are determined that it will go on until the forces of evil embodied under the Nazi swastika are rendered powerless in Europe and an era of law and justice is ushered in. We hope the struggle may be short but we are prepared for it if it be long drawn out, knowing that as the months go by our supplies of aeroplanes and armaments will increase until at length we may first catch up in the race in which we allowed Germany to have such a long start and then increase our lead so that we can set a pace so terrific that the Nazis will be brought to their knees. Those peoples at present crushed under Nazi oppression will then again be able to lead their lives as free men and women and not as serfs toiling under the cruelty and lash of an oppressor who would erase God from His universe and treat human beings as less even than the lower animals.

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EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM IN ENGLAND AND WALES

By SENAN

1. Central Authority

The Central Authority for education in England and Wales is the Board of Education, which is an ordinary Government Department at Whitehall, responsible for education. The political head of the Department is the President of the Board of Education, who is a Cabinet member (Minister of Education). He is assisted by a Parliamentary Secretary, who is also a member of Government and sits in Parliament. The Minister and the Secretary belong to the party in power in Parliament.

The permanent civil servants of the department consist of the Permanent Secretary for England (there is a separate Welsh Department, under another permanent Secretary) and the Administration Officers at Whitehall (Deputy Secretary, 4 Principal Assistant Secretaries, Chief Medical Officer, Legal Advisor and Accountant General). The Inspectorate work outside the Central Offices (Chief Inspectors of Elementary, Secondary and Technical Education and a Chief Woman Inspector).

The Board advise on teaching, organisation and curriculum and assess the contents and value of schools through the Inspectors and give grants[1] to the Local Education Authorities for County schools and direct grants to voluntary bodies,[2] and individual students.[3]

The Board is advised, by a standing Committee (Consultative Committee) representing a wide variety of educational interests, on questions for investigation and report.

The Board is not concerned with—

(1) Universities[4] (except in training of teachers).

(2) Approved schools for the defective.

(3) Education of Army, Navy and Air-force.

(4) Agricultural Education.

1. Out of a total vote of £50·1 millions in 1938-39, £47·2 millions were distributed in grants, and the balance, *viz.*, 2·8 millions was spent in defraying the cost of administration inspection (£0·7 millions) and pension to teachers (£2·1 millions). Local Education Authorities got £45·6 millions: (*a*) For Elementary Education based upon expenditure (on a formula favourable to poorer districts) roughly as follows: 60% of teachers' salaries, 50% of special services (medical, meals, defective children's and recreational), 40% of conveyance charges, 20% of the remaining net expenditure. To the figure (the factor representing the "effort") thus arrived at, is added a sum of 36 for each unit of average attendance (the factor for minimum standard of "necessity") and subtracted the product of a 7d. rate upon assessable value (the factor of "ability"). (*b*) For higher Education (Secondary, Technical and teachers training), 50% of the recognised expenditure.

Considering £47·8 millions, from Rates, the total public expenditure on Education, within the purview of the Board of Education is £97·9 millions. The revenue and expenditure of the U. K. amount to about 1,000 million pounds. Of the former, amounts over a third each come from Customs and Excise duties (350 million) and from property and income taxes (400 million) and the balance from stamps, Estates' duties, National defence contribution, tax on motor vehicles, interests on loans, etc. Of the expenditure, amounts of about a fourth each go towards interest on National Debts, etc., and for army, navy and air force expenditure. The balance is mainly Civil votes including about a twentieth for the Board of Education. The population of England and Wales is roughly 41 millions.

It is of interest to compare with the figures for India, where the revenue and expenditure amount to considerably less than 100 million pounds. The revenue is roughly derived, one-third from Customs, one-fourth from Railways and one-tenth from income-tax, one-eighth from salt and excise duties and other smaller items. Expenditure is two-fifths on defence, less than one-fourth on Railways, about tenths on debt services and civil administration besides other smaller items. Population is over 350 millions.

2. The total is £1,625,000, on a capitation basis or in the form of block grants, according to regulations. They are very rarely based on expenditure. They comprise:—(*a*) Elementary Education (£68,000), (*b*) Training of Teachers in Voluntary Colleges and University Training Departments, (*c*) Some important Secondary schools, not limited to local pupils and desiring freedom of control from Local Authorities, (*d*) Tutorial classes, Adult Education and Technical Colleges, which draw pupils from a wide area or are of a specialist nature.

3. Amounting to £238,000, comprising the following:—

(*a*) 360 State scholarships at the Universities (Sec. 4).

(*b*) 30 Royal scholarships at the Imperial College of Science and Technology besides a number of free admissions.

(*c*) 50 scholarships at the Royal College of Art besides free admission (see Sec. 4, all the above being assessed in the same manner).

(*d*) Grants to intending teachers, needing it, varying from about £20 to £26 per student.

4. The Universities are self-governing Institutions receiving aid from the State in the form of direct grants from the Treasury, on the advice of a "University Grant Committee" of the Treasury (not of the Board), of academic experts.

The Board does not, except in case of the Royal College of Arts and some Museums,

(1) provide, maintain, own or directly control any educational institution. This is left to the voluntary and local agencies,

(2) prescribe, compile or publish text books, or prescribe syllabuses of instructions and methods of teaching, which are left to the teachers,

(3) employ or pay teachers, who are not civil servants.[5]

It is claimed that the characteristic features of the educational system, peculiar to England, are—

(a) Decentralisation of responsibility or control.

(b) Prominent part played by voluntary agencies.

(c) Freedom of teachers from official control on questions relating to the curricula, syllabuses of instructions and methods of teaching.

2. LOCAL EDUCATION AUTHORITIES

Local Education Authorities (Statutory) are Local Government Authorities, locally elected. They are concerned with public services generally, including Education. They comprise :

63 County Councils.
83 County Borough Councils.
145 Borough Councils.
(over 10,000 population at the Census of 1901).
24 Urban District Councils
(over 20,000 population at the Census of 1901).

The first two classes of authorities provide, besides elementary schools (and very few nursery schools), for higher schools for education beyond 15 years of age (Secondary, Technical, Art, Commerce, Teachers' and Adults' training. See Sections 4 and 5).

The last two classes of authorities, however, provide only for elementary education, higher education being left to the Council in the County in which it is situated.

Except certain financial transactions the work is entrusted to an Educational Committee (Men and Women) with a Director-Secretary, or Education Officer and also sometimes its own Inspectors of Schools.

All authorities are required to provide for Public[6] Elementary (called "Provided" or "County") Schools[7] in their respective areas and maintain a sufficient number of them in efficient condition to meet the demands of free (including supply of books, stationery and apparatus) and compulsory education, between ages of 5 to 15, and enforce the same.

The Local Education Authorities are also required to provide for the education in special schools of the blind (71), deaf (47), and physically (332) and mentally (155) defective children in their areas. They also sometimes provide courses in preparation for a trade for such students, over 16.

A large number of voluntary bodies (mostly religious) also provided[8] for Nursery, Special and Public Elementary schools, besides higher schools (Secondary, Technical, Arts, Commerce, etc., Sections 4 and 5). Voluntary Elementary Schools are called "Non-provided" or "Voluntary" schools. They are however maintained[9] or aided financially by the Local Education Authorities, unless they are self-supporting. Teachers are appointed with the approval of County Councils, which control instruction also (except religious).

Although facilities are available for boys and girls, teaching arrangements in the lower ranges upto 11, and in the higher ranges at the Universities, are in the main co-educational. Practice varies in the middle ranges, but in the main, provision is made for boys and girls separately.

Medical inspection and treatment of all children in Public Elementary Schools by medical and nursing staff, are undertaken by

5. This is fundamentally true, but in practice it must be noted :—

(1) The security of tenure of employment is practically the same as that of a civil servant.

(2) The State Department which decides the grant-in-aid can exercise great pressure to prevent a teacher losing his or her employment unless the employing authority can show really good reason, *i.e.*, the State can prevent victimisation of an individual by the employing authority.

(3) The employing authority cannot employ unqualified staff—if they do so they risk a serious curtailment of grant-in-aid.

6. Utilising public funds— run entirely in this case; aided in other cases.

7. Primary schools (between ages 5 and 11, beyond Nursery stage, 2-5) and certain post-primary schools (between the ages 11 to 15) as will be clear from the chart in Section 3.

8. "Provision" comprises building, repairs and extension of the same.

9. "Maintenance" includes salaries of teachers, teaching equipment, heating, lighting, cleaning and so on.

the Local Education Authorities, at the instance of the Board, to whom the responsibility has been delegated by the Minister of Health. At least 3 inspections are made during the period of school life.

The teachers in these schools are not civil servants. That is, they are not employed or paid by the State or the Board of Education, as already stated. They are servants of the Local Education Authorities or of the Governing Bodies of the Voluntary Schools. Although the Head teachers receive advice from the Board's Inspectors, they have a wide freedom in the management of their schools according to their own ideas. The teachers are paid according to scales[10] fixed by a Joint Committee of representatives of Local Authorities and of teachers, subject to the concurrence of the Board of Education. The Board administers and provides for pensions based on salary and years of service, from a fund formed of 5% of salary of the teachers and 5% from the employers, and paid to the exchequer.

Private individuals also provide and maintain institutions, not aided by the Local or Central Authorities, but, if desired, helped by inspection by their inspectors. The number of Private Schools, Secondary Schools, Preparatory of one kind or other which are not inspected by the Board, may be more than 9,000, with more than 3,00,000 children, of which about 50,000 are in Post-Primary Departments.

The expenditure for the schools is met by the Education Authorities out of Public funds (£45·6 millions for 1938-39) provided by Parliament out of the taxes, and by the Local Education Authorities (£47·8 millions), out of local rates.[11] The former grant is awarded through the Board of Education, also to the Local Education Authorities, roughly amounting to about half of the total of approved expenditure, varying in individual cases from 9 to 77% of the total.[12] Conditions of grant to a grant-aided institution according to the regulations, are of a general character, giving the authorities and teachers, a large measure of freedom in the conduct of the schools. In every phase of higher education (Secondary, Technical, etc.), which is not free[13] necessitous students are assisted by partial or total remission of fees and by maintenance allowance. Scholarships and maintenance grants are also awarded by Local Education Authorities to enable selected pupils to proceed to the Universities. Modern Universities also receive grants from the Local Education authorities.

3. Free and Compulsory Education

This education is of a general character, as the syllabus, later on, makes it evident. Each Local Education Authority, as already stated, is required to provide a sufficient number of efficient schools for the Free and Elementary Education of boys and girls in its area. Under the Education Acts, it is the duty of the parent to cause his or her child receive elementary instruction in Reading, Writing and Arithmetic, between the ages of 5 and 14 (15 from 1940) and it is incumbent on the Local Education Authorities, who have been given sufficient powers, to enforce this. The following table gives the ages of pupils and the corresponding stages of schools of various category, the stage wherefrom the free and compulsory portion of education begins and where it ends, and serves to illusrtate the considerable overlapping of the free and fee-paying institutions, compulsory and voluntary education, within the age limits. [See next page.]

The horizontal classification and distribution between free and fee paying institutions are not vigorous, as transfers from one to another is easy.

Compulsory Education from 5 to 15 is given in the Elementary Schools, free, sometimes in separate but more often in combined stages, specially in rural areas. The present tendency is to have self-contained schools for general education upto the age of 11 in Primary Schools in separate or combined stages and distinct Post-Primary Schools for education after that age (Hadow Report, 1926).

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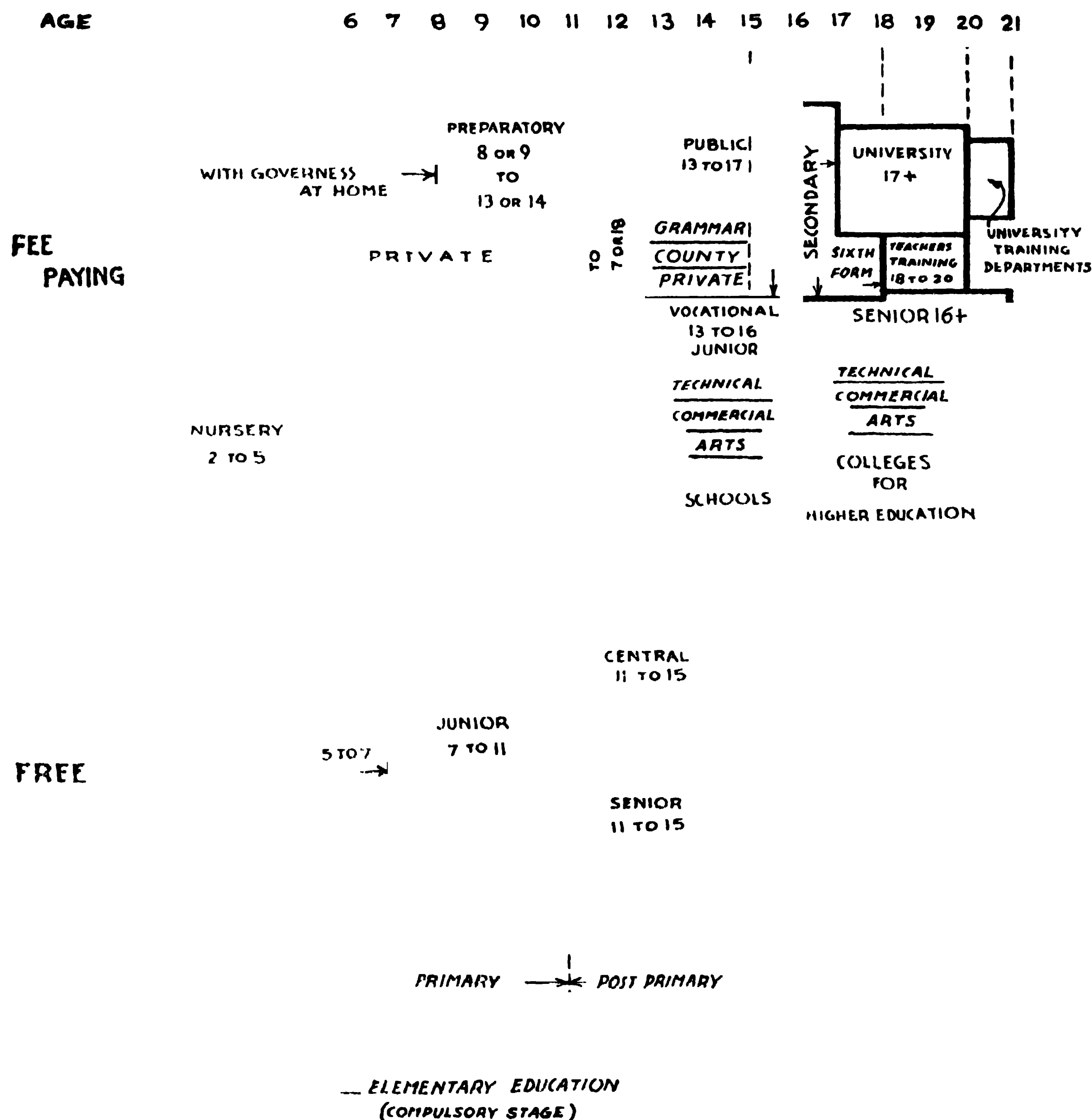
10. Burnham scales—there are 3 scales (lowest abolished from 1936) beginning from £150 to nearly £200 a year (the Women's being lower by £12 to £18) and rising to about double in 13 to 14 years' service. The Head teachers get higher scales, with maximum from £300 to £600, uncertificated teachers' scales are much lower (at least two-thirds). Supplementary teachers have no scales (see Section 3).

11. They are not separately levied by the Town and County Councils. The estimated sum for education is included in the consolidated rates of each rating authority.

12. The total of £93·4 million is roughly distributed as follows :—

		£000's
Elementary	..	67,400
Higher	..	19,500
Roughly—		
Secondary Schools	..	11,000
Vocational Schools	..	6,000
Training Colleges	...	500
Scholarships	..	700
Medical Service	..	500
Administration	..	4,000
Teachers' Pension—		
Elementary	..	2,200
Higher	..	400

13. Needy students are sometimes helped even when a school is free.



Pupils from the contributing Junior Schools (Primary stage) concentrate in the nearest Senior School, which is also free. The latter recruits, at 11, for the most part, students who (designated by the letter "C") fail to enter the Secondary School by passing the qualifying examination. As a matter of fact four out of every five finish their education after 11, in the Senior School, where the average child therefore receives his completed education. Fees have to be paid to the Secondary School, but a large number of free or reduced fee studentship (over

50%) is available. The Central School is free, but the entry is based on selection (from surrounding contributing Elementary Schools), not necessarily on results of examination. The students from the Senior Schools may enter the Central School towards the end of the course. From the Central School, it is possible by taking scholarship examinations, at the age of 13, to enter both Secondary and Junior Technical. Commercial and Art schools. An earlier age of admission and the fact that training is not limited to any particular trade or industry, distinguish the Central School from the Junior Technical Schools. Although a lower leaving age and a less academic curriculum distinguish it from the Secondary School. the pupils are often able to find congenial employment after leaving the school, owing to the well-established relations with employers of Central schools, and the help from the Central Schools' Employment Committee of the Ministry of Labour. A few students from the Central Schools however proceed to the higher courses, including the University. While from the Secondary Schools one can enter the University, a few (negligible number) also pass from the Secondary to the Junior Technical or Art Schools and thence, if desired, to higher education. Most of the entrants to the Junior Technical or Art Schools, come from the Elementary Schools at the age of 13, one year before the completion of the statutory period. Central and Senior Schools are sometimes called Modern Schools, since their reorganisation in 1926.

Nursery School number 103 with over 7,000 places. There are over five million students out of 1' million population[14] of corresponding age groups, in the Public Elementary Schools (1937) of which more than two-thirds are in 10,180 Council Schools, the balance in about 10,700 (Church of England 9,070, Roman Catholic 1,250, others 310) Voluntary Schools. London itself has over half a million students.

In 1937, 681,000 students left the Public Elementary Schools (excluding transfers to another). Of these, 78,000 directly entered Secondary Schools representing 81% of the total admissions in the year; 16,000 entered Junior Technical Schools and other similar institutions and 16,670 took other full time courses. The enormous number of children, who have to begin life early and earn, is impressive.

Of the total number of teachers (170,000) in Public Elementary Schools, over 130,000 are certificated and over two-thirds, women. Annual expenditure over Elementary Education is about 70 million pounds.

Local Education Authorities sometimes provide meals (costing £800,000) free or part free in necessitous cases. Children from a distance are conveyed to and from the school (£420). Midday meals or milk at reduced rates for pupils coming from a distance are similarly provided for. Over £5 millions were spent in 1938-39, for special services (medical, nursing, etc., *vide* Section 2). In 1936, some 45% of children in Public Elementary Schools alone, were benefited in these ways.

For the Nursery Schools, good food, fresh air, medical and nursery attention and play rather than formal education are the characteristic features.

The Board of Education does not prescribe the subjects to be taught in a school but secures through its Inspectors, the general suitability of the school curriculum.

In the Infant Schools, formal teaching of the three R's (Reading, Writing and Arithmetic) is confined to the morning session. Speech training, games, dancing, story telling, expressional drawing and modelling and nature study figure prominently in the programme, and class system is giving place to individual and independent work for oral class teaching.

In the Junior Schools, more time is given to English and Arithmetic. Abundant scope is afforded for the inter-relation of subjects of the curriculum, in which hand work and the cultural subjects take an important place.

In the Senior and Central Schools, the subjects comprise the English Language (also Welsh in Wales), Hand-writing, Arithmetic, Drawing, Nature Study, Geography, History, Singing, Hygiene, Physical Training and Handicraft (wood work, sometimes light metal work occasionally involving a machine shop) for boys, and domestic subjects (such as, Needlework, Cookery and Laundry work) for girls. The Central Schools (Selective[15]) carry the students to a more advanced stage than in Senior Schools, as the students are of a better quality. While the first two years are devoted to the general curriculum, more attention is given to the vocational subjects or to a technical bias in the last 2 years. To help needy students, there is also provision, by County Councils, for Junior County scholarships of £13 each, after the Statutory School leaving age. In the newer

14. The total population of England and Wales is about 41 millions.

15. (1) Technical, where practical work is carried on in an atmosphere of the workshop, and
(2) The commercial, which include book-keeping, shorthand, type-writing and general commerce.

(modern) Senior and Central Schools, not only is great stress given to practical activities and physical training—two P's supplanted on 3 R's, but the knowledge is to be gained at the basis of experience and not as a matter of routine drill, by supplanting an environment in which the creative activities of the children can be stimulated and developed. That is, practical work, based on traditional crafts as far as related to the subject of instruction, and physical education, occupy an important place in the time table. In rural areas gardening and other outdoor pursuits are frequently included. Whilst the cultural influence and scope of education is not neglected, mathematics and science are taught by reference to the conditions with which children are familiar in their ordinary lives.

For older children, science and a foreign language may be added. In some Post-Primary Schools, a definite bias is given according to the type occupation, which the pupils are likely to enter—commercial, industrial, rural or domestic

The length of the school work is 25 hours per week for infants and a little more for others. The allocation of hours for different subjects is roughly as follows: Religious instruction, 3; English, including reading and writing, 5 to 7; Mathematics, 3 to 5; History, Geography and Science, 3 to 4; Drawing and Practical subjects, 2 to 4 in Junior Schools and 6 to 8 in the Senior; Physical Education, 2 to 4; Music, Play intervals, registration, assembly, 3 hours.

N.B.—In spite of considerable support to and advocacy of the type of multi-lateral schools, where with a common course, time and emphasis would be given to different streams (such as literary and linguistic course; mathemetical and science course; technological, commercial or artistic studies) suited to the individual needs and capacity, in place of schools of the types mentioned above, the recent Spen's report could not support them for very cogent reasons of too big a size, absence of the important 6th from or post -16 years studies in a Secondary School, difficulty of securing Headmasters to control and inspire all the varied subjects and lastly the separation of Junior Technical Schools from Technical Colleges which involves giving up the advantage (enjoyed by 85% of the school) of the staff, equipment and accommodation of the Colleges. There is, however, the advantage of the close association of pupils of varied activities, interests and objectives. The possibility of transfers within the school to suit the propensities of students, when found out, is also a very strong reason in favour of these multi-lateral schools.

Although there are some uncertificated (over 25,000; 24,000 women) and supplementary teachers (over 5,000 women) without qualifications, most of the teachers (78%) are certificated (44,500 men and 87,300 or 71% women) or qualified teachers (nearly 6,000) of special subjects (total 168,000). The certificated teachers must pass (1) a regional Joint Board's (University, Training Colleges and others) examination after a course for 2 years in academic and professional subjects in Training Colleges (74 with 10,000 students, plus 11 special ones for domestic subjects with 1,000 students) after the age of 18+, or (2) a professional examination (Diploma) after a post-graduate course (22 departments) of 1 year in the Training Department of a University (5000 students) *and* (3) the certificate examination assessing the practical teaching ability by the Board's Inspectors in consultation with the authorities of the Training College or Department. It will be seen that there are 16,000 students altogether.

The number of pupils per teacher is 28 on the average, although 1·8% of classes still have over 50 pupils. The expenditure for Elementary Education is about £23 in London area and £14·10s, on the average for England and Wales, per pupil.[16]

4. Secondary Education and the University

A Secondary School provides for full time education of a general as distinct from a vocational character for children from 11 years of age to about 17 years or more. The pupils form only the basis for the real "elite" of the nation.

All publicly aided Secondary Schools impose fees (£11 or 12, about a third of the gross cost of education of each child) but offer entrance scholarships (special places[17]) to pupils from the public Elementary Schools and may offer additional places to pupils of any school. These involve total or partial remission of fees according to parent's resources. About half the students pay full fees which vary (£4 to £63 in London area, where the gross annual cost of education per student is about £45 in maintained Secondary Schools). If the parents can afford, or the child is meritorious, there is thus a chance of transfer to an aided Secondary School from the Elementary (Junior) School at the age of 11, in place of free education in a Senior School.[18]

16. Figures are nearly as follows :—

Teachers' Salary	.. £9	10s.
Services	.. £1	5s.
Board's Grant	.. £7	10s.
From Rates	.. £7	10s.
Rate per pound	.. £1	10s.

17. Paying fees in accordance with means, as distinct from "Free places," irrespective of the ability to pay fees.

18. The distribution in 1937, of 578,000 students of 12 years of age group was as follows :—

The types of Secondary Schools are as follows:

1. Public schools, which are mostly Boarding Schools and therefore not local. Few receive aid and fees are heavy. The old foundations of Eton, Harrow, etc., and the newer schools, Wellington, Stowe, etc., have made a name in this class. Age of entry is 13, and recruits come from Preparatory schools (later).

2. Grammar Schools, which are mostly day schools and are therefore local. They are mostly aided and some of them are ancient foundations.

3. County Schools, which are provided and maintained by the County Councils.

4. Private Schools, which are not aided.

Main provision, however, numerically consists of schools belonging to classes, 2 and 3, provided or aided (1400) by the County or County Borough Councils, with 460,000 students, and nearly 24,000 (19,000 graduates) teachers. The aided, and also most of Public and many Private Secondary unaided schools, if they desire inspection, are inspected by the Board's Inspectors. There are about 5,50,000 pupils (460,000 in 1400 aided, 90,000 in 400 unaided efficient schools) in 1,787 schools, inspected or recognised as efficient in this way. Not quite half of them are girls. There are 33,000 other students in 400 other schools.

The curriculum is more advanced than that of Elementary Schools. Study of English Literature, wider subjects of Mathematics in place of Arithmetic, and Science in place of Nature Study are added and the study of at least one foreign language is included. Many schools include further subjects. Considerable freedom is exercised in choosing special courses related to the needs of pupils who will enter Industry or Commerce. Stress is given to physical exercise and organised games. About 85% of students leave the Secondary School at the age of 16, and about the same percentage from the rest, continue to the sixth form and then, some to the University. Hence the courses up to 16 must be complete in themselves and should be more general from earlier stages. From 13, the courses should be centering round some main core of study such as English language subjects, including recent History, Geography closely allied to Scientific subjects or Science and Mathematics. Study is to be concentrated on a smaller range of subjects, treating them in a way as will give some knowledge of their content and arouse interest. More time is to be allotted to physical education, artistic subjects and handicrafts (Spen's report).

The value of the Tutorial system in Secondary Schools is impressive. Tutorial groups of 30 to 40 pupils are enrolled under a member of the staff, who keeps a close contact with the pupils and their homes and their progress, including out-of-school activities. They become the best advisers to the pupils in their charge as to their choice of future occupation. The Careers Master in some schools has proved very useful to establish friendly relations with employers and employment bureaus. Examinations are conducted by 8 University Bodies approved by the Board. The School Certificate or First Examination is taken by about 60% of students at about 16 years of age. It has not been possible to follow the principle that examinations should follow the curriculum and not determine it. The controversial question regarding the best method of holding examinations is still wanting a solution, but external examination to the exclusion of the voice of school teachers, their syllabuses and school records, are now at a discount. Spen's report suggests that the certificate should not only shew the subjects in which credit is obtained, as at present, but also those in which full pass standard is reached. One must pass, for a certificate in English and either in a foreign language or in some scientific subject, including Mathematics. The contents of the examination syllabus should be reduced if the number of subjects be increased. The School Certificate Examination exempts the pupils, under certain conditions, from the Matriculation examination of the Universities.[19] Some pupils continue beyond 16 to take a specialised course of instruction and about 80% of these sit after 2 years for the Higher Certificate or Second Examination, which exempts them from a part or the whole of the Intermediate examination

18. (*Continued*).

81·3% remained in public Elementary and Special Schools.

11·9% transferred to aided Secondary Schools from Elementary Schools.

6·7% paid no fees.

1·2% paid partial fees.

4% paid full fees.

3% came from other schools to Secondary Schools.

1·5% transferred to efficient independent schools.

2·5% remained in private schools or at home.

Again, of 14·9% or 86,000 students of Secondary Schools, only 4-5% go to the University; over 50% leave without taking the examination or failing in it, so that the wastage due to unsuitable curriculum is enormous. The majority of pupils of Senior Schools are better prepared for life than the wastage of Secondary Schools.

19. This system has not proved successful; there will be separate School certificate and University Matriculation Examinations, which have different purposes and are of different standards.

for a University Degree. On the results of this examination are also awarded 360 State Scholarships (Sec. 1) for Honours Degree courses of the Universities towards fees and maintenance not exceeding £100 per annum, subject to financial need. About two-thirds of the recipients and 20 to 42% (controversial) of the total students originally come from the Public Elementary Schools to the Universities. Besides entering the University, some go to the Senior Technical, Commercial and Art Colleges and Schools.

Unlike the teachers in Elementary Schools, who have to possess certain prescribed qualifications and to be recognised by the Board, here the Board's regulations require that the teaching staff must be suitable. In fact, a large and steadily increasing property are University Graduates.

There are preparatory departments of certain Secondary Schools for pupils from 8 or 9 years and also separate preparatory Boarding schools (majority being private) preparing for entry into Public Schools, which admit students at 13. These may be inspected[20] and recognised as efficient by the Board, but they do not receive any grant. The advantage of these institutions is taken by the well-to-do people by paying for education handsomely.

Between 60 and 70% of students from schools enter institutions for higher education, become teachers or take up a Professional, Commercial or Clerical occupation. Of these, about two-thirds enter one or other of the last three categories. Girls are taking up work in double the proportion existing 14 or 15 years back. In 1925-26, only 5·2% and in 1936-37, 4·2% entered the University and the University Training Departments.

In 1937, 78,000 pupils from the Public Elementary Schools directly entered the Secondary Schools, representing 81% of the total admissions in that year; 55% were free and 10% paid partial fees. About 96,000 left after reaching the age of 14 (except on transfer to another Secondary School). Just over 4% of these entered the Universities; over 3%, training colleges; about 10%, other educational institutions; over 1% became teachers; nearly 40% took to a professional, commercial or clerical occupation; about 20% took to industrial or manual occupations; about 5% remained at home; 10% left for no stated reasons; 2·5% left for stated reasons.

As already stated in Sec. 1, the Universities are self-governing Institutions, receiving State-aid in the form of direct grants[21] from the Treasury on the advice of a University Grants Committee, composed of academic experts. The degree courses extend over 3 or 4 years, though in Medicine 5 or 6 years are required. In general, degree courses are taken in two stages. All the Universities provide for Post-graduate work and for research. The course for the University Training Departments is for 1 year after graduation. The present figure of full time University students is about 40,000,[22] 23% of this being women. There are about 4,600 Professors in England and 400 in Wales.

Besides the 360 scholarships mentioned in Sec. 1, and above, there are numerous Exhibitions and scholarships awarded from the University funds and also by private trusts and benefactions. Between 40 and 50 per cent receive financial assistance of some kind, from other than private sources

5. Vocational and Further Training

Unlike the Elementary and Secondary Schools, which provide in the main for general education, there is a wide variety of instruction in relation to specific types of employment or occupation in Technical Schools and Colleges and Institutions. This instruction is again voluntary (not compulsory) and excepting some aspects of Commercial Education, such as typewriting, shorthand and book-keeping, nearly all institutions (about 500) are aided by the Local Education Authorities. There are practically no private schools (only 20) in this category, which can be sharply divided into part-time (mostly evening) institutions for those already in early employment due to exigencies of circumstances, and wholetime schools for those preparing for employment.

Vocational Education

Part-time, concurrently with employment	Age	Whole time, leading to employment
	13	Junior Technical Schools
Junior Course, for 2 years, generally for 3 evenings a week, in preliminary, Technical, Commercial, Domestic	14	(for a group of related industries) Commercial Art, Nautical and Housewifery Schools and Trade Schools, Monotechnics[23]

20. Altogether 571, of which 344 are recognised; 35,000 pupils.

21. Modern Universities also receive grants from the Local Education Authorities.

22. Oxford and Cambridge, 10,700; London 12,900; Provincial Universities (9 degree giving and 3 others), 13,400; Wales 3,400. Part-time students; England—9,000; Wales—300.

23. Monotechnics are institutions suitable to places

Part-time, concurrently with employment	Age	Whole time, leading to employment
and Rural (less numerous) subjects—recruits coming from Public Elementary Schools.		and Polytechnics preparing for particular industries or trades. The course is for 2 or 3 years. The number (28,000 boys and girls) is regulated by the capacity of the industry or trades to absorb the output. In all cases, provision is made for the continuance of the pupils' general education.[24]
Senior and Advanced Course for 3 and 2 years. *N.B.*—This (over million students) is the main contribution of Technical Education to the needs of Industry and Commerce. The	16	Senior Technical Commercial and Art Colleges and Schools with a course for one or more years. About 18,000 students (half girls) mainly come from Secondary School.
classes are held mainly in the evenings, part-time day students numbering only 54,000.	19	They can finish up with a University Degree if they so desire and are qualified for it.

There is, however, a strong body of opinion that the intellectual side of Apprenticeship education is more properly given during the working week and that the evenings ought to be left free for personal interest and recreation of the apprentices.

There is also provision for courses of a general character in part-time institutions, both Junior and Senior and Advanced (See Adult Education).

23. (*Continued*).
where one particular industry flourishes, the School acting in collaboration with the industry. The general opinion is however in favour of Polytechnic institutions over Monotechnics, in places where several industries flourish. Even when corresponding industries do not exist locally whole time day instruction may be given better in a Polytechnic than in Monotechnic because of its greater adaptability. Statistics show that a man trained in one technique is more liable to remain unemployed than one who can apply his skill in many directions. A clever boy is likely to have interest in diverse lines. A Polytechnic includes besides intellectual trainings, spiritual (non-denominational) social and physical training as well—as its distinctive feature.

24. These schools (209) have come into existence owing to the decay of apprenticeship and to the very limited opportunities afforded by employers for the training of young persons wishing to enter skilled occupations as artisan or other industrial occupations or for domestic employment and definitely not for Professions, Universities or other Higher Education. They substitute for part of the Apprenticeship in the workshop, a training given in the school.

This question is however controversial as many employers and parents think that practical work must be learnt in the shops.

The present system of beginning of such education at 13, *i.e.*, one or two years before the statutory limit, 14 or 15, of compulsory education, is sought to be further advanced to 11 in the Spen's report (1939) in Institutions called "Technical High Schools," which are to be set up parallel to Secondary Schools, with all their status and importance, and with 100% special places (distributed according to the capacity of student groups), the course being similar up to 13 years of age, when a transfer of misfits in consultation with guardians may take place. Transfers to Junior Commercial Schools and Home Training Schools (domestic subjects) should however not take place before 16 and therefore these institutions should be maintained separately. While art training is possible to some extent in the Grammar and Modern Schools earlier, the transfer to the Junior Art Department should be postponed until 13½ years. The Senior Technical Schools or Colleges, in further stages of education, are to be called simply Technical Schools.

The students for the Senior Technical College courses (Engineering, Chemistry, Building, Textiles, etc.) are awarded the National Certificates, established by the Board of Education in co-operation with the Professional Institutions concerned. The Board itself holds examinations in Arts. There are other examining bodies also (*e.g.*, The City and Guilds of London Institute). Professional bodies (*e.g.*, The Banker's Institute) conduct examinations related to the entry to and promotion in their professions.

The freedom from the requirements of external examinations allows these schools to lay stress on local requirements. Consequently the subjects, their contents and treatment are very varied. Spen's report suggests a form of School Leaving Certificate for the Technical High Schools, awarded on the results of internal examinations, conducted by each school under conditions of assessment approved by the Board of Education. Teachers in Technical Schools, Colleges and Institutions are either full-time or part-time, working in Industry or Commerce[25] or teaching in the Elementary or Secondary Schools during the day.

Most of the practising teachers take short courses during vacation, provided by the Board

25. Board's regulations enjoin that the staff must contain a reasonable proportion of members with practical trade experience of the occupations for which the individual school prepares. Wherever possible, an Advisory Committee should be appointed, containing representatives of the employers and the employed in these occupations.

of Education, the Universities, Local Education Authorities and other bodies. For parity with the Secondary Schools, Spen's report suggests similar scales of salary for Technical High Schools, though it may not be in the same proportion.

6. Adult Education

Although there are courses of a general character in the Junior and Senior and Advanced part-time institutions, parallel to the Vocational courses, there is further extensive provision for Adult Education, for persons over the age of 18.

1. University extension lectures, 400 in number (Oxford, Cambridge and London).

The Joint Committee of Workers' Education Association and Universities provide for 3 years' tutorial classes (equivalent to Hons. degree course), 700 in number, apart from advanced and preparatory technical classes. These are recognised and aided by the Board.

2. Voluntary organisations provide a large number of 1 year and terminal courses. Some are recognised and aided by the Board. The National Federation of Women's Institute, not recognised, have provided over 5,400 institutions with 3,12,300 persons for whom it arranges classes in a variety of subjects, literature, history, music, drama, craft work, hygiene, food-production and preservation. The Council of Social Services, also not recognised, have organised about 20 Rural Community Councils.

3. Local Education Authorities have aided by grants or provided for many thousands of classes for adults generally although the Board recognises work of a "liberal" character only (not practical or recreational subjects). There are 28,000 men and 25,000 women getting benefits of education through such aids.

4. There are collegiate (residential and non-residential) and other institutions (educational settlements, which make a special feature of handicrafts and practical work). They are aided by grants in one form or another from the Board of Education.

5. Charitable trusts (*e.g.*, Carnegie Trust) have helped needy students to attend Universities, as well as promoted efficient library service and book supply.

BENGALI NURSERY RHYMES

By Professor HARI CHARAN MUKERJI

It seems to be a pity that in these days of national resurgence no attempt is being made to make a systematic study of our nursery rhymes not only for the sake of the insight they give us into the manners and customs and social institutions of our people some centuries back but for the real poetry they contain. But modern educated girls rather look upon them as remnants of a barbarous age which instead of being carefully read and memorised are fit to be consigned to oblivion. This sort of mentality is highly to be deplored for it betrays a lack of an appreciation of the beautiful in literature as well as of pride in our country's storied past. Some of our educated and cultured people like the late Dr. Dines Chandra Sen, and Messrs Debendra Satyarthi, Kshiti Mohan Sen, Jasimuddin and others as well as Europeans like Prof. J. Darmesteter and Mr. Verrier Elwin have been carefully studying and collecting our ancient folklores as supplying not only the key to our distinctive and special culture and civilization which has developed in India but also revealing the common instinct of man all the world over in spite of infinite diversity of culture, language and environments. But no serious attempt has been made so far to study these nursery rhymes which are as much important in their own way as the former. As it has been remarked before these rhymes introduce us into a state of society which has passed away with the passage of time but which has left its stamp indelibly on us and which can not be ignored in any systematic study of it. They are also replete with passages of exquisite grace and beauty and pathos and sometimes also of quaint humour of which any literature can be proud.

It was probably just before the advent of the British in India when the western part of our province was periodically overrun by Mahratta hordes who carried destruction and panic everywhere that some of these rhymes seem to have been composed. Ordinarily they were not written down but committed to memory and recited and so there was always room for fresh additions. There were different versions also current in different parts of the province. They were not the works of the learned Pundits

who looked down on them disdaining to write anything in the vulgar tongue. They were the works of ordinary men who were not greatly looked up to but who possessed the genuine poetic faculty. The language in which they were written vibrates with life and there are numerous passages which reveal true insight into the mind of the girl-wife whose sorrows and hopes for the most part form the subject matter of them. Girls of very tender age were given away in marriage in those days and were compelled to live away from their sweet homes and their dear parents and brothers and sisters. They were forcibly uprooted from the soil where they had grown up and it was some time before they could strike roots in the soil where they had been transplanted. The mother-in-law, not unoften, was unsympathetic if not actively hostile and could only be propitiated by frequent presents which was not always within the competence of the girls' father to make. Sometimes for these omissions on the part of the latter, the girl herself was not allowed to visit her own people for long periods. Under these circumstances it was quite natural for the unfortunate child to pine for her home and to shed bitter tears in silence thinking of her miserable lot. She had probably not yet learnt to love her husband and had scarcely any confidant in her father-in-law's house. She had to go about attending to her ordinary round of duties putting on a smiling face when her heart was ready to burst. We can not but breathe a sigh of relief when we contemplate that this state of things has happily passed away and our girls have been released from the bondage of child-marriage and all that it implies.

This hankering of the child-wife to be re-united to her own folk and the misery of her life have never been better expressed than in the following rhymes :

> The god Krishna himself plays on his flute standing on the other side (of the river or tank).
> Though there is no joy at heart, one is compelled to wear a face of joy to keep up appearances.
> Who is there, who will go to the land of my father, whom I shall be able to overtake,
> To send a message to my dear ones as to how I am suffering.
> One may have one's paternal aunt or one's maternal aunt or may even enjoy the happiness of Brindaban.
> The dead tree has burst forth in bloom, the mother is the dearest of all.

The first line of the verse seems to have no bearing on the story and has been supplied for the sake of rhyming.

> The *Janti* tree is shaken by the wind and flowers drop down in showers,
> "Where are you, oh my mother, I am missing you so very much."
> "Oh my darling, try to live through this month as best as you can;
> During the next month you will be taken home in a gaily decked closed litter."

As to the attempts on the part of the girls' folk to propitiate the mother-in-law and the attitude adopted by the latter the following lines will testify :

> Our *Khukumani* will be married and who will accompany her to her father-in-law's house ?
> There is the bald-headed Fakir in the house who has guarded up his loins for the purpose.
> I shall give her gardens of mangoes and jackfruits to lend their shade during this journey.
> She will carry some sweet fried rice for light re-refreshment whilst on the way.
> She will also take with her a stock of *Chira* (pressed rice) made from fine rice to placate the mother-in-law.

And once again :

> Our *Khukumani* will be married to one living in the land of *Hattamala*.
> The people there have cows and oxen yoked together to their ploughs at the time of ploughing.
> They brush their teeth which glitter like diamonds.
> Loads of *Rohi* and *Katal* fish are being sent as presents
> But the mother-in-law turns up her nose with disdain.

The above lines incidentally show how simple was the life led by the people at that time before modern civilization had made its inroads on us and disturbed the pathetic contentment of the people by placing before them a higher satndard of life. *Chira* and *murki* supplied the ordinary tiffin of the people and were even appreciated as presents. People mostly lived in the villages away from the pomp and show of the big cities. They followed the age-long avocation of tilling the soil. Their life was one long tale of misery from year's end to year's end. What with the depredations of the plundering hordes of Maharattas and what with the eating up of crops by *chatapakhis* (sparrows ?) they found it difficult to scrape together a sufficient sum to pay the annual rent.

> "No sooner the (naughty) boy falls asleep and the people of the locality breathe a sigh of relief than the country is overrun by *Borgis* (hordes of Mahratta horsemen out on their plundering expeditions). How shall I pay the rent of the land as the grains of paddy have been eaten up by *chatapakhis*."

We have already traced the sad lot of the child-wife, how she was compelled to live away from home in the midst of strangers. But we have not referred yet to the fact how she was often compelled to marry against her will some elderly person against whom her soul revolted. Though highly resenting such an act which marred her happiness for life she had no

resource left but to tamely submit to the will of her elders. She could only give vent to the irreparable mischief done to her by wishing the speedy death of the person who was responsible for this.

"The uncle has given me away in marriage to an old husband; may he suffer a fall and die."

To make the cup of her misery complete, she often had to admit a co-wife to share her home and perhaps to rob her of the love (?) of her husband won after years of devoted service. Our heart bleeds to think of the miserable lot of our sisters in those days when they were looked upon as mere chattels, as men's playthings or household drudges, and not as human beings whose wishes were to be obeyed and rights respected. This attitude of indifference and callousness was perhaps the greatest blot on our social system.

The stepmother was very often made the butt of one's ridicule and many a joke was enjoyed at her expense. The following lines will bear out this remark :

Whilst going abroad one promises to bring the following presents for his dear ones :

"I shall bring a *pakkhiraj* horse for my brother,
And a cup for taking milk for the father.
For my mother, shall I bring a string of beads to be worn round the neck.
Oh my step-mother, you need not be angry, for I shall bring for you the shell of the lobster."

But these rhymes too are not without references to village romances, for the simple and uneventful life led by our people in the villages will be dull indeed unless enlivened by such episodes of love between young men and girls which has been the constant theme of poets in all lands and in all ages. The following lines will exemplify this :

On the other side (of the tank) two girls are engaged in bathing.
They are shaking down their thin flowing locks of hair and are wearing the coarse homespun.
The necklaces round their necks appear like streams of blood gushing out.
Who has seen this (beautiful) sight ? It is our elder brother,
And he has thrown his armlet at them.
"Oh, don't eat the betel-leaf chewed by him, (or it would betray the truth that) you are in love with him."
Mutual love has blossomed forth like the beautiful *Kadamba* flower.

Last of all these rhymes contain passages of exquisite beauty which will well repay careful perusal. They are not at all rare, are introduced quite naturally and are perfectly in keeping with the homely framework in which they are set. Here is one for example :

Whilst out on a fishing excursion a party of young boys had to cross *Tripurni's māth*, a wide sandy plain devoid of water. The beautiful ruddiness of the fair cheeks of the young boys due to the sun beating upon them has been compared to the lovely pomegranate bursting forth exposing the red grains within.

"*Chand-mukhete rod legeche dalimphata para.*"

The above in the language of Mathew Arnold is an instance of felicity of expression. *curioso felicitas*, which alone puts the stamp of true poetry on anything.

To add another instance there is this lyric outbrust in praise of sleep :

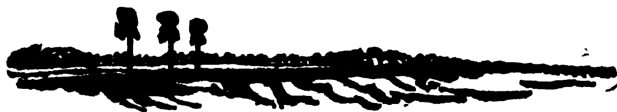
Ghumparani masi pishi, ghumer bari jao,
Santi sukher ghumti amar Dhanmanike dao;
Kothai paba aman nidra, ami kangalini
Daya kore deben nidra, pran diyechen jini.
Matar mata param mata, tini sabakar,
Jata sishu, jata briddha, sabai chheley tnar.

The above can be rendered as follows :

Oh, ye aunties ! who lull children to sleep, do ye please go to the abode of sleep and bring this blessed peaceful sleep for my darling. Where shall I get this sleep, poor wretched creature that I am ? She will be pleased to send sleep who has breathed into us the breath of life, who is the great Mother of us all, the young and the old alike.

This passage found in our nursery rhymes and entirely neglected and almost forgotten will surely not suffer if any comparison were instituted with the famous invocation to sleep in Coleridge's *Ancient Mariner* with which it has a striking similarity in sentiment :

Oh, Sleep ! it is a gentle thing
Beloved from pole to pole;
To Mary queen the praise be given.
She brought the gentle sleep from heaven.
That slid into my soul.



FOUR HUNDRED MILLION MUHAMMADANS ?

BY JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA

How many million Muhammadans really are there in the world ? Muhammadan propagandists, especially those in India, are constantly exaggerating their numbers in their speeches, letters and writings, and in books. They do so with a purpose—to break the morale of their political opponents, and at the same time to increase their own political importance. Even when their exaggeration is pointed out, they go on repeating it times without number, hoping, like Goering, that a lie repeated for the thousand and first time would sound very much like the Truth, and thus help them in establishing their spurious claims.

In some Bengali weeklies and dailies conducted by Muhammadans, we find their total to be stated as 600 millions. This may be a simple printing mistake; but as the mistake has been repeated more than once, we suspect the exaggeration to be deliberate. Leaving aside such poor propagandists—although their share in the propaganda is not inconsiderable, we now turn to the intellectuals and giants among them.

The late Maulana Muhammad Ali, an ex-President of the Indian National Congress was one such intellectual giant. At the end of the First Round Table Conference in London, he in his letter dated the 1st January, 1931, to the then British Prime Minister, the late Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, wrote thus :

> "A community that in India alone must now be numbering more than 70 millions cannot easily be called a minority in the sense of Geneva minorities, and when it is remembered that this community numbers nearly 400 millions of people throughout the world, whose ambition is to convert the rest of mankind to their way of thought and their outlook on life, and who claim and feel a unique brotherhood, to talk of it as a minority is a mere absurdity"

He was then advocating the claims of the Indian Muhammadans; and the above extract supplies the explanation why the Muhammadans' total was claimed to be 400 millions.

The **Muslim Revival** of Lahore, a quarterly magazine of Muslim Thought and Life, edited by Muhammad Ali—the same learned gentleman, we believe, who has translated the Holy Quran into English, in its opening number **asserts :**

> "According to estimates from Muslim sources the Muslim population of the world stands at 400 millions."

Maulana Akram Khan of the *Azad* fame agrees with the above estimate of the world's total of Muhammadan population.

Dr. Zaki Ali, a highly cultured Egyptian doctor of medicine—house-surgeon and anœsthetist at Kasr El Aini Hospital in Cairo, to be more precise, he who received financial assistance from the ex-Khedive Abbas Hilmi II while he was writing this book, in his *Islam in the World* (published in **1938**) says :

> "In view of the fact that in many regions, especially in Africa, no statistics are available, and that in many cases the given statistics are incomplete, covering only a portion of the territory and that in other cases estimates are based upon old statistics, it may be safely assumed that there are about **400 million Muslims in the world."** (antiques ours). *See* p. **418.**

In the chapter on Statistics of the Islamic World, he goes on to observe thus :

> "There have been many attempts to estimate the numbers of Muslims throughout the world. Accurate statistical data are, however, lacking for many regions of the Islamic world. There has been, therefore, a great discrepancy between different estimates. Where official information is lacking rough calculations are worked out and the figures for populations are approximations.
>
> "Among the widely-known and frequently quoted statistics are those drawn up by Louis Massignon in his "Annuaire du Monde Musulman" (Third edition, Paris, 1929). Many of the figures he gives are, however, inaccurate and very much below the true estimates as given by official reports in many of the principal countries of Islam."

He then proceeds to give "a statistical survey (in more or less round numbers) of the world of Islam based primarily on the most recent official statistics where such are available (consulting several works : *The Statesman's Year-Book*, "*Annuaire Statistique de la Societe' des Nations,*" *Political Handbook of the World*, etc.) Where official information is unavailable, an approximate estimate is rendered as complete as possible by data supplied by reliable sources."

He then gives details for each country—the details covering as many as 7 pages—, and comes to the above conclusion that there are 400 million Muhammadans in the world. By his challenge, by his reference to official informations and works of reference and by his so-

called details for each country, Dr. Zaki Ali's figures *seem* to be authoritative.

Mr. Yusuf Ali, lately of the Indian Civil Service, while reviewing Dr. Zaki Ali's book in the pages of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain*, refers approvingly to these statistics. Thus another link is added to the chain; another voice is added to the claim of the Muhammadans to be 400 million strong in this world.

Let us examine the accuracy or otherwise, of Dr. Zaki Ali's statistics. At p. 416 of his book , Dr. Zaki Ali separates the figures for Baluchistan from that of India; and he gives the respective numbers of Muhammadans to be 8,20,000 and 82,000,000. This is wholly wrong. The total Muhammadan population of India, including Baluchistan, is according to the Census of 1931, is 77,677,000. But he gives 82,000,000 for India alone—a *slight* exaggeration of 4 or 5 millions for a country that has been Censused since 1872; and that in a book published from Lahore !

He gives China's (including Tibet and other dependencies) Muhammadan population to be 50 million strong. Formerly China's total population was estimated to be above 448 millions. The latest and supposed-to-be the most accurate estimate of China's total population is according to Prof. Wilcox, 320 millions. Dr. Zaki Ali does not seem to have allowed for this reduction in the estimate of China's population. [See Note at the end]

At p. 415, we find the following entry,—
" Albania, over 80 per cent Muslims .... 800,000. But at p. 318, he himself says :

" Albania is another Muslim country in which Italy has vital interests. Today more than two-thirds of the total population are Muslim."

Which of the above two conflicting statements is correct ?

He has given the number of Muhammadans in U. S. S. R. to be 30,000,000; but he has not made any allowances for the de-Islamising policy of the Soviet. He admits that the " anti-religious campaign did not spare Islam "; he knows of the " numerous details *of* the persecution of Muslims and the anti-religious activities of the ' Godless Movement ' in the Muslim regions of Russia "; he knows that " the Bolshevists have demolished the minaret of the great Mosque of Samarkand, and erected in its place a huge statue of Lenin with the inscription : ' No more will the Muezzin call the Faithful from the top of the minarets, but Lenin ! " ; but he makes no allowances for them.

Soviet Russia is not the only place, where attempts are made to de-Islamise the people; for the author speaks of " the promulgation of the famous *Dahir* of the Berbers, which aimed at de-Islamising the Muslim Berber tribes and drawing them towards Christianity and French culture." (*See* p. 302.)

So much for the accuracy or otherwise of Dr. Zaki Ali's statistics. What then is the real number of Muhammadans in the world ? The American Statistical Society estimated the total to be 176·8 millions (1893). In Mulhall's Dictionary of Statistics, the world's total of Muhammadans is given to be 209 millions. In the *Moslem World* for July 1923, Rev. S. M. Zwemer in " A New Census " estimated their total to be 235 millions. In *L'Annuaire du Monde Mussalman,* the world's total is calculated to be 226·2 millions. H. Lammens, S.J., in his *L'Islam—Croyances et Institutions* has accepted the above estimate. In " the Call from the Moslem World " published by the Church Assembly of England, the world's total of Muhammadan population has been taken to be 235 millions. In Whitaker's Almanac, the number of Muhammadans is shown as 209 millions. *The Encyclopedia of Social Sciences,* published in 1932, says : " According to estimates made in 1929 Islam has about 246,000,000 adherents." In December 1924, the World Moslem conference took place at Jerusalem. At this conference, the world's total of Muhammadans was estimated to be 234 millions.

Whatever may be the real number of the Muhammadans, it does not exceed the 250 million limit according to the best sources. There has been de-Islamisation in certain regions. There are reasons to suppose that the population has decreased in certain arid and desert regions, like Chinese Turkestan. The natural rate of growth cannot be such that a population of 250 millions would increase to 400 millions in course of a decade or two. So the assertion that there are 400 million Muhammadans in the world is far from true. It is nothing but mere propaganda.

There are reasons to suppose that there has been conscious exaggeration in the number of Muhammadans at the time of the last Census in 1931 here in India [*See* " Has There Been Exggeration in the Number of Muhammadan Infants at the Bengal Census of 1931 ? " —*The Modern Review*, for December, 1939].

The following facts are taken from *A Scheme for an Economic Census of India.* by Dr. A. L. Bowley and D. H. Robertson, the two expert statisticians who were invited by

the Government of India to advise them on various statistical enquiries. [*See* pp. 23 and 24.]

Results of the Madras and Punjab samples based on 100 and 200 villages respectively.

The whole Madras Presidency less than the Ganjam and Vizagapatam agencies, was the subject of sampling, 1 village out of 396 being selected. In the Punjab four Central Districts were chosen, and one village out of 28 or 29 was selected.

	Madras Sample	Census	Punjab Sample	Census
	Per 1,000 persons			
Hindus	925	900	165	119*
Sikhs			399	372
Muslims			410	456
Christians			17	14

It will be seen that every community has increased at the Sample survey, excepting the Muhammadans. May we not infer that at the time of the last Census the number of Muhammadans was exaggerated?

Lastly, a few words as to how this world's total is made up. All those who are classified as Muhammadans are not Muhammadans in the proper sense of the term. Most of the so-called Muhammadans of Central Africa and the Malayan Archipelago are nominally so; "their religion is strongly coloured by fetishism and magic." [*The Call from the Moslem World*]. *The Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* is of opinion that the slight influence, that is really exercised by Mahomedanism on the wild races of the Malayan jungles is .... grotesque.

Many of the Malayan Muhammadans do not follow the Shariat in matters of succession and inheritance, but follow the customary matriarchal family law. Similarly the Chinese Muhammadans follow their own family law.

Coming nearer home, we read in the Baluchistan Census Report of 1921, p. 47:

"With the common mass Islam is merely an external badge that goes awkwardly with the quaint bundle of superstitions which hold them in thrall. The Zikri, numbering 28 thousand, substitute the Mahdi for Muhammad in their *Kalima*—the very negation of Muhammadanism."

Sir Edward Gait in the Census Report of India for 1911 says:

"Many descendants of persons 'converted' to Islam are far from being genuine Muhammadans, though they have been classed as such at the Census. Of these the Malkhanas of the country round Agra furnish a striking instance."

"These," says Mr. Blunt, "are converted Hindus of various castes belonging to Agra and the adjoining districts, chiefly Muttra, Etah and Mainpuri. They are of Rajput, Jat and Bania descent. *They are reluctant to describe themselves as Musalmans* (italics ours), and generally give their original caste name, and scarcely recognize the name Malkana. Their names are Hindu; *they mostly worship in Hindu temples* (italics ours); they use the salutation Ram, Ram; they intermarry amongst themselves only. On the other hand, they sometimes frequent a mosque, practise circumcision and bury their dead; they will eat with Muhammadans if they are particular friends; they prefer to be addressed as Mian Thakur. They admit that they are neither Hindus nor Muhammadans, but a mixture of both. Of late some of them have definitely abjured Islam."

"In Gujarat there are several similar communities—such as the Matia Kunbis, who call in Brahmans for their chief ceremonies, but are followers of the Pirana saint Imam Shah and his successors, and bury their dead as do the Muhammadans, the Sheikhadas who at their weddings employ both a Hindu and a Muhammadan priest, and the Momnas who practise circumcision, bury their dead and read the Gujarati Koran, but in other respects follow Hindu custom and ceremonial. These and similar communities lean more strongly to the one religion or the other according to their environment." (*See* p. 118).

But in 1921, Matia, Momna Sheikh, Molesalam and Sanghar were classified as Muhammadans. [*See* Census of India Report 1921, p. 115, 2 or 3 lines from the bottom.]. This is how the total of Muhammadans is increased or inflated.

Note.—The Rev. Paul A. Contento is a missionary of the China Inland Mission. In an article headed "Islam in Yunnan Today" in the *Moslem World* for July, 1940, he writes:—

"Ask any Moslem what the total number of his co-religionists in China is, and invariably the answer is 50 millions! Yet even the most casual observer would agree that such a figure is grossly exaggerated; between nine and ten million for the whole of China being a more accurate figure.

"Yunnan province, sometimes called the Switzerland of China, is located in the extreme south-west, bordering on Burma and Indo-China. The figures given for Moslems in Yunnan vary from one to two millions. As our Mission was contemplating a forward movement in that province, we were given the task of making a survey of the number of Moslems and their geographical distribution.

"* * * Whilst the Moslems of Yunnan at one time were both influential and numerous, their heavy losses in the 1867 rebellion have greatly reduced their number and power. Our own investigation led us to believe that there were not more than 250,000 in the whole province. (This was confirmed by Mr. J. O. Fraser, who knew more about Yunnan than, probably, any one else in China)."

* These figures are not exactly known for the country apart from the towns.

PEACE IN THE ALPS



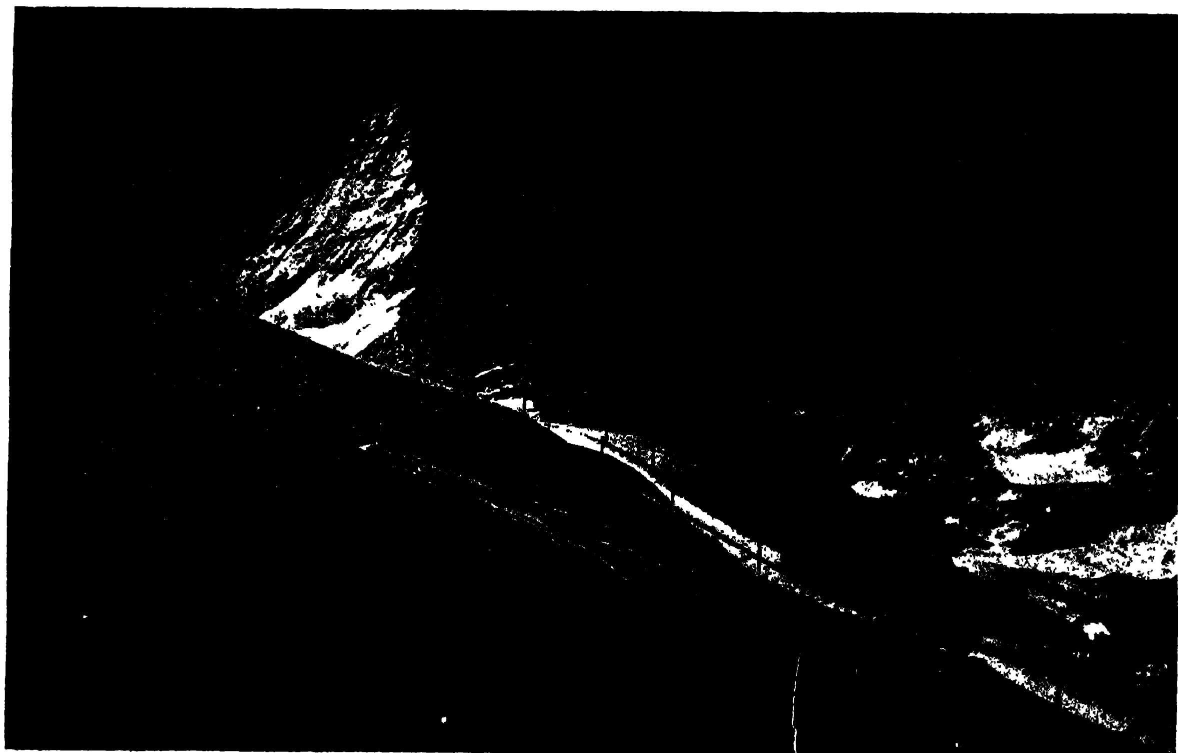
A Swiss peasant of the Alps with his favourite cow



A Swiss peasant girl in her characteristic costume and head-dress



A Swiss peasant in his national costume with his faithful friend



A landmark of the Swiss Alps. A centre of ski-ing

PEACE IN THE ALPS

By MONINDRA MOHAN MOULIK, D.Sc. Pol. (Rome)

Switzerland today is practically an island of democracy and peace in a sanguinary sea of dictatorship and terror. The flames of war and destruction that encircle this wonderland have not yet touched the peaceful snows of its mountain-peaks.

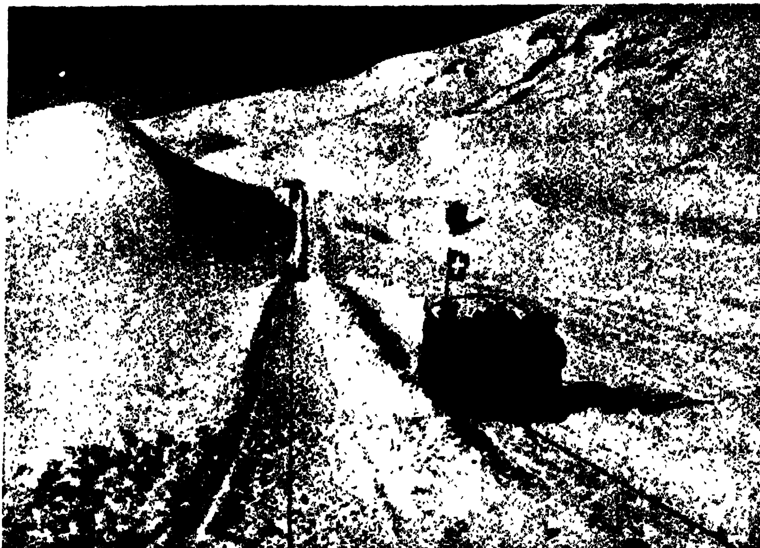
The stillness of its lakes, the silence of its rolling valleys, the romance of its summer evenings and, in a word, the charming peace of its varied landscapes, seem to be out of place in the mad and noisy world that surrounds it. Across its boundaries on the north and the south, on the east and the west, may be heard today the stentorian voice of dictators, the screaming of shells, the explosions of burning cities and the pitiful wailings of the sick and the wounded. On all sides may be seen warring crowds in steel helmets being led by a ruthless and pitiless will to where they do not know, the unending stream of hapless and destitute refugees, and desperate people without a thought for the future. It is almost a miracle that till now Switzerland has been spared the familiar experience of the actual war that is raging in Europe.

Switzerland still sticks to its traditional policy of neutrality in spite of the cajolings and threats and the waves of interested propaganda that continue to be directed to this peace-loving but valiant country. More than once since the war began a year ago, Swiss neutrality seemed to be critically jeopardised. Germans might cross the Alps, it was apprehended, to enter the south of France in the rear of the Maginot Line, but that project was perhaps ultimately abandoned on account of Italy's entry into the war. British bombers flew over Swiss territory in order to attack German industrial centres on the Rhine. The integrity of Swiss nationality was challenged by the German propaganda of *Rasse* and *Raum*. Switzerland has, however, succeeded so far in avoiding diplomatic scandals and its national leaders have succeeded in defending the constitutional unity of the State against these disintegrating forces. But how long Switzerland will be able to maintain its sovereignty, one may reasonably ask; but it is difficult to formulate a guess with any degree of precision. In spite of the admirable system of the social structure and the peace that Switzerland has built up through centuries of democratic progress and humane toleration, there are agencies at work to disturb that peace. A part of the Swiss population belongs to the German stock and speaks the German language. In this lies one of the obvious dangers of Swiss freedom and nationality. It is well-known how the assassination, a few years ago, of the German leader of the *Hitler Jugend* at Zurich led almost to a diplomatic crisis between Germany and Switzerland, and some anxious moments were passed at the Swiss capital. On the other hand, the marble palaces on the Lake of Geneva housing the League of Nations serve at once as the abiding hope of a new world order, that is to come and as the sad reminder of a treaty that could not guarantee the peace of Europe for more than two decades.



Ski-ers on the snow-capped peaks of the Alps

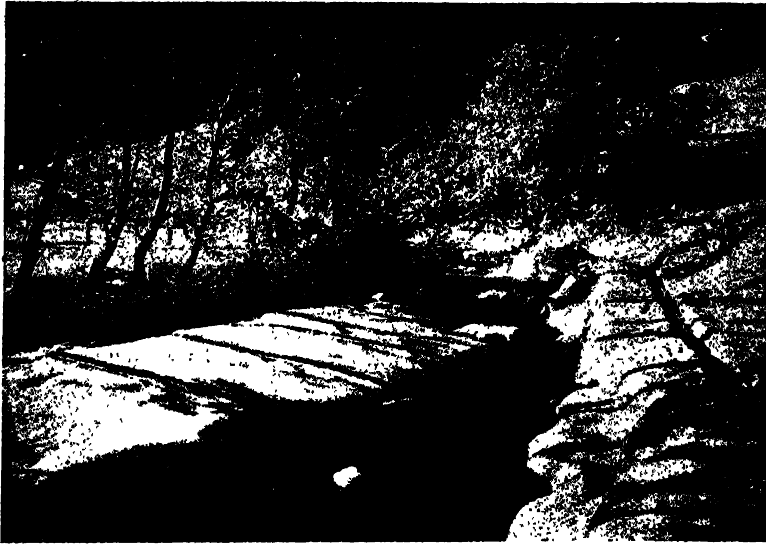
Geneva. The very name of this city has been associated, since the foundation of the League of Nations, with very high hopes about



An Alpine electric train full of ski-ers ascending the mountain-top

the future of world peace. Students of international law as well as practical politicians found in the League institutions at Geneva the nearest approach, so far achieved, of a world order based on equity, peace and understanding among nations. There is no such enthusiasm today among the theorists of international law and the bubble of delusion has burst for all practical purposes. Even the greatest advocates of the League have admitted its futility in settling international disputes without a resort to armed interference. Europe is ablaze once again in spite of the League and all its wonderful institutions. But what is Geneva's role in the present struggle ? I am reminded of the witty and suggestive remark of a prominent official of the International Labour Office in this connection. In the summer of 1938, when the talk of war was on the lips of all including even the soberest of people in Europe, I was in Geneva for a while. On being asked as to what he thought would be the function of Geneva during the next European war, the official remarked rather confidently : "Why, espionage ! " He later on suggested insinuatingly that the League might also be engaged in devising the structure of some other international institution that would provide for unrestricted preparation for future wars while advocating the cause of world peace. This witty and fair-minded official further pointed out that the Versailles Treaty provided but too little opportunity for revision. Revisionism was, in his opinion, a more effectual guarantee of peace than the enforcement of the rigid terms of a dictated treaty. Indeed, one is almost inclined to believe today that if the Treaty of 1919 would have been drawn up in the cool atmosphere of a Swiss town instead of amidst the excited jubilation of victorious France, the history of post-War Europe would have been different.

It is not entirely inconceivable that Geneva should be the centre of continental espionage during the present war, and that the League of Nations should be busy, in vengeance, in devising the structure of a new Federated States of Europe. So far as the latter work is concerned, Geneva may rightly claim to do it, since for centuries Switzerland has set the example of a State composed of various ethnic and religious peoples upholding the principles of democracy and good neighbourliness. Switzerland has offered hospitality to political refugees of all types and nationalities, and has sheltered, with remarkable tolerance, the homeless and destitute exiles throughout the long history of religious persecution and imperialistic wars on the continent. Switzerland has thus become today the political exiles' and refugees' paradise. Calvin himself, who associated Geneva with a Pan-European reformist movement in the sixteenth century, was practically an exile from France. Geneva had become, so far back as four hundred years ago, the capital of western Protestantism and the chief city of refuge for the persecuted minorities of that faith. Geneva has been upholding that tradition till today. But the democratic system on which Calvin sought to base a new type of religious society exercised a great influence on the social and political life of this mountain people who had fought and liberated themselves from the yoke of German rule and federated into the Helvetian republic. It is sometimes said that Switzerland has contributed very little to European culture and civilization as a whole. It is true that except the establishment of Swiss freedom by the valour and energy of a subject race and a divided people, Switzerland gave but little to the political experience of Europe. She has not produced such masterpieces of art and literature as Germany, Italy and France have done. But if Calvinism (although Calvin was a Frenchman



Winter with its wealth of snow

and Geneva in his time was outside the Swiss Confederation) be regarded as having sprung up from the Swiss soil, the part played by Switzerland in modern European history is not totally insignificant. Prof. Fisher observes :

"Of all the forms assumed by the Protestant Reformation, Calvinism has been the most far-reaching in its scope and the most profound in its influence. It made the Protestant Church in France, it fashioned the Dutch Republic, it was accepted as the national religion of Scotland. Before Calvin's death his creed had been received in the Protestant cantons of Eastern Switzerland, in the Palatinate, and by the majority of those Hungarians who had broken with Rome. Even in England where it was confronted with an overwhelming body of conservative sentiment, it exercised an influence over the Thirty-nine Articles, which constitute the declared creed of the National Church, so palpable that Queen Elizabeth, little as she sympathised with the spirit of Geneva, was ex-communicated as a Calvinist. Afterwards, but only for a time under the long Parliament, and through force of arms rather than a change in national sentiment, Calvinism became a predominant force in English politics. With the restoration it receded in the background, a minor but never a negligible element in the religious consciousness of the country. But if Geneva agreed ill with the Merry Court of Charles II, it was just the thing for the North American littoral. Here ever since the voyage of the *Mayflower* in 1621, and more particularly in the New England Colonies, it has exercised a profound influence on Church and State, reaching into the middle decades of the nineteenth century. From its harsh and gloomy teaching the reasoned optimism of the pragmatist, who exalts positive achievement, and the extreme idealism of the Christian Scientist, who negates the reality of pain and evil, are varying and characteristic negations." (*A History of Europe*, London, 1936, pp. 545-546).

Religious wars and movements are things of the past, at least in Europe. So religion did not stand in the way of a stable, democratic and federal constitution being evolved in Switzerland. Catholics, Protestants, Calvinists, all live side by side with perfect toleration and understanding in this country. There has been as yet no counterpart of the Pakistan movement in Switzerland. But race still constitutes one of the predominant factors of the politics of boundaries in Europe. Even in this matter Switzerland has been able to maintain its tradition of good neighbourliness with Germany, Italy and France. The German-speaking population of the Swiss districts lying near the German frontier are as much friendly with the French-speaking people of the western cantons as the latter are with the Italian-speaking cantons of the south. Swiss citizens consider themselves as Swiss first, for all political purposes, although they may offer their Sunday prayers in different churches and in different languages. Switzerland presents today a challenge to the critics of democratic freedom and it will not be an exaggeration to say that more than once in modern history the Swiss people have helped to restore the idea of political liberty to the continent of Europe. The following observation of a well-known historian will bear this out :

"This (political liberty) they showed to be a force capable of welding together peoples differing in speech and race and ultimately even in religion. And so through the age of despotism Switzerland remained the pattern of a *parvenu* state, governing its own affairs without the assistance of nobles and kings, and reminding Europe that the catalogue of political experiments was not yet exhausted. Here men could breathe freely and hither resort for the fearless discussion of questionable matters. Long before the loveliness of snow-flakes, was discovered, and while its mountains were regarded with universal horror and aversion, Switzerland had become a place of refuge for the uneasy, anticipating on a miniature scale the later role of the United States, but with a greater influence on religious life." (Fisher : *A History of Europe*, p. 343).

The long peace enjoyed by the Swiss people has not made them indolent or corrupt. They have, on the contrary, taken advantage of this long peace to evolve a social system based on class-harmony which constitutes a veritable despair of the socialist agitator. The Swiss people are industrious, polite and gay. Its agriculture and industry are advanced, and its

social legislation seeks to care for the sick, disabled and the unemployed. The standard of living of the people is, on the average, higher than that of the Italians and of the Balkan peoples. Switzerland is today heaven of



The sturdy peasants of Switzerland are fond of gay attires

international holiday-makers and health-seekers. Switzerland enjoys a huge tourist traffic on account of the excellent opportunities it offers to winter sports and for its incomparable sanatorium and spa facilities. The dairy industry is prosperous and Swiss cheese is well-known throughout the world. The Swiss railways have appeared to me to be the most decent and clean railway system in the continent of Europe.

It may be reasonably wondered if the political history of Switzerland has any lesson for the nation-builders of India. There is good reason to suppose that a federation of the Swiss type may point the way to a national solution of the political problem in India. There are certain obvious analogies with the conditions in Switzerland. But in India the most potent factor pleading for political union is the economic problem of the masses. The geographical conditions also support the idea of a federated India and expose the hollowness of the claims of the Pakistanists. I do not think I have misread the history of political liberty as established in Switzerland, and, I am sure, its lesson would not be lost even upon the most confirmed advocates of Pakistan, whatever they might profess from the platform out of sheer opportunism and bargaining spirit.

In the post-War period Switzerland grew up to become the greatest international centre of ski-ing in Europe. Before the last war ski-ing had not yet been a popular sport. Further up in the north, in Norway and Sweden, ski-ing of course has been for a long time practised as a youthful sport where something very vivacious and diverting is required to break the dull monotony of the long winter nights. At the beginning of the present century if a Norwegian would come to one of those places in Switzerland and Tyrol where tourists pour in in enormous numbers to-



A young peasant of the Alpine province in his native costume

day, he would have been considered a magician and an object of wonder for his long wooden skis and also perhaps for his skill of flying over the snows. A recent writer, Fosco Maraini, who accompanied the Italian explorer Tucci in his last expedition to Tibet, says something similar

to that in one of his articles on ski-ing in the Himalayas. He writes that in the great Tibetan plateau there are certain regions perpetually covered with snow which could be, if organized for tourism, one of the best ski-ing fields in the whole world. But nobody, he believes, has ever reached those places with a pair of skis before him. While on one of the most delightful slopes he was gliding down the soft snows and descended nearly one thousand feet in five minutes' time, the Tibetan porters accompanying the caravan thought that those two wooden instruments had some magic about them, and that the ski-er has some supernatural power. In Europe too a few decades ago the ski-er in certain interior ski-resorts of today could have easily been mistaken for "the spirits of the winds." Except for St. Moritz, perhaps the greatest winter sports resort in entire Europe, the continent offered rather limited opportunities for ski-ing. Until lately it has been a sport for the rich and the privileged classes of society only. But today ski-ing is as popular as foot-ball, and is as common a pastime in winter as sun-bathing in the summer.



Swiss boys at play

While in every country in Europe today ski-ing fields exist in small or large numbers, Switzerland remains identified with the "ski-er's paradise." Apart from ancient tradition and the glory of the Alps under snow and sunshine, the Swiss mountains are by far the most well-organized from the touristic as well as sportive points of view. Norway which offers such excellent conditions for ski-ing is not as elaborately organized as Switzerland is for visitors from abroad. The picturesqueness of the Norwegian landscape too in winter is entirely different from that of Switzerland. After the gloom, darkness and rains of autumn, which is the worst season in Norway, comes the winter with its wealth of snow. As the nights are long and sunshine does not last more than three or four hours usually, the Norwegians ski also in the night. The snows assume a particular charm at night. They begin to shine with the reflection of a clear sky and there is a sort of twilight which permits ski-ing all the night through. It is needless to point out how exciting is this twilight of the snows and how enchanting is its appeal for those who have a passion for outdoor life. This twilight is entirely different from that which pervades the exceedingly small nights during summer time. Unlike the summer twilight which descends from above, the winter twilight seems to rise from the snows into the nocturnal sky. But its appeal is limited to the Nordic people; continentals excepting some energetic English sportsmen do not usually go to Norway for enjoying winter sports. They all flock to the Swiss Alps instead, where a day of intensive ski-ing under brilliant sunshine is followed by gay society life in the evening. Like the Norwegian fiords, the Swiss lakes reflect the splendour of the snows even in the timid evening light, and in the glow of wooden hearths in the little chalets around the hills sweet folk melodies weave the charms of the winter's fairy land.

There is no other sport as much exhilarating and refreshing as ski-ing. It is something more than a physical exercise. Those who have watched the snow-capped peaks from Weissfluhgipfel near Davos, one of the most famous Swiss ski-resorts, where the vista stretching before one's eyes is confused with the advancing and receding waves on an all-white surf, must have experienced something more than a mere physical stimulation. The view opens before their eyes endless imageries of beauty the like of which the man of the plains can never dream of. The mountains have such a spell in their brooding silence and calm, except when the wind



Swiss peasants at dawn before they start their day's work

evergreens and firs with the load of snow on their leaves, are so engrossing in their appeal that everybody is inclined to look for a companion with whom to share the joys of living.

The evening life in the big hotels high up in the hills meant only for ski-ers is exceedingly interesting. The pagan propensities of the day are transformed into mere social diversions in the evening, for example, dancing and cocktail parties. Here as well, there is an enormous social opportunity for marriageable girls who, when they find an eligible bachelor, do not refuse to be shown the astronomical wonders shining in the blue evening sky walking along the lonely

sweeps through the trees and shrubs and raises a storm, that its spirit overpowers the sportsman who lays down his skis and turns willingly to the contemplation of its mystic message. In Switzerland particularly this sentiment has a special significance. Although it is the smallest country in Europe, it is full of regionalism and provincialism. The lakes and the hills of Switzerland seem to close a valley with such a self-sufficient complacence that the inhabitants seldom enquire if there is a world beyond its limits. Every valley in Switzerland is a world in itself. Each has its own dialect which varies from place to place, its own costume, its own pride. French, German and Italian, pure and mixed, are spoken with Swiss accents, and in dialects they all lose their native virtue and acquire a new one. It is for this reason that when during winter months the Swiss people begin to climb the hills and go on ski-ing, they discover the neighbour and come in contact with people from different parts of the country. This social contact which winter sports bring about in Switzerland not only among Swiss people themselves but also among foreigners and the hospitable Swiss, represents the true spirit of an international sport. Besides that, the winter sports have become the most contagious occasion for getting into romance. The beauty and charm of the hills white with snow, and sparkling with sunshire, occasionally spotted with

hill lanes. Sometimes it so happens that the hotels cannot accomodate the entire company of ski-ers with a night's lodging, and it can be well imagined what happens then. In the same room, sometimes in the same bed and sometimes on the floor, strangers of both the sexes enjoy their night's rest. The writer himself had once an embarrassing experience of this nature, and without these funny interludes winter sports would lose much of their popularity.

There is a large number of ski-schools scattered over the entire country in Switzerland. These schools are naturally held on snow where the teacher displays the secrets of the art of ski-ing, and to see young children from five to ten years of age struggling with their skis to learn the first step is indeed very delightful. Skating is also spectacular, but it requires hard ice surface. There are skating pairs who perfrom their task in such perfect harmony and rhythm that they attract everybody's admiration. The ski-er has, however, one great enemy : the avalanche. When the weather is bad and wind blows high, it is not infrequently that ski-ers are buried under avalanches that may start anywhere.

In summer when the lakes become full with the water of melted snow and the Swiss landscape assumes its usual moods, the memory of winter months, of sports and romance, haunts the memory, and brings the dreams of a life full of vigour and gaiety, of play and fun, of love and music of the white hills.

THE WORSHIP OF SASTA

By L. A. KRISHNA IYER, M.A

MODERN CIVILIZATION tends to dominate human life by the desire for the satisfaction of wants which steadily increase and the accumulation of possessions. Men are after emotional thrills and intellectual sensations. Religion is reckoned as the pursuit of infantile minds. Faith in God is thus at a low ebb. Man is thus in a state of mental anarchy by the assertion of mind over life and matter. In Travancore the impact of modern civilization is visible in the gradual spiritual thinness of her people. Amidst the distractions of civilized life, the annual worship of Sāsta gives a chastening influence. It is a pleasing feature of the times that the ranks of votaries are continually swelled by the influx of cultured and literate men. Their enthusiasm is not chilled by the discipline enforced on them and the ordeal of the journey.

The worship of Sāsta is confined to the extreme south of India, Travancore, Cochin and Malabar. According to Keralolpati, Parasurama is said to have established several temples dedicated to Sāsta along the Ghats with a view to guard the newly created country. The most prominent of them are those at Sabarimala, Achencoil, Ariencavu, Kulathupuzha, where the Urālis, Ullātans, Malayarayans, Malapantarams, and the Kanikkar are found. The Sabarimala pagoda is the most prominent and is situated on an eminence of 2000 ft. in Central Travancore. The pagoda is not easily accessible being about 25 miles south-east of the Forest Station at Peruthode. The path takes a sinuous course through thick deciduous and evergreen forest, and from the Anavattam Ghat, it ascends a woody ridge (Nilimala) to the temple, about which it is level and confined. The journey to the pagoda is so taxing that the pilgrims are three days on their way to it. The Government of His Highness the Maharaja have inaugurated a programme of improvement works to add to the amenities and conveniences of the votaries. The pagoda is built on an elevated mound faced with stone. Access to the gate on the east is led by a flight of 18 steps, and only votaries pass by it during the annual festival. The pagoda is small and covered with copper plate and a Brahman from Kakkad officiates as priest.

THE ORIGIN OF SASTA

The origin of Sāsta is one of the delightful romances of Hindu mythology. According to the Epics, the ambrosia was required by the gods so as to enable them to overcome the demons. Appeal was made to Brahma, who referred them to Vishnu. He commanded that the ocean should be churned for *amrita*. As a result of churning in which the Devas and the



An Ayyapan on the march

Asuras took part, the sea of milk yielded butter with gums and juices from the mountain. The nectar was carried away by the demons, when the Devas complained to Vishnu, who assumed the guise of a damsel. The demons were so much under the spell of her charms that they requested her to distribute the nectar to them. She asked them to shut their eyes and said that she would marry him who opened his eyes last. The demons closed their eyes and Vishnu made away with the nectar and gave it to the Devas.

Siva was anxious to know how Vishnu recovered the nectar. Vishnu appeared in the guise of a woman. Sāsta was born of their embrace. He is therefore known as Hariharasutan. He was told that he should remain in the jungle, that the Pandyan Raja would take him, and that he should remain under his care for twelve years. On the expiry of this period, Sāsta marched to the hills where he killed Mahishasuri. Agastya is said to have asked him to remain at Sabarimala and there he remains to this day.

The Makaravilakku Festival

The Makaravilakku Festival is annually celebrated in honour of Sāsta at Sabarimala on the 13th of January for five days. He claims a very large number of votaries. Sāsta is very frigid in his tastes, and he is a stern disciplinarian. A person can claim himself as a votary by being under a vow for 41 days from the middle of November and he should lead a clean life, and abstain from meat and drink; but drink is not tabooed in the case of Malayarayans. A woman is also bound by the same authoritative admonitions. Although girls and old women are only allowed to go on a pilgrimage to Sabarimala, women in their family way are also not debarred. A person who breaks the vow jeopardises the result that is being striven, for health, wealth and life are to be gained by a rigid observance of the vow. The abstinence from meat is meant to avoid imbibing undesirable qualities with which a person would otherwise be infected. Again, the restraint imposed on the stronger impulses of man's animal nature marks out those who are above the common herd and who are fit to receive the seal of divine approbation. The net result of this disciplinary life is seen in an accession of strength and grit to the votaries, who are enabled to bear the tedium of the journey with greater ease.

Discipline permeates in another way among the rank and file of the votaries, who go in batches, led by the most senior man. Seniority is reckoned by the largest number of times a votary has gone to Sabarimala. All votaries are called 'Ayyapans' or 'Swamis,' and the head of the fraternity is called 'Pereaswami,' whose word is law. The first 'Kanni Ayyapans' (initiates) cannot move an inch without the Pereaswami's bidding, and without being led by a second 'Kanni Ayyapan,' whose function is to lead the initiates. Any disobedience is visited with fine or repeating Sāsta's name a certain number of times. The fraternity of Ayyapans is not hide-bound by any caste distinction and their fraternal greetings are worthy of emulation. Pereaswamis of the present day are mere shadows of their former selves owing to the diminishing return of reverence and confidence in them.

Vocabulary of Ayyapans

The vocabulary of Ayyapans is polished and dignified. Abusive language is tabooed. One who offends another by word or deed is said to incur the wrath of Sāsta. In fact, the word 'Ayyapan' is used after every word. The word has degenerated so far that excreta is known as 'Pu Ayyapan.' There is complete self-effacement, and votaries consider that Sāsta is omnipresent, omniscient, and omnipotent. Imbued with such lofty ideas, the votaries march to the hills.

Kettumurukku

It has to be said to the credit of the Ayyapan that he stands in terms of indebtedness to others during his march to the hills. He is self-contained and there is a ceremony called Kettumurukku or tying up of the load. With this Kettu over his head he wends his way to the hills, and goes by measured stages to Erumeli where there are two temples dedicated to Sāsta, and one mosque to Vāvar, a staunch adherent of Sāsta.

Pettathullal

This quaint custom is reminiscent of Sāsta's hunting expedition and return with spoils of the chase after killing Mahishasuri. The votaries blacken their faces and bodies. Plantains and other curry-stuffs are tied in a blanket, and slung on their shoulders. The first Kanni Ayyapan is armed with an arrow, and the second with a club. With the loads on their shoulders, they run towards Petta, Sāsta's temple, where they worship the deity. They then worship Vāvar, to whom offerings in cash are made. The blackening of the face is emblematical of the original inhabitants of the forests who accompanied Sāsta. The worship of Vāvar indicates the early association of a Mahomedan saint with Sāsta, the tolerance and discrimination exercised in the choice of associates, and worship by all Hindu devotees without any caste distinction, thus furnishing a fine example to all lovers of Hindu-Moslem unity.

Worship of Stones and Rocks

On reaching Peruthode, the votaries offer fried rice and molasses to the rocks on the bed of the stream. They are supposed to be the resting-place of Sāsta and his followers. Another custom is the worship of all stones on the way from Kottapadi to Sabarimala. The second Kanni Ayyapan plucks leaves for the first

Kanni to make offerings to the stones in which are supposed to reside Sāsta and other sylvan deities. The average middle class Hindu, worships stones which are unusual or grotesque in shape. A steep mountain is supposed to have a special local spirit who acts as guardian. The natural object is worshipped because it is believed to possess supernatural power, but it is nevertheless the object itself that is worshipped. In other words, they do not separate the spirit from matter, but adore the thing in its totality as a divine being.

On reaching the Azhutha river, they camp there for the night. The river is worshipped as a deity, which fills their imagination and receives their homage. The next morning they march to Kallidumkunnu, where the Kanni Ayyapans throw a pebble on the crest of the hill. This is intended to suppress an Asura, who is said to haunt there.

THE PAMBAN VILAKKU

The Pamban Vilakku (illumination) forms one of the most enchanting scenes at night. It is said to be in honour of Sāsta, who is supposed to be cooking his food and dining there for the night on his way from Erumeli to Sabarimala. Ayyapans set afloat domes of reeds over which are lit tabloids of camphor in rows. Myriads of such domes are set afloat on the waters of the Pamba at Pambakadavu.

The devotees then march to Sabarimala after enjoying a great feast. Cocoanuts are thrown at Appachikhuzhi, and arrows and clubs at Sabaripidam, as there is no more fear of wild animals. After breaking of a cocoanut at Pathinettampadi, the devotees offer ghee and camphor to Sāsta and broken cocoanuts to Ganapati. At night ornaments arrive from Pandalam with great acclamation. There is then a procession from the shrine of Malikapurathamma to Ayyapan's pagoda with illuminations. This is called Makaravilakku. Next morning the devotees bathe in Orakuzhi Tirtham and enjoy a great feast. They then return home after paying homage to the deity.

No worship is done for worship's sake. So it is with Ayyapans who are not so irrational as to make offerings to beings from whom they expect no benefit in return. In proportion as Sāsta grows more benignant, his worshippers become more confident. He bestows benefits on those who please him. The common desire is to avert evils. Sāsta blesses those who are childless. His boons on his devotees are phenomenal and they enlarge the circle of his votaries.

ROADS IN INDIA

By PRINCIPAL A. C. PANDEYA

THE East India Company neglected the prime duty of a civilized government in that it took little interest in developing roads which form the first line of political defence. The culture of a nation is judged by the roads it possesses. They are an index to the developed economic life of a country. They serve an important base for all military operations. Yet India, though a vast country, occupies the lowest position in the world in roads. Its road mileage per square mile of area is 0·2 mile, whereas Japan's is 3·0 miles. More deplorable is to find that India enjoys 191 miles of roads per lakh of people, while Australia has 9,000, miles per lakh of people. This definitely shows a very unsatisfactory position of roads in India.

The total road mileage in British India was estimated on a conservative scale in 1935-36 at 3,06,717 miles, of which metalled roads accounted for 82,284 miles and unmetalled roads figured at 2,24,433 miles. According to Mitchell and Kirkness Report (1931) the U. P. has 7,778 miles of metalled and 27,600 miles of unmetalled roads. Of India's total figure, thirty per cent of roads are owned by the Provincial Governments and 70 per cent by Local Bodies.

Roads are divided into sections, *viz.*, Arterial and Feeder roads. Arterial roads may be compared to an ocean connecting the various countries and feeder roads to rivers interlinking the various parts of a country. Thus, roads are the veins and arteries of a country through which channel every improvement circulates.

In India roads are classified into :

(*i*) Central Government Roads,
(*ii*) Provincial Governments' Roads,
(*iii*) Grant-in-aid Roads,
(*iv*) Local Bodies Roads, like the Cantonment and Municipalities Roads, and
(*v*) Panchayati or Village Roads.

Feeder roads generally serve the cart transport. These roads become impassable during monsoon months and this country suffers a net loss by the forced immobility of the labour and the hoarding up of the produce which cities

require. This affects adversely on the main roads. These roads sometimes form cesspools for mosquito breeding. Thus, death rate increases and there is the lowering of the vitality of the people.

Further, travel is a means of education which consists in the exchange of ideas. Exchange of ideas pre-supposes free mobility between groups and countries. And this "free mobility" is impossible without a good system of transport and, in fact, roads.

Owing to bad roads all activities in India, whether they be economic, political, social, or, educational, lack the ring of truth. An organized internal means of transport and communication imbibes new ideas and understanding gets more and more perfect. The National Mind becomes a coherent whole.

Roads in the villages are merely tracks made by carts on which no car could travel. Therefore, city men cannot go to villages and villagers do not go to cities. These two tendencies of "the cannot" of cities and "the do not" of villagers hinder in the formation of the National Mind and its evolution. But progress means the formation and evolution of National Mind on its own cultural basis.

"No roads" in villages keep back many a promising lads who would otherwise had fared better in life, if they attended a school, had road facilities been good. No circulating library is possible without a good system of roads.

Transportation is an integral part of marketing. Bad roads mean high transport charges, and, consequently, marketable goods may not stand the market competition and the trade and commerce may suffer considerably.

India being predominantly an agricultural country requires improvement and stimulus in agricultural production by an efficient co-ordination of the various modes of transport. It requires an efficient road transport for cheap movement of agricultural machines, improved implements and high-volume low-price goods. Construct roads which can serve the lorry traffic for these and for carrying the activities of the Agricultural Department and Pusa Research Institute to the poverty-stricken cultivators.

Roads assist in the development of industries and facilitate their decentralization, thus, removing congestion and slump from one centre. Moreover, the large forest wealth of India can only be exploited effectively with the help of a suitable road transport.

But the main defects that we observe in roads of India are:

(*i*) Lack of continuity of road programme,
(*ii*) Lack of bridges and crosses,
(*iii*) Bad carpet of roads, and
(*iv*) Greater proportion between arterial and feeder roads and defective unmetalled roads.

Any attempt to make suggestions for the improvement of our roads must centre on two points, *viz.*, first, a healthy balance between arterial and feeder roads; and, second, a proper balance between the bed, sole and carpet of the road. The ideal road, in fact, permits the motive power to transport the greatest weight at the highest speed with the least expense.

We should, therefore, develop our road position on the following lines:

(*i*) Improve the carpet of the existing roads,
(*ii*) Convert fair-weather roads into all-weather roads,
(*iii*) Increase the road mileage, and
(*iv*) Improve the carpet of all roads, *e.g.*, for certain types of carriages we require rubber, cement, tar, iron, or glass surface.

A net work of arterial and feeder roads is what this country requires. Thirty per cent of the area which is not served by railways must be well equipped by a net-work of roads. The Provincial Governments should transfer metalled roads to Local Bodies and take their unmetalled roads; construct these roads into all-weather roads and transfer all roads to local bodies.

Any policy to construct more roads while neglecting the maintenance of the existing roads is not wise. The Congress Governments emphasised rural roads while non-Congress Governments emphasised urban roads. But, the fact is any attempt to increase the road mileage of the one at the cost of the other is not a prudent policy. What we require is a proportionate balance between the two—the rural and the urban roads. For the uplift of India we require both the village and the city to be developed. For this purpose water-bound roads which cost Rs. 200/- to Rs. 500/- per mile are most suitable, as other programmes would be expensive.

Construction of roads should be undertaken by raising loans and maintenance by current expenditure. In the U. P. today the question is not for the maintenance but the reconstruction of its roads. This reconstruction should be financed by floating Road Bonds.

We, therefore, come to the conclusion:

"Keep in order the existing roads. Construct new roads. Link the villages with the cities. Thus, make India one unit." India's future prosperity, in fact, lies along her unmade roads.

OLIGARCHS OF OUR INDUSTRIES

By ASOKA MEHTA

ALTHOUGH still a predominantly agricultural country India now possesses many important industries. In Jute and Tea she is a leading exporting country. In textiles, cement, sugar, paper and matches we are nearing self-sufficiency. We have a growing iron and steel industry, rich coal mines and powerful hydro-electric plants. There are prospects of early establishment of automobile and ship-building industries.

There are nearly 9,000 factories in India giving employment to about 17,00,000 workmen. The capital invested in companies, registered in India, totals upto Rs. 300,00,00,000.

The outstanding characteristic of our economy, as it has developed, is the concentration of control of industries in a few hands. A group of Managing Agents control about 500 industrial concerns, with capital of about Rs. 150 crores, and covering every field of industrial activity.

This concentration of control is common to all industries. In Jute, fifty-three mills (capital : 18 crores) of the total hundred mills (capital : 23 crores) in the country are controlled by seventeen Managing Agents. Four of them control thirty mills. Of 247 Coal companies (capital : Rs. 10,45,00,000), sixty companies (capital: Rs. 6,38,00,000) are controlled by eighteen firms, four of them controlling thirty-one companies. In Tea, 117 companies are controlled by seventeen firms five of which control seventy-four tea companies. Again just four firms control twenty-seven of the thirty-three minor railways in the country. Similar concentration of control exists, with incidental variations, in Sugar, Engineering and other industries. Even in the Cotton Textile industry, a third of it is in the hands of fifteen big firms.

In Cement and Matches virtual monopolies have been established through unified control and/or ownership of the industries.

This concentration has been realised in various ways : by amalgamation, by absorption, more generally by expansion.

In the Cement Industry, the various cement companies, with one exception, have amalgamated to form a single joint-stock company : The Associated Cement Companies. The A. C. C. has taken over the business, assets and liabilities of eleven cement companies and controls works situated at fourteen different places in India. The Company also owns substantial interest in the Burma Cement Co. Ltd.

The formation of the A. C. C. was preceded by the organisation of the cement Marketing Company of India Ltd. Similar attempts at centralising marketing and restricting production are being made in Tea, Sugar, Coffee, Coal and Jute.

Another important method of achieving the concentration of control is through absorption: a giant buying up its smaller rivals or obtaining control over them in less direct form. The Scindia Steam Navigation Company, for instance, controls in one form or another the Ratnagar S. N. Co., the Bengal Burma Steam Navigation Company Ltd., Indian Co-operative Navigation & Trading Co. Ltd., and the Bombay Steam Navigation Co. Ltd.

In the match industry the rivals that refused to surrender have been, under the relentless pressure of the Swedish Trust and their Indian functionaries, mostly driven out of the business. Industries have their Napoleons and Hitlers—and also their Seyss-Inquarts !

These, however, are the instances of horizontal combination. There are other forms of Trusts also.

The British India Corporation is an instance to the point. It was formed, with capital : Rs. 10,00,00,000, in 1920 to take over the control of

(1) The Cawnpore Woollen Mills—"*Lalimli.*"
(2) The Cawnpore Cotton Mills—"*Kakomi.*"
(3) New Egerton Woollen Mills—"*Dhariwal.*"
(4) North-West Tannery Co.—"*Flex.*"
(5) Cooper Allen & Co. (one of the biggest army leather equipment and boot manufacturers of the world).
(6) Empire Engineering Co. (since closed down).
(7) G. Mackenzie & Co.

This huge combine (present capital : Rs. 1,25,00,000) is managed by a single Board of Directors and has two Managing Directors.

There are forty trusts of this, of even bigger, dimensions. They control about 450 concerns whose total capital exceeds Rs. 110,00,00,000. Thirty of these Trusts are with capital over Rs. 1,00,00,000 and five of them have capital exceeding Rs. 5 crores.

The following are the leading British Trusts :

- Anderson Wright & Co.
- Andrew Yule & Co.
- Balmer Lawrie & Co.
- Barry & Co.
- Begg Dunlop & Co.
- Begg Sutherland & Co.
- Bird & Co.
- British India Corporation.
- Burn & Co.
- Davenport & Co.
- Duncan Bros.
- E. D. Sassoon & Co
- Forbes, Forbes & Campbell
- F. W. Heilgers & Co.
- George Henderson & Co
- Gillanders & Arbuthnot & Co
- Govan Bros.
- Hoare Miller & Co
- James Finlay & Co.
- Jardine Skinner & Co.
- Kilburn & Co.
- Killick-Nixon & Co.
- Kettlewell Bullen & Co.
- Mackinnon Mackenzie & Co.
- MacNeil & Co.
- McLeod & Co.
- Martin & Co.
- Octavius Steel & Co.
- Shaw Wallace & Co.
- Sassoon David & Co.
- Villiers & Co.
- Williamson Magor & Co

The leading Indian Trusts are :

- Tata Sons & Co.
- Birla Bros.,
- Dalmia, Jain & Co.

Walchand's and Karamchand Thapar's concerns are fast expanding and they will soon reach the status of Trusts.

The British Trusts are increasingly becoming mixed—almost all of them have some Indian shareholders and directors. Mukerjees have a substantial holding in Martin & Co. The Maharaja of Darbhanga holds big interests in the British India Corporation and Octavius Steel & Co. Villiers & Co. is fully under Indian control.

From the workers' point of view an Indian Trust is often a worse master than a British Trust. The condition of the workers of the Dalmia Sugar Mills, for instance, is much inferior to that existing in the Belapur Mill of Brady & Co. In British Trusts there is exploitation *plus* drain, in Indian Trusts perhaps intenser exploitation but little drain.

The Trusts have developed mainly through expansion and not so much through amalgamation or absorption. The pioneer industrialists, mostly British, made huge profits. The accumulated profits enabled them to spread out in all fields. In the early days, the Jute Mills paid dividends, after transferring considerable amounts to the Reserve Funds, from 100 to 300 per cent—they "simply coined money." Tea companies also made enormous profits, in many cases paying dividends over 100 per cent. These huge profits went to expand the empires of these Trusts.

As a case study let us briefly review the history of the great Sassoon family—unroll the colourful tapestry of that fabulous clan.

David Sassoon, a wealthy young Jew of Bagdad, migrated to Bombay in the thirties of the last century. He liked the place and founded here the firm of David Sassoon & Co. He started with a rug factory and a banking establishment. (The Sassoon Bank, a private concern, ultimately had a capital of Rs. 1,00,00,000). The most thriving trade at that time was the opium trade with China. David Sassoon entered it and in due course obtained the monopoly of export of opium to China. His son Elias was sent to China where he succeeded, among other things, in obtaining monopoly control over the import of opium to China! The two ends of this enormously profitable trade were thus controlled by the Sassoons.

Elias on returning to India founded his own firm, E. D. Sassoon & Co., which worked in friendly co-operation with his father's firm both here and in the Far East. David was succeeded by his son Albert Abdulla. He expanded the business in every direction. He went heavily into the textile industry, he constructed the first floating dock east of Suez, the Sassoon dock. On his retirement he settled down with a baronetcy in England, where his brother David Jr. had preceded him. The family was growing out of its colonial stature. The family business in Bombay was carried on by brother Solomon—who besides conducting the family's banking business, was the Chairman of the Sassoon Cotton Mills, Sassoon Silk Company, the Oriental Life Insurance Company, and was a trustee of the Bombay Port Trust and a director of the Bank of Bombay.

But the main branch of the Sassoon family was now in England. Sir Edward Sassoon (Albert Abdulla's son, born in Bombay) married Baron Gustave de Rothschild's daughter—thus uniting a mighty Oriental House with the foremost banking family of Europe. Needless to add Sir Eward was elected to the House of Commons—that exclusive club of Britain's aristocrats.

Sir Edward was succeeded by his son Sir Phillip who inherited his seat in Parliament also. The financial wizard of the family, however, was Sir Victor Sassoon who further

extended the empire of the Sassoons. Siegfried Sassoon, the fox-hunting poet, held the fort on the culture-front. The scions of an obscure Levantine Jew today make headlines in relation to British Empire politics, sport, literature and finance—all on the strength of the fabulous fortune made in commerce and industry in India and the East.

Other nabobs have a similar tale to tell. While we may not trace their history let us at least note the extent of their empires.

CONTROLLING TRUST—NUMBER OF COMPANIES

Names	Finance	Jute	Cotton	Coal	Tea	Sugar
Andrew Yule	1	11	..	11	15	1
Bird	2	8	..	2	..	..
Gillanders Arbuthnot	..	2	..	1	6	..
Jardine Skinner	1	4	..	1	5	..
Kilburn	..	..	..	3	7	..
Kettlewell Bullen	..	2	3	..	1	..
Martin	1	..	..	4	..	..
McLeod	..	6	..	..	4	..
Octavius Steel	..	..	..	1	12	1
Shaw Wallace	..	..	1	7	7	..
Finlay	..	1	3	..	3	1
Killick-Nixon	..	..	1	1	..	..
Bradys	..	..	5	..	..	1
Tatas	2	..	4	..	..	..
Birlas	2	1	4	..	..	3
Dalmias	1	..	..	..	..	2

Names	Transport	Electricity	Engineering	Miscellaneous	Total
Andrew Yule	2	..	..	11	52
Bird	..	1	1	6	18
Gillanders Arbuthnot	6	..	..	2	17
Jardine Skinner	..	..	..	2	13
Kilburn	2	1	..	..	13
Kettlewell Bullen	..	..	..	..	6
Martin	8	9	1	1	24
McLeod	6	..	1	..	17
Octavius Steel	1	9	..	..	24
Shaw Wallace	..	..	..	2	17
Finlay	..	..	..	..	8
Killick-Nixon	8	3	..	2	15
Bradys	..	..	..	2	8
Tatas	1	8	..	7	22
Birlas	..	..	..	3	13
Dalmias	..	..	..	3	6

In the Western India the Tatas, Killick-Nixons, Sassoons, Bradys, etc., dwarf, with their huge financial strength and industrial ramifications, their humbler rivals. The Tatas control twenty-two concerns (capital: 30,00,00,000 approximately).

Cotton Mills	..	[illegible]
Power Com.	..	4
Iron & Steel	..	1
Oil	..	1
Electricity	..	4
Hotels	..	1
Airways	..	1
Chemicals	..	1
Electro-Chemicals	..	1
Insurance	..	1
Investment Trust	..	1
Milk Supply	..	1

But to have a fuller idea of the range of activities of the House of Tatas one must also record the ventures that have not survived to this day, such as, the Bombay-Japan Line (Steamship Service) and the Tata Industrial Bank.

In Eastern India the domination is of Jewish and Scottish firms with Marwaris just butting in. The following 52 concerns, for instance, are controlled by Andrew Yules (capital : 7,00,00,000 approximately).

Jute	11
Coal	11
Tea	15
Sugar	1
Firebrick	1
Aerating Gas	1
Steamships	2
Flour	1
Hydraulic Press	2
Paper	1
Rubber	2
Power	1
Oil	1
Insurance	1
Zamindari	1

Thirty-four British Trusts control about 400 industrial concerns (capital: Rs. 75,50,00,000 approximately), half a dozen Indian Trusts control some fifty concerns (capital Rs. 37,50,00,000 approximately). Such is the extent of the integration of our industrial economy.

But this is not the whole story. We have now reached the stage where Trusts are amalgamated with or annexed by bigger Trusts. Recently Martin & Co. took over the control of Burn & Co.—a Trust controlling four concerns (capital Rs. 10,10,00,000). Not a few of these Trusts are controlled by super-giants of London. Mackinnon Mackenzie & Co. (Jute Mills, Calcutta), Binny & Co. (Cotton Mills, Madras and Bangalore), the Allahabad Bank, the B. I. S. N. Co.—each a giant in its own rights are controlled by the mighty P. & O. Co.

It is also necessary to note the growing inter-relationships between the Industrial Trusts and the Feudal Interests. Some of the Trusts control zamindaris and some of the zamindars hold big interests in the Trusts. The Maharaja of Darbhanga possesses substantial shares in the British India Corporation and Octavius Steel & Co. The Maharaja of Gwalior is one of our leading financiers.

II

The control of our industries is gathered up not only in a few Trusts but in a few hands. In the Jute Industry 132 men hold 271 directorships—ten of them hold 87. 389 directorships of the Tea companies are held by sixty-six

individuals, twelve of whom hold 184—seventy being with just three men.

In the Trusts also, a few men hold dominating positions. 172 directorships of the fifty-two concerns of Andrew Yule & Co. are held by forty individuals—five of whom hold ninety-seven. 123 directorships of the twenty-four concerns of Martin & Co. are distributed among twenty-nine individuals, three of whom occupy sixty-two directorships. And so on.

The concentration of control is further heightened by interlocutory directorships. The various Trusts are interlinked by a group of common directors. This device puts the control of our industrial economy in still fewer hands.

Name of the Trust	DIRECTORS E. L. Watts	E. H. Sayres	G. W. Liddle	D. H. Wilmer
Andrew Yule	1	..	4	..
Begg Dunlop	..	6	..	..
Bird	8	..	..	6
Davenport	2	..	5	..
Duncan	..	9	4	..
Heilgers	3	..	..	7
Jardine Skinner	6	3	..	1
Kilburn	2	4	..	..
MacNeil	..	..	..	2
Octavius Steel	..	2	..	..
Williamson Magor	..	1	1	..
James Finlay	..	1	..	..

Name of the Trust	N. D. Y. Gye	P. J. P. Thomas	C H Heape
Andrew Yule	2	..	..
Begg Dunlop	1	1	..
Bird	..	..	7
Davenport	1	1	..
Duncan	3	4	..
Heilgers	..	..	7
Jardine Skinner	..	1	..
Kilburn	..	..	..
MacNeil	..	..	..
Octavius Steel	4	..	..
Williamson Magor	..	..	..
James Finlay	1	1	3

The table given above shows how widespread is the device of common directorships. It shows how, interlocutory directors link up all the Trusts, integrate our industrial economy still further and gather up all control in a few powerful hands. It deals only with the British firms of Calcutta, a similar table can also be prepared for Bombay and it would show the same extent of interlinking.

Five hundred important industrial concerns of our country are managed by 2000 directors. These directorships are held by 850 individuals. But 1000 of these directorships are held by just seventy men—the other thousand are distributed among the remaining 780 directors. At the apex of this pyramid stand ten men holding three hundred directorships—the supreme arbiters of the destinies of our industrial economy.*

850 men hold 2,000 directorships—Aver. 2-1/3.
70 men hold 1,000 directorships—Aver. 14-2/7.
10 men hold 300 directorships—Aver. 30.

Such is the shape of the pyramid.

III

Every one has heard of the House of Morgan and of Rockefellers—the leaders of American capitalism. Though the Morgan firms control

* We are giving below, as an illustration, a list of the fifty-one concerns in which Sir Purshotamdas Thakoredas is a Director.

The B. E. S. & T. Co. Ltd.
Bombay Safe Deposit Co. Ltd.
The Oriental Govt. Security Life Assce. Co. Ltd.
The Indian Radio & Cable Communications Co. Ltd.
Broach City Press Co. Ltd.
Surat City Press Co. Ltd.
Karouli Ginning & Press Co. Ltd.
Madhusudan Mills Ltd.
Reserve Bank of India.
Katni Cement & Industrial Co. Ltd.
Gokak Mills Ltd.
Bharat Mills Ltd.
Simplex Mills Ltd.
Kohinoor Mills Ltd.
Colaba Land & Mills Co. Ltd.
Calico Mills Ltd. (Ahmedabad).
Jubilee Mills Ltd. (Ahmedabad).
Khatau Makanji Spg. & Wvg. Co. Ltd.
New Prince of Wales Press Co., Ltd.
Ahmedabad Prantej Ry. Co. Ltd.
Mandra Bhon Rly. Co. Ltd.
Sialkot Narowal Rly. Co. Ltd.
Central Provinces Rly. Co. Ltd.
Guzerat Railways Co. Ltd.
Tapti Valley Railway Co. Ltd.
Khulna Bagerhat Rly. Co. Ltd.
Hingir Rampur Coal Co. Ltd.
Tata Hydro-Electric Co. Ltd.
Andhra Valley Power Supply Co. Ltd.
Tata Power Co. Ltd.
Surat Electricity Co. Ltd.
Ahmedabad Electric Supply Co. Ltd.
Bombay Suburban Electric Supply Co. Ltd.
Associated Building Co. Ltd.
Tata Hydro-Electric Agencies Ltd.
Indian Vegetable Products Ltd.
Tata Iron & Steel Co. Ltd.
Industrial Corporation Co. Ltd.
Belapur Co. Ltd.
Swastik Oil Mills Ltd.
Hajeebhoy Aden Salt Works Ltd.
Industrial Investment Trust Ltd.
Associated Cement Companies Ltd.
Kanara Mining Co. Ltd.
Madhowji Dharamsi Mfg. Co. Ltd.
Sir Shapurji Broacha Mills Ltd.
Anil Starch Products Ltd. (Ahmedabad).
The Podar Mills Ltd.
Patiala Cement Co. Ltd.
The East India Cotton Association Ltd. (Senior Trustee).
Bombay Port Trust (Senior Trustee).

444 giant industrial concerns, primarily they are the leading investment banking house of the world. Rockefellers, on the other hand, have been leading industrialists and have only lately stepped into the ranks of capitalists by their control over the largest bank in the United States—The Chase National Bank. Today the supreme economic power is Finance, and to it Commerce and Industry must bow.

In India too commercial power has been superseded by industrial power, to be superseded in its turn, by financial power. Twenty years back the leadership of our industrial economy was with enterprising industrialists, like Seth Narottam Morarji. Today, however, a dashing industrialist, like Sjt. Walchand Hirachand, finds himself handicapped by his inadequate financial power. To be significant one must control banks, insurance companies, investment trusts—the financing houses. Finance capitalists dominate our economy now.

Every Trust maintains close connections with banks and other financing houses—usually through the device of common directors. Important Trusts have extensive connections. The leading directors of the Tata concerns are on the Boards of the Reserve Bank, the Imperial Bank, the Central Bank of India, the Bank of India, the Bank of Baroda and the Union Bank. Other Trusts have banking affiliations according to their stature. An analysis of the affiliations of the bank directors throws some interesting light.

On the Board of the Reserve Bank is Sir Purshottamdas, connected with half a dozen Trusts, and the representatives of the Birlas, Kilburn & Co., Andrew Yule & Co., etc. Among the directors of the Imperial Bank of India are the representatives of the Tatas, Killick-Nixon, Bird & Co., Gillanders, Arbuthnot & Co., Jardine Skinner & Co., McLeod & Co., etc. On the Allahabad Bank are the representatives of Mackinnon, Mackenzie & Co. and the Srivastavs of Cawnpore. The directors of the Bank of India include the directors of Brady & Co., Killick-Nixon & Co., J. Finlay & Co., Tata concerns, etc.

A dozen individuals by their control over banks, insurance companies and investment trusts occupy commanding positions in the industrial life of Bombay. Sir Purshottamdas and his cousin Sir Chunilal between them hold directorship in every Trust and in wellnigh every important concern in Bombay. They have facilitated or frustrated as it suited them many an amalgamation and absorption. Premchand brothers, Jeejeebhoy brothers, Cowasji Jehangirs, in their ways, exert similar influence thanks to their financial power.

Insurance companies sweep together the savings of the Little Man and bring them to their controlling Trusts. Birlas have a string of insurance firms. Dalmias have their Bharat, Tatas have an insurance company and an investment trust. Insurance and investment firms that are independent of the Trusts, like the Oriental Insurance Co., Vulcan Insurance Co., Industrial Investment Trust, have also not escaped the control of the group of finance capitalists—that dominate the Trusts. Over the entire domain they hold undisputed sway.

An adequate idea of their financial strength cannot come by just listing the various concerns controlled by them or by totalling the capital of those concerns—it is the block account that needs to be calculated. The Tata Iron & Steel Company—a combine controlling iron, coal, mica, silica mines and a number of industrial concerns—has capital of Rs. 10½ crores but its block account is nearly Rs. 34 crores. The total assets of the concerns controlled by the Tatas exceed Rs. 100,00,00,000. Sir Purshottamdas, Sir Chunilal, Sir Cowashji control and direct capital accounts of tens of crores of rupees. Such is the financial might of our Oligarchs.

The oligarchs of our economy are, however, only dwarfs before the leaders of the world's financial-capital. Our important Trusts are often subsidiaries of subsidiaries, *e.g.*, Andrew Yule & Co. is controlled by Morgan, Grenfell & Co.—the English subsidiary of the House of Morgan! Before the might of Morgans and Mellons our oligarchs look puny, but that is a commentary on our economy and not on their ability or will to conquer.

John D. Rockefeller Sr. and J. N. Tata were born in the same year: 1839. In the intervening century, American economy, thanks to certain favourable circumstances, expanded, in comparison to the development of Indian economy, on a colossal scale. That is patent to all. But the most arresting fact is the close similarity in their developments. American giants and Indian dwarfs have *sketched the same pattern in growth*—industries controlled by a few Trusts, which in their turn are controlled by a group of finance-capitalists.

Because the control is in the hands of a handful of men, it does not mean that there is peaceful co-operation among them. There is collaboration here, conflict there. The competition among the Trusts is a subject for an independent essay. A sharp struggle for further concentration of control ceaselessly goes on and the oligarchy inexorably strives to grow smaller.

IV

The annual profits of the Tata Iron and Steel Company equal the total revenues of the Government of Bihar. And it is just *one* of the Tata concerns! We demand democratic control over the finances of the Government of Bihar, shall we let the industries remain under the unchecked control of their oligarchs?

The oligarchy is a closed preserve. The son succeeds the sire. It is generally so in every country but in India it is even more so. Sons and relations—community people at the farthest—alone reach "the heights of Simla." Fresh blood finds it as difficult to enter the oligrachy as the proverbial camel the eye of a needle.

These oligarchs able, honest, hardworking and public-spirited though they be, primarily act—after the laws and logic of capitalism—in their own interests. Of course they will argue *a la* Adam Smith that in serving their private interests, through some divine alchemy, they also further the public weal. Shall we accept the furtherance of the public weal merely as a bye-product?

Industrial expansion is today no longer in the hands of rugged entrepreneurs—men of foresight, ability and skill—but it is with a group of finance capitalists. The financing of industries and centralising of control are their main functions—these are essentially social functions. They cannot be left to the unchecked control of private citizens. They must be democratically organised and socially controlled

But until the state itself is democratically organised there is no sense in urging such a policy of social control. We have seen that the present Government has sought to remove the state-controlled railways from all democratic control. That is a significant portent.

The Government is alien and irresponsible. Through many decades of its existence it has shown itself to be not only unsympathetic but hostile to the Indian interests. It has been the custodian of the British interests. To hand over the control of our industries to it would be to undo the work of generations of patriots. In the context of this Government, our policy must be of cent per cent Swadeshi and not of State-control.

But India is on the threshold of many changes. Her Government cannot long remain irresponsible. Her best sons are busy forging plans for her economic reconstruction to be realised of course in the context of freedom. We cannot go wrong in walking in their footsteps.

When independence is achieved, and we are nearing it, the issues raised in this article will become relevant, perhaps urgent.

Indian economy has reached a stage where in an unplanned and privately owned way it can scarcely hope to grow. There is a demand from all hands for State aid and direction. If such aid and direction are to be given should they not be in the interest of the bulk of the people—*directly and not just as a bye-product of the entrepreneurs' pursuit of their interests*? To-day state control is very necessary, but unless it is social control—State controlling the Industry and not *vice versa*, such a control will dismally fail to improve the condition of our people.

The State, in our times, has a pronounced tendency to become a Leviathan. Let us therefore seek to make its activities less centralised and more responsibly organised. In the Free Tomorrow our industries, therefore, cannot be left to the unchecked control of private citizens. They will have to be democratically organised and socially controlled.



CO-OPERATIVE CREDIT

By SAMAVAY

Why has the co-operative credit movement failed, as it undoubtedly has, over a large part of India? Opinion is divided. One class blames government, that is, their co-operative department. The other view places the responsibility on the inefficiency of the non-official element in the movement. Far too much control and constant interference of the official element, not always well-informed, gave a wrong lead to the movement, avows one lot of critic. Their antagonists, on the contrary, hold that legislation gave no effective control to the government agency and non-official handling of the movement was uninformed, irresponsible and inefficient.

Neither of the two opinions goes to the fundamental cause of failure of the movement. There is undoubtedly truth in both the assertions. Lead of the co-operative department has been wrong in the past on occasions. Many a registrar has not posessssed the qualifications prescribed for the encumbent of the post by the Royal Commission of Agriculture of Lord Linlithgow. Control and interference were envisaged by legislation. These have not been always successful, timely or expedient, officers have erred on occasions. On the other hand it is undoubtedly true that efficiency has always been below par in all organisations run on an unpaid voluntary system, co-operative societies have been no exception. Ambitious men with little leisure from other pre-occupations have often assumed executive charge merely to add more lustre to their name. Corruption goes with inefficiency and lack of control and co-operative societies being institutions dealing principally with cash, instances of misappropriations and other forms of dishonesty have not been rare. There are instances when the departmental officers have advised what can only be called reckless business. They have encouraged granting large loans to provide capital for the productive side of an industry without making any preliminary survey of the industry as a whole and with no thought of marketing. Instances are by no means scarce when large sums have been advanced for non-productive purposes without a thought of the repaying capacity of the borrowers. For transactions of this type, however, it is principally the non-official executive of the societies who must accept responsibility and not the departmental officers. Where the latter erred was in not devising means to prevent such thoughtless activities. It is therefore true that the control allowed to them under legislation was not complete for all circumstances. On occasions it fell short of being really effective. Most of the members in a village society are illiterate. Cases have happened where an illiterate member's name figured in a loan application as a borrower without his knowledge, merely to enable another member to get a loan of a larger amount that the rules would allow him. Here the fault lies with the non-official executive and its staff, for the chances are that such frauds will remain undetected either by departmental officers or audit. The former are far too few in number and literally hundreds of societies are placed in charge of one officer. Audit naturally comes after a year and examines the accounts. It is not possible to get together all the members and question each one of them in respect of every single transaction in his account. Also, audit has not been everywhere a government charge, but a private organisation mostly non-official in composition. Again, misapplication of a loan by the borrower is very common. It is hardly possible to detect such instances if the society executives are blind either with a purpose or due to inefficiency. A registrar, broadly speaking, figures only at the birth and death of a society. His control is effective only at these two stages though killing a society is generally as difficult to a registrar as committing a murder! It will be more correct to say that he comes in at the death for the finishing stroke when the society has very nearly succeeded in taking its own life. Thus though opinion is divided and apparently also strongly held, truth lies somewhere in the middle path. There has been inefficiency, and corruption in management by the non-official executive; legislation did not allow effective control and both parties have been on occasions guided more by emotion and enthusiasm than by knowledge and business acumen. The point, however, is of little practical interest. The root cause of the failure of the movement is fundamental and not incidental.

The utilisation of the surplus to the need of the community is an accepted principle.

Similarly it is axiomatic that together ten men can achieve where the individual may fail. In a village community there are those who have surplus money and others who have not. The need is of the latter. Both join their forces together. The men of the first category make their surplus productive by handing over the money to be lent to the needy on interest. The borrowers find what they need. Together they form a group, a co-operative society. This forms the basic principle on which co-operative credit is based. Is there any society of this description anywhere? If there is, it must be a very rare specimen.

When men thus get together, there must necessarily be a close bond between the two groups, for one's interest is bound with the other. They must know each other intimately, so that there is mutual trust and confidence. Each member should have credit in the eye of the other. Credit is based on one's asset. Only in this case the asset need not necessarily take the physical form of land and other tangible goods. A member's character, his reputation can be a more valuable asset than his property. But do these requisites truly occur in the co-operative societies of the day? The answer is an effective no, for then so much stress would not be placed on assets in the shape of property in the co-operative credit movement in our land. It is therefore that this movement has never touched that class of men who need money the most, men without physical assets and is confined to a comparatively richer class owning some measure of property.

Where there is mutual trust and confidence liability of individual members will not be a matter of any account. Each was responsible for the other. Naturally, the liability was accordingly unlimited. It also helped in adding to the strength of responsibility of the members. This, however, has not appealed to the majority of those connected with the movement and the cry now is for a limited liability. This is a significant indicator of the true character of the movement of the present day. It is obvious that the unit, that is the society, is not knit together to that degree where responsibility for the group is equally shared by the individuals.

The result is that under the garb of a group, under cover of co-operation, individualism has remained. The feeling does not exist that the money in circulation is of the community, that is, of their own. It is true that perhaps all societies cannot raise within the village enough capital, and this drawback necessitated establishment of an apex bank for financing such societies. But the constitution of the societies was so framed as to give the societies a vital interest in, and close touch with the bank in the shape of various compulsory investments of their funds in it. Nevertheless, it will be a bold assertion that societies in general ever felt that the apex bank was an institution of their own. That the societies along with the bank formed an organic whole was hardly ever realised by individual members. To them the bank was the money-producing machine at low interest where one could get a loan when all other normal sources dried up. That is the general attitude. Yet, it is not essential in co-operative credit that there should necessarily be an apex bank. If a society embraces a whole community in a village and if all are imbued with the true spirit of co-operation, there should be no difficulty in obtaining funds to meet the financial requirements of the few needy members of the society. After all the need of an average member will always be a small sum. A little money to meet the seasonal cost of cultivation and occasionally to buy a bullock or two or a few necessary agricultural equipments is all that he normally requires. But the societies were neither conceived in this spirit, nor any serious attempt was made to inculcate it. The motive behind the movement, so far as it can be judged from its activities seemed to be that the tenantry had to be rescued from the usurious moneylender; the proverbial 'Kabuli' and his village counterpart must go. Therefore somehow ten men were hurriedly jumbled together whether or not they understood co-operation, one of the big men of the village known to the men at the headquarters of the bank was roped in as a sort of convenient local agent, the by-laws were read out to them which went completely over the heads of most of the members inspite of explanations not infrequently ill-informed, and a society was registered. Usually every one needed money and at once, and readily it was found for them. Almost without exception every member has had difficulties with his private creditor in the past. That was the prime factor behind what moved him to join the society which he hardly understood. It was easy to get the money at the beginning, for the society must show its superiority over the mahajan; interest was low, often all past debts were cleared off to start the member with clean slate. The sum total of the effect of these activities was entirely opposed to what true co-operation sought to create. Irresponsibility in the matter of one's own financial obligations and a sort of recklessness in transactions were generated. Easy money is a curse to the poor and it produced the expected effect on the members. More money was borrowed than was

required once the natural restraints were removed. These restraints were the mahajan and the attendant difficulties of obtaining loans. The mahajan is an efficient worker and intimately aware of the financial position of his debtors, while the society always remained a lifeless machine without the human touch. There can be no comparison between the two in efficiency. The mahajan worked his own money, the loss if incurred will be his. He was naturally vitally interested in his work. Not so the society. It was not its money, it came from somewhere else. That being so they did not fully realise that loss would finally fall on them, the joint liability seemed too remote a danger to be an effective safeguard. These men were mostly improvident and so the mahajan had especially high rates of interest for them, but a society trusted all alike and so the interest was invitingly low. The mahajan kept a close watch on his activities, he knew how the debtor was spending his money, the society did not bother to do so. To start with, the wrong type of men formed the society, the comparatively improvident element of the society, no attempt was made to teach them the principles of co-operation. At the same time the healthy checks that operated under the mahajan system against propensities of improvidence disappeared, bringing in its train subterfuges degenerating into downright dishonesty in many cases under inefficient administration. It is by no means denied that the familiar economic factors operating adversely on agriculturists in general were not a contributory cause of the failure of the co-operative credit movement. Uneconomic holdings, absence of subsidiary occupation, low prices of agricultural commodities played as much part in the co-operative circle as outside it. But co-operation has inherent advantages which have the power to counteract adverse economic factors. Unfortunately these were not brought into operation mainly because the lessons of true co-operation had not been learnt. It is therefore that co-operation was principally confined to the credit movement and did not flow into the other equally important channels of economic life of the peasant.

It is pertinent to enquire what is now the remedy.. The reply is simple, people must learn and imbibe the true spirit of co-operation. This is easily said, but how is it to be achieved? The obvious reply seems to be—educate. Accordingly schemes of education were devised and are now in operation in a number of provinces with generous financial assistance of the Government of India. But will the lessons be imbibed by those who are being educated, or will this education be as barren and as divorced from the practical aspects of life as it has been in the sphere of general education? After all co-operation is an attitude of mind based on certain qualities of human character. Not that these qualities are absent in our people, but the movement certainly have not succeeded in drawing these out for practical purposes. Will a few classes and lectures succeed where two decades of opportunity of practice in day-to-day life have failed? I can only hope that my scepticism is unwarranted.

Another class of opinion holds that the movement should eschew credit for the time being and confine itself to only the non-credit aspects of co-operation. This is plausible and has possibilities, as it would be educative in effect, and without true co-operative spirit no movement of the non-credit type can succeed. I do not however include co-operative marketing that we see today in the category of non-credit society because even the most successful marketing society need not necessarily be co-operative in spirit but merely a marketing organisation. In the Punjab non-credit societies have shewn some good results, only the point to remember is that the province has perhaps a more disciplined body of peasantry than elsewhere in India due mainly to a long continued military tradition. But restricting the co-operative movement to only one channel seems to be a counsel of despair and throws a challenge to the true believer. Why should credit disappear from the movement? It is one of the essentials to peasant life and his need of it is just as much as of food. Why should this be in the hands of private individuals which leaves untapped the surplus resources of the community, for to that extent it is a dead loss? The mistake is that credit and non-credit have been viewed as two separate water-tight compartments, whereas the two should freely mingle and make a complete entity. This should now form the objective. An extreme school of thought would have no concern at any time with credit in the co-operative movement, but leave it to well-controlled private enterprise. They point out that even after activities spread over nearly four decades the movement has but barely touched the fringe of the population and therefore it is of little utility. This is true no doubt as the proportion of members of co-operative societies to the population is infinitesimal. But there is no reason to believe that there is no possibility of expansion and if true co-operation comes and permeates the economic life of the peasantry, credit on the same basis must form an integral part.

Even now true co-operation exists in village life, only the co-operative movement has not been able to touch it and draw it into its fold. It is common practice for a group of cultivators to band together, lease a suitable land and cultivate sugarcane. Similarly, a group will help each other in irrigating their fields. It is an established practice to work for each other in loaning one's plough, bullock, and personal labour for the same help from the other. All these represent true co-operation. When the movement succeeds in exploiting the spirit which lies behind these indigenous co-operative efforts, the problem of co-operation will be solved. Confidence in each other, mutual trust and respect, willingness to help the other and a zeal for the common weal are the requisite qualities needed to make co-operation successful. These exist, but waits to be drawn out. The present movement is like a graft which the host refuses to adopt as its own and starves it of life-blood. Co-operation must be a growth and the indigenous tree must be nursed to grow from the roots. Attempts that are being made at reformation by amendments of existing legislation will not produce the desired fruit. It will only result in efficiency of administration and nothing more.

DUTIES OF KSHATRIYAS AND NON-VIOLENCE

By J. M. KAYANDE,

Principal, Bhonsla Military School, Nasik

The Hindu sociology is based upon Chaturvarna from time immemorial. It was specially emphasised in Bhagavad Gita by Lord Shree Krishna, the super-man of the Puranas and Purnavatar of Hindu Mythology, the greatest Kshatriya imaginable, well versed in arts and science relating to human happiness. Lord Shree Krishna was specially the master-mind whom no human being has as yet surpassed in harmonising the science of war and peace. He declared in most eloquent terms the duties of the four Varnas and any seeker after truth could find through the pages of Bhagavad Gita one thing in particular, that the duty of the Kshatriya was to be armed, to be prepared to use arms, not for his own selfish gains and aims but always for the good of the society in twofold manners; firstly, by protecting the good and, secondly, by destroying the evil ones. The action of the Kshtriya could not possibly be selfish as he was not free to use his arms whenever he liked and as he liked. It was always guided by the wise, the brains of the society, the Brahmins, who controlled his sword. The Brahmins were wedded to the creed of the so-called non-violence which is rightly speaking 'harmlessness.' Non-violence is a negative term and therefore, an inadequate rendering of the word 'Ahimsa' used in the Bhagavad Gita. It really means 'harmlessness.' These harmless, wise Brahmins ensured the peace and happiness of the entire society by handing over the whole department of the defence of the country to the Kshtriyas who were its sworn standing army, subservient to the will of the Brahmins, but always respected by them as kings of the country. The Brahmins respected the kings and the kings respected the will of the Brahmins.

Wisdom and intelligence always controlled the sword and the sword always protected the wealth, the culture and the people of the country. The Kshatriyas, therefore, had no selfish ends to gain by the use of their arms. Hence their duty was always to fight for righteousness. It was always for the truth. Truth was the highest deity to be worshipped, either through violence or through non-violence, as the emergency demanded. There was no other duty for a Kshatriya but to be prepared for the righteous war and to die in the battlefield.

The duty of a Kshatriya, therefore, was never in any way inconsistent with non-violence. Since I am not an authority on non-violence I may not be understood rightly; the words of Mahatma Gandhi who is universally recognised as authority on non-violence of the present age, may therefore be read with profit.

On the 7th of August, 1920, I read in the *Bombay Chronicle* an extract from *Young India* which contains the following striking passage:

"The duty of non-co-operation with unjust men and kings is as strictly enjoined by all religions as is the duty of co-operation with just men and kings. Indeed most of the scriptures of the world seem even to go beyond and *prefer violence to effiminate submis-*

sion to a wrong. I would risk violence a thousand times than risk the emasculation of the whole race."

Truly Mahatma Gandhi could not have written these lines unless he thought that *such violence is really non-violence*—no violence but a righteous duty. Later on (I hav'nt got the exact date with me) he again advocated as follows :

"I do believe that where there is a choice between cowardice and violence I would advise violence—also do I advocate training in arms for those who believe in the method of violence. I would rather have India resort to arms in order to defend her honour than that she should become or remain in cowardly manner a helpless witness to her own dishonour."

It is clear that no right thinking man in the world will ever denounce the use of arms in a righteous cause.

The Irish martyr Terrance MacSwiney preaches as follows :

"War has to be faced not gleefully but as a terrible necessity to save the degeneration of the soul more than that of the body."

The whole of Bhagavad Gita preaches nothing but Satyagraha, that is, the necessity of being truthful in all our action whether violent or non-violent. The end is Satya and not Himsa or Ahimsa. Both are merely the means to lead us to the shining regions of Truth.

Rationally interpreted Bhagavad Gita subscribes to this view only. Great thinkers like Lokamanya Tilak, Babu Bhagwandas and Maharshi Sri Aurobindo Ghosh also support it. *Bhagavad Gita has been preached by the greatest of Kshatriyas on the field of battle. It has been preached to another equally great Kshatriya who had begun to doubt his duty.* His duty was made manifest to him that he was to fight, because the cause for which he had to fight was a righteous one; fleeing away from the duty was a sin. For Arjuna, violence was the only way to Dharma. It was, therefore, non-violence for him.

I will, therefore, close this by again quoting a recent utterance of Mahatma Gandhi which comes to me at least like a flash of light dispelling the last doubts in my mind about his rational stand on his priciples of non-violence as I have always understood it. Commenting upon a letter of a Polish sister in the *Harijan* of the 23rd September, 1939, he writes as follows :

"When the war actually broke out she calmed down so far as her mother was concerned (perhaps she could have been charged with a tinge of selfishness even in running down to save or help her mother) but her highly strung nature would not let her rest while her nearest and dearest were in peril of their lives for no offence of theirs. She is herself a believer through and through in non-violence, but her very non-violence made her restless. Her whole soul has rebelled against the wrong.....If Poland has that measure of uttermost bravery and an equal measure of selflessness, history will forget that she defended herself with violence. *Her violence will be counted as almost as non-violence."*

This is clear as day-light. Even in the words of Mahatma Gandhi that whenever violence treads on the righteous path of unselfishness it does the work of non-violence, and presses forward to embrace Truth. Only one qualification is necessary to turn the use of violence into non-violence. It is an unselfish personage like Mahatma Gandhi who will bless all the righteous movement of training in arms, when he is convinced that there is non-violence in the heart of those who resort to arms for the emancipation of their motherland.

All who fight for the righteous cause are Kshatriyas and their actions though outwardly violent will always be regarded as non-violent.



PLEA FOR POPULARISING SANSKRIT STUDY IN INDIA

By S. P. CHATURVEDI, M.A., VYAKARANACHARYA, KAVYATIRTHA

THE readers of newspapers may have read with interest that in the special Oxford University Convocation recently held at Santiniketan to confer the honorary D. Litt. Degree on our renowned poet Dr. Tagore, the formal benediction sent by the Oxford University was written in Latin and the reply by Dr. Tagore was given in Sanskrit Dr Tagore's speech was in Sanskrit more with a desire to reply in a language corresponding to Latin than in accordance with the actual practice in modern Indian Universities. In no Indian University except the Benares Hindu University, the formal presentation in a Convocation takes place in a non-English language. But in the famous Universities of the United Kingdom, Latin is employed on such ceremonial occasions of academic significance. This fact shows clearly the great importance attached to the Classics there. In India, unfortunately Sanskrit is fast losing its importance. Even in the academic world, our great educationists are indifferent to the growth and preservation of Sanskrit studies The rapidly dwindling number of Sanskrit students in High School Certificate and University Examinations clearly demonstrates its growing unpopularity in the student world. We give below the figures about the C. P. and Berar examinations to illustrate the point; but the same is more or less true of the other parts of India.

	Examination	Year	Total No. of candidates	No of Students offering Sanskrit	Percentage of Sanskrit Students
1.	Matriculation	1930	1786	847	47 p.c.
2.	„	1939	4692	1238	26 „
3.	Intermediate	1925	381	126	33 „
4.	„	1940	1171	171	14 „
5	B A	1925	154	59	38 „
6.	„	1940	607	81	13 „

As said before, our educationists dazzled with the modern outlook of Education, do not realize the immense loss to posterity which will result from the neglect of Sanskrit studies in India. In their enthusiasm for so-called 'westernization' they scoff at Sanskrit studies as a *dead* and *useless* subject. But they should know that their kinsmen in England are not indifferent to the importance and utility of the Classics. They not only give a prominent place to the Classics in their scheme of education, but also try to make them more popular. We propose to give below extracts from the "Report of the Committee appointed by the British Government to enquire into the position of Classics in the educational system of the United kingdom." A cursory glance over the report will not fail to convince that the Classics occupy a position of *exceptional privilege in the national education* of a country. Here it should be clearly understood that Latin and Greek are not so intimately related to English as Sanskrit is to the modern Indian languages. A great majority of the modern Indian words are still used in pure Sanskrit form, and the rest (leaving the loan-words aside), are descended from Sanskrit. As regards cultural influence also, it is now readily agreed that

"For a full comprehension of modern India, a knowledge of Sanskrit literature is indispensable as furnishing a key to the civilization of the Hindus. The Hindu culture as reflected in the Sanskrit literature displays not only an originality, but also a continuity which has scarcely a parallel elsewhere It is only through Sanskrit that we can trace our languages and institutions through an uninterrupted development for more than three thousand years"

It goes without saying therefore that the views propounded in the extracts below, are *doubly* true of the Indian Classics and every effort should be made to secure their proper place in the educational scheme of India. For it would be nothing less than "a *national disaster* if the Classical studies were to disappear from our education," or to be confined to a small group of Pandits. We hope that the attention of the educational authorities will be drawn to what their colleagues in Great Britain think about the importance of Latin and Greek in the English system of education and they will readjust the present system of education in India and do the needful with a view to secure for the Indian Classics their honoured place.

The Committee, the relevant extracts from whose report are given below, was appointed in 1919 by the Prime Minister of Great Britain

"to enquire into the position to be assigned to the Classics (Greek and Latin) in the educational system of the United Kingdom and to advise as to the means by which the proper study of these language may be maintained and improved."

It was presided over by the most Hon'ble the Marquess of Crewe, K.G., and consisted of 19

famous educationists of the country. The Committee sat on 85 days and personally interviewed 140 witnesses. These included officials and non-officials of the Board of Education and the Civil Service Commission, representatives of the Universities and of the University Colleges in the United Kingdom (including Women's Colleges), Head and Assistant teachers in Public and Secondary Schools, representatives of Associations interested in education, persons connected with various political parties, and firms, and journalists. It also considered memoranda supplied by persons qualified to advise on various points. In addition, the Committee tried to acquaint itself with a considerable number of published documents bearing on the subject. In order to ascertain the existing state of classical studies in the Universities and Schools, a comprehensive questionnaire was issued. It was thus after a very laborious search for data and consideration of all relevant matters that the Committee prepared its unanimous report in 1921. The report (published in 1923 by His Majesty's Stationery Offices, London and containing more than 300 pages of close print) is a valuable document on the subject and deserves a close study by the educationists of the world.

In the introductory part of the report the Committee says :

"The question of the position of Classics in a national system of education touches at almost every point the whole field of education from a historical and theoretical and a practical point of view. The Classics are not like Science or modern languages something that has recently been added to the educational curriculum. They were for centuries the main, if not the sole, instrument of education other than elementary, not only in this country but in all Western Europe. A very large part of our present education cannot be understood without some knowledge of its predecessor. Our ideas of Law and Citizenship, Freedom and Empire, poetry and prose literature, our political, metaphysical, aesthetic and moral philosophy, indeed our organized national pursuit of truth in all its non-experimental branches, as well as a large and vital part of the religion which has won to itself so much of the civilized world are rooted in the art or thought of that ancient civilization. Much of that art or thought has disappeared beyond recovery, but much also remains enshrined in writing and monuments still extant and accessible, regarded throughout all the centuries as 'Classic' or belonging to the highest class of human achievement" (p. 6).

Referring to the advantages which an Honours Graduate in Classics has, the Committee says :

(*a*) He has obtained access to literature, both in prose and in poetry which in the judgment of many is absolutely the noblest in the world; but, if that claim is not admitted, is at least unique, inimitable and irreplaceable. We have here a spiritual value, which cannot be exactly reckoned, but which certainly, to some of those who have experience of it, ranks among the most treasured possessions of their lives. (*b*) He has had the advantage of studying a civilization in which many of the fundamental problems were the same as our own. (*c*) He has attained this access to beauty and this power of understanding by means of a peculiar course of training which requires the exercise of many different powers of the mind and forms a remarkable combination of memory training, imagination, aesthetic appreciation and scientific method........The method of the study of the Classics is much slower than most of the usual methods of learning a modern language, and, in the purely linguistic sense, less effective. Classical scholars after many years of study can seldom talk or even write the classical languages fluently........But they have gained a far better understanding of the formation of words and sentences and of the logical or psychological principle underlying language in relation to thought; have formed that invaluable habit of thinking out the real meaning of words and phrases before attempting to translate them; have been forced to use the historical imagination which leads to appreciate beauty or nobility in literature even when it appears in a strange dress. As contrasted with the modern languages, the classical languages are severe trainers of the observation, for they are highly inflexional and express differences of meaning by minute variations in the forms of words. They attain extraordinary flexibility and delicacy of expression" (pp. 7 and 8).

Referring to other advantages of classical studies the report says :

"We lay great emphasis on the importance of the study of the Classics as a preparation for other studies, or rather as a dynamic element in a general national education which must, for obvious reasons, be mainly concerned with modern subjects........None will derive greater benefit from an early training in the Classics than those who in after life will be largely occupied in the writing of their mother-tongue. The importance of such a training to a modern journalist is discussed below (p. 257). Its importance to writers of some *permanent* literature has been proved by history" (p. 11).

Referring to the attack on a classical education made in some quarters by persons of high distinction, the report says :

"Much has been made in the past of the antagonism between science and literature and particularly between modern science and ancient literature........But the struggle is now over, and both sides have discovered that they cannot achieve their end without co-operation. It has been realized that the object of education, on its social side, is to fit a man to play his part in the environment in which he is placed and that in this environment the forces of nature are not the sole determinant. It is not only on the knowledge of the physical phenomena of the Universe that the happiness and welfare of most men depend; they depend rather on the knowledge of the minds and character of themselves and of their fellowmen........The first object of education is the training of human beings in mind and character as citizens of a free country."

The joint conference of a Council of Humanistic studies and the Board of Scientific Societies held in 1917 has "reached an agreement on the importance of providing opportunity for adequate instructions in Latin and Greek...."

"It is not less remarkable that this point of view is strongly held by accredited representatives of the Labour party, which felt seriously concerned with the fact that in industrial schools education is too much limited to utilitarian subjects and that there is a lack of opportunity for children of the working classes to get a classical education" (p. 21).

Replying to the oft-raised objection that the excellence of classical literature is granted, but its knowledge can be obtained through translations, the report says that

"(i) This argument leaves out of the account the value of the language itself as an expression of the civilization and national character;

"(ii) In no great literature is the substance separable without loss from the form in which it is expressed. They are correlative parts of the same organic whole. To hold any other view is to deny that there is such a thing as literature........Every language has its metaphors, but they are not all readily to be caught in a translation........This untranslateable quality belongs most markedly to poetry and the higher type of prose, the kind of literature which aims at beauty and depends for its effect upon form........" (pp. 22-25).

On page 269, the report after giving a detailed survey of the present position of the Classics in the educational system, says that

"The evidence points to the conclusion that the position of Latin needs strengthening and that steps should be taken to make the study of Greek accessible to every class of the community and to preserve it as an integral element in national education. The measures taken should be directed towards the attainment of three ends:

"(i) To secure for the classics at a sufficiently early stage a substantial position in the general education of pupils in public and secondary schools,

"(ii) To provide full opportunity for all pupils with the requisite tastes and aptitudes to carry the study of both languages to the highest point which they are qualified to attain,

"(iii) To bring those (including adults) who are and must for good reason or of necessity remain ignorant of the classical languages into some contact with the classical spirit" (p. 269).

The recommendations of the Committee are classified under 22 convenient heads to cover the entire range of the classical studies (from both the theoretical and practical considerations) in its various aspects, *viz.*, first examinations, public examinations, advanced courses, professional examinations, University degrees, special state scholarships in schools, colleges and Universities (pp. 270-282). The general principles on which the Committee bases its conclusions, "divide boys or girls, whatever their home surroundings, into three classes:

(i) A certain number are capable of the high intellectual training, literacy, aesthetic, linguistic, historical and philosophical, which are described above as characteristic of the best type of classical scholar. We hold that it should be made accessible to them.

(ii) A larger class containing many young people of practicability, and some of strong intellectual powers and tastes in subjects other than classics, will nevertheless generally profit by the antiquity, and indeed will be left intellectually maimed or one-sided without it.

(iii) There will be a very large number of boys and girls, who, if they begin classics at all, must drop them altogether about the age of 16, either because they then leave school to earn their living or because they turn entirely to non-classical studies........It is of the first importance that the course in classics (devised for them) should be complete and rounded-off and directed towards the attainment of a definite end" (pp. 9-10).

The following statements occur in the concluding part of the report:

"We have found that there is no sphere of national activity, of national life and thought, which does not in some way touch the object that we have in view. Ancient thought is in-woven in the fabric of our modern life........that it would be a national disaster if classical studies were to disappear from our education or to be confined to a small class of the community is conceded by men of every school........That which contributes to the development of the finest minds should not be denied to any of our people" (p. 268).



DADAISM

Was it a Leg-pull ?

By S. N. RAY, M.A. Ph.D.

MARSHAL PETAIN has set up a court with a view to fixing the responsibility for the defeat of the French people. There is no doubt that the ex-ministers were, in a great measure, guilty of gross negligence and miscalculation. They had belittled the resourcefulness and striking ability of the aggressor and had done nothing to build up an army well-equipped for the purpose, nor had they been able to rouse the consciousness of their countrymen to the great danger lurking ahead. But it would be injustice to suppose that they alone were responsible for the humiliation with which their country has been overwhelmed. The Marshal ought to look deeper for the causes of his country's fall and if he does so, he would see that the country was the victim of a widespread demoralization which is amply reflected in its literature. It is truism to say that the literature and art of a country are but the portraiture of its innermost life. It is well known that the English and French poetry of our day is hopelessly decadent. The true writers of post-war England and France are muddle-headed jugglers of words, composers of meaningless free verses and makers of fantastic forms and stupid jokes which none but their own coteries appreciate and admire. In no preceding age literature had been so silly and senseless. The vicissitudes of the last great war gave rise to a spirit of cynicism, recklessness and irresponsibility all over Europe and America, a little wave of which splashed even our distant shores. If the honour of France stands humbled today, it is considerably due to this transformation of the spirit which has undermined the morale of the whole nation.

Dadaism, whose story I am going to narrate here, was born of the engulfing tide of spiritual unrest which swept over the continent of Europe, particularly France, mad with the success of the war and consequent prosperity. The word *Dada* means *hobby-horse*. It leapt into use under curious circumstances. It was at 6 o'clock, on the 8th February, 1916, at the Terrace Café in Zurich that a group of persons of European nationalities were sitting over their coffe when Tristan Tzara, a Rumanian intellectual, opened a dictionary and the first word that met the eye was Dada and the movement was born. The group had been infected with a common spirit long before the word was discovered. It but gave them a name.

Negativism, revolt, destruction of all values, Dada was a violent protest against art, literatrue, morals and society. As David Gascoyne, a critic of the movement, has said, " It spat in the eye of the world." Life is a riddle to everyone living. To the Dadaist it was a harder one. To his baffled soul, suicide seemed the only solution of the problem. In fact, Dada was a form of suicide, a manifestation of lunatic despair. It is no wonder that suffering from this state of mind, Jacques Vaché, an anarchist and one who greatly influenced the Dada movement, committed suicide in 1918. In Dada and Surrealist magazines the subject of suicide evoked a keen interest. Extreme individualists of all nationalities, all of whom were in revolt against the epoch shared this morbidity. Nothing can better illustrate the mental attitude of these people than the statement of Ribemont-Dessaignes, a prmoinent Dadaist, who asked the unavailing question, " What is beautiful ? What is ugly ? What is great, strong, weak ? .....What am I ? Don't know. Don't know, don't know, don't know." All values had been upset, all traditions confused, the axioms and postulates by which the world had hitherto been understood, had suddenly lost their significance.

Zurich during the war was full of refugees from Central Europe. There were German pacifists, Hungarians, Rumanians, Russian revolutionaries. Lenin himself was there. Though the general atmosphere was political, there were writers, artists, cubists, futurists, and expressionists among the emigrés. The leading spirit of the literary group was Tristan Tzara, the Rumanian, who was joined by Hans Arp, the Alsatian poet and artist. To give Dadaism a local habitation, Hugo Ball, a young German poet, opened a café, the *Cabaret Voltaire*, where pictures were exhibited, poems read and concerts given by a balalaika orchestra. Non-conformism, as may be expected, was the keynote of the proceedings. At this time the term, " Negro music," had risen to popularity. Like the term " Gothic," immensely used in English literature

in the latter part of the 18th century, it simply meant strange, anti-traditional. It showed hardly any influence of Africa. The Dadaists to mark their revolt against European civilization found the expression as a sort of refuge and presented poems and music in their soirées and exhibitions which they designated Negro. The following may be regarded as a type of poetry which the Dadaists enjoyed :

> "in your inside there are smoking lamps
> the swamp of blue honey
> cat crouched in the gold of a flemish inn
> boom boom
> lots of sand yellow bicyclist
> Chateauneuf des papes
> Manhattan there are tubs of excrement before
> you
> mbaze mbaze bazebaze mleganga garoo.

Such were the poems. They reveal the unbalanced state of mind and the unsettled taste which are associated with the post-war poetry. High seriousness which makes for the greatness of poetry is absolutely wanting in them. Much of the stuff, product of the same forces, can be met with in the *Modern Book of English Verse* published by Faber and Faber.

So extravagant was the spirit of levity with which the authors of the movement were imbued that a New York member, Marcel Duchamp, in order to show his disgust for contemporary art sent to the New York *Salon des Independants* a simple marble lavatory-bowl which he entitled *Fountain*. It was of course rejected.

In a Dadaist soirée at Zurich five people dressed in stove-pipes performed a dance. An exhibition was held at Cologne in 1920 where *Collages* * entitled *Fatagaga* (short for Fabrication of guaranteed gasometric pictures) were presented. The visitors had to pass through a public lavatory in order to enter the gallery. Inside, the spectators were provided with hatchets with which they could attack the exhibits. At the end of the gallery a young girl, dressed in white for his first communion, stood reciting obscene poems. The spirit of destruction and sacrilege was rampant all around and the exhibition had to be closed down by the police.

In 1920, Paris became the meeting place of the Dadaists of the world and Tristan Tzara, the high priest of the movement, found an enthusiastic reception there. Shortly after his arrival, a Dada matinee was organised in one of the well-known concert halls of the city. People feeling sure that there was something outrageously "modern" and "clever" flocked in large numbers. After the recital of some poems which nobody understood, paintings were exhibited. One of them was the printed reproduction of Mona Lisa with a pair of moustaches painted on her face and bearing an inscription underneath LHOOQ (undoubtedly phonetical spelling of cockney "Look"). This item over, Tzara rose to read the Dada manifesto, but began to read a newspaper article instead to the accompaniment of ringing electric bells. The performance came to an end amidst tumult and uproar.

In spite of such scandals, public curiosity had been aroused about the meaning and significance of Dadaism. What was it, the public asked. Was it a new system of ideas, a new form of expression? Was Dada serious or was it simply a large-scale leg-pull? Was it a systematic revolt or a delirium? These were the questions which agitated the public mind. It seems clear from its symptoms that Dada was the delirium of high fever caused by the deep spiritual unrest of the time. To Dada the past was dead and the future was powerless to be born. This feeling of belonging nowhere gave rise to a sense of despair and utter irresponsibility and expressed itself in manifold forms of lunacy.

A movement that seeks its inspiration from such spiritual nihilism cannot live long. The extravagance of Dada set everyone against it and brought about a rupture even in its own ranks. The peak of its absurdity was reached on 26th May, 1920, when a Dada Festival was held at the Salle Gaveau, one of Paris's most respectable concert-halls, well-known for classical music. Never was an audience presented with such a mixture of vulgarity, destructicism and childishness. The programme, among others, included the personal appearance of Charlie Chaplin (perhaps to ridicule the low taste of the public), a discussion on the sex of Dada, a feat of boxing without tears. It also announced that "the dadaists will pull their hair out in public." The first and the last features of the performance, however, did not take place. The programme was utilised for the purpose of hurling insults and abuse at the audience, who were not slow to respond. During one of the intervals, a party of young people went out to the butcher's shop in the neighbourhood and came hack with a stock of sliced raw meat and tomatoes which flew through the air at the head of the performers. They plashed the gilded hall and the audience. The Dadaists on the platform were not to be dismayed, rather they were delighted

* Pictures cut from magazines, newspapers, etc., and stuck together in fantastic combinations. It was first introduced by Max Ernst, the Dadaist painter.

to see this manifestation of their own spirit among the public. They took up the missiles and flung them with equal vehemence at the culprits. Pandemonium ensued for a while. The public returned home with the feeling that Dada was sacrilegious, subversive and altogether outrageous. The movement after this evoked decreasing interest and died a natural death. Tzara tried his best to keep it going for some time, but a feud between him and André Breton, the Surrealist at one time its ardent champion, precipitated its end. The liquidation of the movement, however, strengthened the cause of Surrealism.

DIET OF THE ADOLESCENTS

By Dr. B. GANGULY, M.B.

Member, Sanitary Board, Bengal

According to McCarrison "The ideal of nutrition is to help the frowth of the different parts of the body and to keep them in a fit condition." In order to keep the growth and maintenance in proper order, the quality and quantity of the food should be such as to allow the different parts of the body to grow normally, after meeting with all the requirement for the proper upkeep of the body and the repair of the tissues constantly lost due to wear and tear.

In the adolescent period all parts of the body are growing. Some of the glands begin to function at this period of life and all the glands have to be more active at this age, hence the problem of nutrition at this period needs special attention.

The main objects for which we take food are two fold. First, to supply energy for the normal functions of the body and to maintain the body temperature That this ordinary normal function means quite a lot of work, will be evident when we note that the heart and lungs have to work incessantly all along, whether we work or are at rest and do not move about, talk, think or read. The glands have to work to keep the body temperature at a constant level. This energy and heat supply are done by rice, *atta*, barley, pulses and various products which supply the 'carbohydrates' and by ghee, oil, lard, etc., the so-called 'fat' constituents of the body. My object is not concerned with these daily and constant functions of the body.

The second necessity for which food is taken is the building up and growth of the body, to maintain it and keep it in proper working order. This is done by the protein and mineral constituents of the food we take and the "Vitamins" we get with them. These remove the factors that cause hindrance to the growth, keep the organs in proper tone and prevent them from getting diseased. These foods are milk and milk products, fresh fruits and vegetables, *atta* from which the bran has not been shieved off, fish, meat, dal, egg, etc.

Protein is the chief constituent in every cell of which the body is made up and muscles and glands of our body are all formed of this. All proteins contain the five elements, namely, Nitrogen, Carbon, Oxygen, Hydrogen and Sulphur.

The wear and tear of the body in normal health does require some protein for their repair, some protein is also required for the production of the hormones, such as insulin, thyroxin, etc., but the quantity necessary for these is very small. The proteins are required in large quantities for the formation of the body and for its growth from birth to the eighteenth year; it is also necessary for the pregnant and lactating woman, when besides feeding her own body and the child's, the mother has to help the growth of the latter by supplying proteins and all the necessary constituents.

The maintenance requirements for the child at all ages except for a short period after birth greatly exceed the growth requirements. The following table shows these clearly :

Age	Weight Kilogrammes	Protein required for maintenance	growth	Total
At Birth ..	3	2·5	2·3	4·8
4 Years ..	15	5·3	1·28	6·58
8 Years ..	24	7·8	1·54	9·34
14 Years ..	42	13·1	3·33	16·43
18 Years ..	60	17·8	1·28	19·07

The quantity of protein necessary for growth is apparent from above. The quantity of protein for the body maintenance of the adult can be easily expressed. The relative requirements of protein for growth and maintenance,

in the child and the adolescent are constantly changing, hence the problem of protein, which is of very poor value in the early stage of life, may become more important at a later stage of life when growth requirements are becoming lesser than the maintenance requirements. The choice of quality therefore becomes rather a complicated question.

Three methods of experiment are used to determine the ability of proteins to satisfy growth requirements.

I. Minimum protein contents of the diet which permits normal growth of the rat.

Foods of animal origin		%	Foods of vegetable origin		%
Milk	..	6	Whole wheat	..	10
Muscle	..	9	Total rice, maize		16 to 17
Liver	..	9	Barley Protien		16 to 17
Kidney	..	9	Pea-flour	..	18

II. Rats of equal weight are fed for 30 days on the same diet, containing 10% of proteins. The proteins for each batch of rats are taken from different sources.

The following table shows the weight increments of rats of different groups.

Products of animal origin			Products of vegetable origin	
Milk	..	2·89	Flour (Maida)	0·88
Muscle	..	3·15	Atta (from whole grains)	1·4
Liver	..	2·82	Rice (whole grain)	1 to 1·6
Heart	..	3·11	Barley (whole grain)	1·2 to 1·9
Pig liver	..	3·54		
Pig kidney	..	3·00		

Thus the growth of rats given animal proteins is much more than those given vegetable proteins.

III. The finding out of co-efficient of nitrogen retention :

This is found out by calculations from the Nitrogen intake of the animal and the amount of Nitrogen excreted from their stool and urine. This requires complicated knowledge of Biochemistry and we need not consider these. These experiments are carried out on pigs. They grow very rapidly and as such require much greater amount of protein for their growth than it is necessary for their maintenance, and therefore the results are *prominently apparent*.

All these three experiments go to show that proteins of animal origin, *e.g.*, milk, fish, egg, meat are much superior for the purposes of growth to the proteins of vegetable origin obtained from, cereal, pulses, beans, etc. Milk takes the first place in these examinations. If we take the co-efficient of *Nitrogen retention factor* of milk as 100, those of other products are as follows :

Meat 77, Soya Beans 70, Barley 66, Pea flour 55, Wheat 51, Lentil flour 38, Bean flour 35.

Protein becomes assimilated in our body after passing into different stages by being converted finally into amino-acids. All proteins are converted into many kinds of amino-acids. Different amino-acids are found in different proteins and some of them yield a special kind of amino-acids. Man can not assimilate all the varieties of amino-acids and some of these are very harmful to us. Dr. L. B. Mendal and others have carried out various experiments on the proteins. They have divided the proteins into three classes.

I. *Complete Proteins* : Any one of these, if present in sufficient quantity, is capable of proper maintenance and growth of the body. These are Casein and Lactalbumin of Milk, Glycinin of Soya bean and Gluteline of Maize.

II. *Partially incomplete* : Life can be maintained on these but they are useless for the purpose of growth. Gliadin of Wheat, Hordein of Barley and Prolamin of Rye are examples of this variety.

III. *Incomplete* : These amino-acids are not capable of supporting growth or maintenance of human body and as such are useless to us. Zein of Maize and Gelatin are such things.

Let us consider what quantity of protein is necessary for us. As already said, we require protein for the repair of tissues and for the production of some hormones (*e.g.*, thyroxin, insulin, etc.) which require certain amino-acids for their formation. In health the body requires very little nitrogen for its maintenance. The energy requirements of the body for the functioning of the various organs and the muscular energy are found in the carbohydrates and fats. It has been found from various experiments that about 3 grammes of Nitrogen are lost daily due to wear and tear of a normal man weighing about 70 kilogrammes (154 lbs.). One gramme of Nitrogen is found in 6·25 gramme of Protein, therefore according to calculations we require 18·75 grammes of Protein daily for our maintenance. We have already found out that all proteins are not assimilated in the body (defined as Digestive Utilization) and even the assimilated quantity can not be used (defined as Biological Value) by the body for its benefit. These have been found out by experiments. The following table shows the Digestive Utilization of Protein.

Products of animal origin		Products of vegetable origin	
Meat	90 to 98 %	Wheat Bread	75 to 74 %
Fish	93 to 98 ,,	Peas	75 ,,
Milk	90 to 99 ,,	Lentil	59 ,,
		Soya Bean and Potatoe	85 ,,
		New Potatoes	25 ,,

The Biological value of a few food stuffs is given below :

Animal Products		Vegetable Products	
Muscle	98	Pulses	40 to 60
Milk	90	Maize	60
Fish	90	Roots	66 to 72
Pork	76	Wheat	70
Shell Fish	72	Rice	80

In both the above tables the superiority of protein from animal origin to those of the vegetable origin is apparent.

It has already been shown in the first table the Protein requirements both for the maintenance and growth in different ages. Instead of using only one variety of Protein, much better results have been known to follow from the utilisation of protein obtained from various sources. The protein from one source supplements those get from ohter source, as we get from these different sources all the varieties of animo-acids necessary for proper growth and nutrition. The different cereals, such as wheat, rice, maize, supplement one another and all cereals are supplemented by pulses and roots. The products of animal origin supplement the cereals better than products of vegetable origin. Milk is very near to meat and fish in its protein value, but because of its richness in vitamins and such minerals as calcium and phosphorus it is the best of diets for the child and pregnant and lactating women.

Various experiments have been made in almost all civilized countries by eminent scientists to find out the exact quantity of protein essentially necessary for the normal individual. In Europe and America 100 grammes of protein as daily allowance have been accepted by the nutritionists. This figure has been accepted by the Commission of the League of Nations, with the proviso that it should include at least 37 grammes of protein of animal origin.

The greatest amount of research on nutrition has been done in U. S. S. R. The Nutritionists of Soviet Russia think that at least 120 grammes of protein should be used daily to make the people of the country vigorous and sturdy. According to McCarrison, the people of the North Western Frontier Province, the Punjab and Kashmir are healthier, more energetic and vigorous than the average Englishman. They take about 80 grammes of protein daily.

The present Director of the Coonoor Research Laboratory, Col. Aykroyd has suggested the following allowance of daily protein for persons of different ages :

Sex and Age		Co-efficient	Grammes Per Day
Man	18 to 60	1·00	65
Woman	18 to 60	1·85	55
Boy	10 to 17	1·20	80
Girl	10 to 17	1·10	70
Child	6 to 9	0·90	60
Child	2 to 6	0·60 to 0·80	40 to 60
WOMAN :—			
Pregnant		1·00	65
Lactating		1·30	85

It should be remembered that proteins of animal origin are better assimilated and utilized by us, than those from vegetable origin, and are therefore much superior from the point of view of nutrition.

Society everywhere takes milk and in some places egg as vegetable product, but both of these products come from the animal world. The proteins of vegetable origin may be quite sufficient for persons above 55 or 60 years of age, when the metabolism of the body is slowing down. It is certainly not the best type of diet for an adult, as he has to lead a more vigorous life. For the growing child, the adolescent, for women during the period of maternity, this protein of animal origin is essential to the normal growth.

Not only are the vegetable proteins inferior, but in many parts of the world it is impossible to get a supply of adequate amount of Calcium from the entirely vegetable diet.

It is well-known that mentally and physically vigorous races of the world are not those who live on vegetables. People of North India, who use plenty of milk and some meat are much more healthier, stronger and more vigorous than the inhabitants of Southern India. In East Africa the Masai, whose diet mainly consists of fermented milk and meat are individually stronger than their neighbourers who are vegetarians. In the animal kingdom, we find the meat-eaters, lions and tigers, are more vigorous and energetic than the vegetarian buffaloes and elephants, although the latter are more bulky and stronger and capable of doing sustained work.

The League of Nations declares in their report with emphasis, "During growth, pregnancy and lactation some animal protein is essential and in the growing period it should form a large proportion of the total proteins.". The League advises the use of 1·5 to 1·75 pints

(about 3 poas) of milk daily for every child. We get in the milk the best *variety of proteins* which are easily assimilated and are easily utilized by the body and are therefore the best diet for growth metabolism.

For the proper growth, minerals like Calcium, Phosphorus, Iron, etc., are as important as the proteins, although the amount necessary is much less than that of the proteins.

Calcium is the chief mineral which we need most. 99% of the Calcium found in the body goes to the formation of bones and teeth which begin to be formed, when the child is in the womb of the mother and this continues upto the age of 18 or 19 years or more. Phosphorus like Calcium also goes into the formation of bone and teeth. Over 70% of the Phosphorus of the human body is found in these two things.

Nature has supplied Calcium and Phosphorus liberally in the milk of all the species of animals; it is interesting to note that rate of growth of the sucklings of different animals varies with the quantities of Calcium and Phosphorus in their milk. The Calcium, Protein, Phosphorus contents of their milk and days required to double birth weight are given below :

Species	Days required to double birth weight	Percentage composition milk. Protein	Ash.	Calc.	Phosp.
Human ..	180	1·6	0·2	0·02	0·02
Horse ..	60	2	0·4	0·09	0·06
Cow ..	47	3·5	0·7	0·12	0·09
Goat ..	22	3·7	0·78	0·14	0·18
Sheep ..	15	4·9	0·84	0·18	0·11
Dog ..	9	7·4	1·33	0·82	1·22
Rabbit ..	6	14·4	2·5	0·65	0·43

From the above it should be learnt that the cow's and the goat's milk contains an abundant supply of Calcium and Phosphorus and as such are very good for the growth of the child.

The quantity of Calcium which should be available for the proper growth and maintenance in different ages and in different conditions has been summed up by Leitch as under :

	Age	Calcium grammes daily
Children and Adolescents ..	½ to 9	0·9
" ..	9 to 10	1·0
" ..	10 to 15	1·37
" ..	15 to 17	1·90
" ..	17 to 18	1·20
" ..	18 to 19	1·00
" ..	19 to 20	0·9
Adults ..	..	0·55 (0·75)
WOMEN :		
Pregnant and Lactating ..	..	2·00

The quantity of Calcium that we take with our food is not often assimilated in the blood, but goes out with the excreta. Presence of large amount of fat in the diet of the child lessens its capacity for digestion and its body can not utilise fully the Calcium taken. The Oxalic Acids in the vegetables and fruits converts the calcium into Calcium Oxalate and it is excreted, so, very little of this Calcium is available for the body.

Sherman has shown that we need daily 1·32 grammes of Phosphorus for proper metabolism although accurately speaking 0·88 should be sufficient. Unless the quantity of Calcium is double the quantity of Phosphorus taken, none of these are assimilated and no useful purpose is served.

The quantity of Iron necessary for our growth is very small and we get plenty of this from the leafy vegetables, Salads, Cereals, Dals and meat we usually take.

The staple or principal food of Bengalees consists of rice, curry with plenty of gravy (Jhole) and the Dal. These also we cook in such a way that most of the food becomes indigestible and useless. No wonder we are not getting proper nutrition and are getting weaker and loosing ground in the struggle for existence. We must remedy this; the chief and perhaps the only way is to improve the quality of our National Diet, and thereby improve the health of our nation.

If we Bengalees, want to use ghee, butter, cream, and milk, the favourite foods of our gods, we must learn to take care of the cow. We must see that the cattle of Bengal are gradually improved. Government should also take adequate and severe steps to eradicate the nuisance of adulteration. The law has to be so amended that in place of small fines those demons who get rich by adulterating human food and to whom the health of the individual and the nation is of little consequence, should get heavy sentences including whipping. The rich merchants and not their officers should get these punishments. Deterrent sentences only will stop these vultures in human shape.

The amount of Protein necessary in the adolescent period is 20% more for males (*i.e.*, 80 grammes daily in place of 65 grammes necessary for adult males) and 25% more for females (*i.e.*, 70 grammes in place of 55 grammes for adult females). Similar increase in the quantity of Calcium and Phosphorus is also indicated. Therefore, for the proper growth and functioning of the organs, in this adolescent period we must have from 20% to 25% more food than those taken by adults. This increase should be in the quantity of Protein from animal origin, if we desire the best results.

Great changes have to be made in the cooking of our food. We have to get used to salads of fresh and green vegetables. Now-a-days we use most of the fish after frying them in oil. A good quantity of the nutritive Protein of fish and meat are lost in frying and some even become indigestible. We have to learn to use these by boiling, grilling, steaming or baking. Rice, we have to eat without throwing away the water strained from it, which contains most of the minerals, vitamins and proteins of the rice. The cooking of rice has to be improevd, and made more scientific and useful. At present we only use the Carbohydrate of rice and about 25% of the nutrition available from rice is simply thrown away with the water in which rice is boiled. The attention of our women and cooks should be drawn to this, so that we may get the full value of the food we buy.

Attention should be drawn to another factor. Knowledge about the constituents of food is not the only thing. The food should also be well cooked, palatable, nice to look at: these factors excite appetite and make the food more digestible and capable of assimilation.

THE FALL OF FRANCE

By K. L. KUDVA, B.A., B.L.

Is THE fall of France due to the prevalence of the spirit of pleasure over the spirit of sacrifice?

Authorities differ. General De Gaulle is of opinion:

> "This was a mechanised war; our armies were blasted by the German mechanised forces. The people who were entirely responsible for our disasters are those who whether as war ministers or high military commanders neglected to remodel the French Army. Those who in our country are guilty of having lost the battle are it seems to me the leaders who were in command or who abuse their authority to lead us to throw down our arms whilst we still possessed them."

Mr. H. Wickham Steed in a recent B. B. C. talk atributes the failure to the fear of the French comfortable classes that Russian Bolshevism or Communism may deprive them of their money. Henry Siegfried says that the fall of France was due to the fact that Frenchmen had no passionate understanding that no material welfare, no property or possessions, no ease or freedom were comparable to freedom.

The pursuit of pleasure as such is not peculiarily a French weakness since 1918. Gay Paris was "gay" for these several centuries. Berlin and London are no less so. It did not prevent French success in 1918.

France has produced too many great men to say that she has produced one Hugo for many Daudets. Relationship fugitive or otherwise of the sexes is a complex matter. Liberty, especially economic liberty, brings certain problems from which India is comparatively free. Blum's (once Prime Minister of France) conception of sexual relationship in marriage is according to our ideas very much akin to our conception of sexual relations outside wedlock. Though we think so, still Paris is gay for foreigners. To Frenchmen (I quote from *Paris* by Emile Zola) Paris is:

> "A huge vat, in which the world fermented something of the best and something of the worst, a frightful mixture such as a sorceress might have used, precious powders mixed with filth, from all of which was to come the philtre of Love and Eternal Youth."

Or again,

> "Search the whole world through; it is ever upon the deck of Paris that we may best hear the flappings and quiverings of the full spread of the invisible sails of human progress."

The gaiety of France springs from her philosophy of joy.

Is not the gaiety of Paris mixed with something more spiritual. Cannot spirituality be found outside the churches and temples. The French writers are spiritual in a wide sense of the term.

Nor is it only to Paris that humanity owes a deep debt of gratitude.

Western civilisation, to preserve which the present war is being fought, was first in feudal times moving slowly and with difficulty towards greater liberty of thought and speech. It was from the French philosophers that there sprang a new and bold conception of liberty and brotherhood which set the world on fire. The time-honoured privileges of rank, class, and wealth were swept away. Even now there is no colour bar in France. The French were the people of Europe charged with the evolution of Republican and Social ideals. The ideal of free society was made possible by France. Rousseau

whose immortal phrase. "Man is born free but is every where in chains," spread the gospel of the burning and increasing faith in the common people, the gospel of the unknown warrior of society.

Voltaire pointed the finger of scorn at every throne and mitre in Europe. It was he that bade humanity to "erase the infamous"—*Ecrasez l'infame.*

Truth has ever been on the march in France. The French Revolution was the greatest adventure of the human spirit and was one of the greatest creative forces in history. Permanent changes grew out of it amid all the confusion and bloodshed.

Coming to modern times, from France we have Auguste Comte the founder of Positivism, Sylvain Levi the Indologist, Romain Rolland the interpreter to the West of Ramakrishna Paramahamsa and Vivekananda, Prof. and Madame Curie of Radium fame, Anatole France another great French writer, on the centenary of the birth of Emile Zola, paid this tribute to him:

> "There is no peace anywhere save in justice, no repose save in Truth, Envy him! He was a moment of the conscience of mankind."

This is no empty boast.

Noble words these! Such a nation can never be a pleasure-loving nation.

Latterly France leaned on England in every matter. The failure to give Savarkar a political asylum, the course of the last war and this war proves that such dependence has been her bane. She has been wanting in vigilance, the price of liberty.

Let us hope that her eclipse is temporary. The world is under too great a debt of gratitude to her to hope otherwise. *Vive la France.*



A Calcutta lane in the rains

Wood-engraving By Ramendranath Chakravarti



Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in The Modern Review. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, The Modern Review.

ENGLISH

PRE-BUDDHIST INDIA : *By Ratilal N. Mehta, M.A. Published by Examiner Press, Bombay.* (*1939*). *Pp. xxvi+461.*

The aim of the author is to "present a connected idea of ancient Indian life as protrayed in the Jataka stories." He has divided the book into five sections dealing with five different aspects; political, administrative, economic, social and geographical.

As the author very correctly anticipated, his 'claim to the Jataka stories being a faithful representation of the pre-Buddha period' will be disputed by many, and we wish he had stuck to his original idea of naming the book as 'Ancient India in the Jatakas.' As he himself admits, 'the kings and princes mentioned in the Jataka stories did not belong to a single period of time,' and the same thing may well be true of the remaining aspects of ancient Indian life portrayed in the Jatakas. In any case there are not sufficient grounds for his belief that these other aspects belong to 800-600 B.C.

Subject to this disclaimer we have nothing but unstinted praise and admiration for the actual performance of the author. It is a monumental work in every sense of the term. The brilliant analysis of the data supplied by the Jatakas and their classification and treatment show industry, research and critical ability of a high order. The work is said to be a revised form of the thesis submitted to the University of Bombay for the M.A. degree in 1935. The author is thus evidently young in age and his achievements are therefore all the more creditable. He has not only been very thorough and painstaking in his collection of facts, but has arranged them in a clear logical order. Above all he has treated them in a detached impartial spirit and his comments are always full of learning, brief and to the point. We have no hesitation in saying that this learned treatise on the Jatakas is by far the best and most comprehensive that has yet been written on this subject, and the author has laid the students of Indian history under a deep debt of gratitude for bringing within easy reach the rich and varied contents of the Jataka stories.

It is beyond the scope of the present review to discuss in detail the various important features of the work. But still I should like to draw the special attention of the reader to Chapter I. in which the author has tried to arrange the kings and dynasties mentioned in the Jatakas in a chronological sequence, and collected available information about them from other sources. In this connection I would draw his attention to the fact that in his remarks about King Mago mentioned in Sankicca Jataka (p. 30) he ignores the existence of the King Maues called also Moga. But apart from such slight omissions here and there—which are inevitable in such a comprehensive undertaking,—the author's treatment of the data for political history is both interesting and informative. The facts he has collected from the Jatakas about almost every important phase of life in ancient India would be of the greatest help to any one who wants to obtain a true picture of India's past, as it really was and not as it has been believed to be. We whole-heartedly congratulate the author and welcome his work as one of the most important additions to literature on ancient Indian history and civilisation in recent years.

R. C. Majumdar

I BELIEVE—THE PERSONAL PHILOSOPHIES OF TWENTY-THREE EMINENT MEN AND WOMEN OF OUR TIME : *Published by George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London.*

The book, as its title indicates, is a collection of beliefs expressed by several modern notabilities on points of Religion, Morals, Sociology, and the World in general. The contributors are W. H. Auden, Pearl S. Buck, Stuart Chase, Albert Einstein, Havelock Ellis, E. M. Forster, J. B. S. Haldane, Lancelot Hogben, Julian Huxley, Sir Arthur Keith, Harold J. Laski, Lin Yutang, Emil Ludwig, Thomas Mann, Jacques Maritain, Jules Romains, Bertrand Russell, John Strachey, James Thurber, Hendrik Willem Van Loon, Beatrice Webb, H. G. Wells and Rebecca West.

It makes a most fascinating study, though the reader is at first lost in the bewildering variety of opinions expressed by the contributors. In short, it is a tessellated mosaic, as is to be expected when people of such widely divergent views as Emil Ludwig and Julian Huxley, Einstein and Haldane, Havelock Ellis and Jacques Maritain, express themselves with a gusto. And what a variety ! Some are frankly atheists, like Russell and Einstein; a few, like Haldane and Huxley, agnostics; and others still, like Ludwig and Maritain, are believers in a Divinity. It is unfortunate, perhaps, that they can think of God only in terms of Christianity : and Christianity has been weighed in the balance and found wanting. It is significant that even a staunch Catholic like Maritain fails to convince us about his religious sentiments. It is still more significant that Ludwig does, and being a Jew, he believes in only half the Gospel !

As on questions of Religion, the contributors hold very different views about politics, and the present social order. There are communists, and democrats, and

republicans. They all disagree. The only thing they have in common is an ardent desire for a better world, a futile and pathetic creed in face of a crumbling civilization, and a generation on its way to annihilation.

Each and every essay is a brilliant exposition of the personal philosophy of a man or woman far above the average in intelligence, and it is slightly shocking to observe a note of pessimism pervading the beliefs of most of them. Because the optimism of Haldane and Pearl Buck, and the fatalism of Einstein and Huxley, have nothing in common with the accepted senses of the terms, and are far more akin to a downright pessimism as people understand it. The only real comfort comes from the East from Lin Yutang, who expresses the Taoist Philosophy thus: "The World will right itself. Take a long view and you are comforted."

The topic of war has naturally crept into all the essays. Perhaps none has expressed himself so vigorously as Einstein on this point.

"The man," he writes, "who enjoys marching in line and file to the strains of music falls below my contempt; he—received his great brains by mistake—the spinal cord would have been amply sufficient. The heroism at command, this senseless violence, this accursed bombast of patriotism—how intensely I despise them! War is low and despicable, and I had rather be smitten to shreds than participate in such doings."

And meanwhile all that is finest and best in this day and age get slaughtered, while the rest sit still in helpless suspense, straining every nerve in the forlorn hope of hearing the flutter of the wings of peace, amid the roar of bombers overhead.

Aryyakumar Sen

THE PAPACY IN POLITICS TODAY: *By Joseph McCabe. Published by Watts & Co., London. Second Edition. Pp. xii+196. Price 1s.*

Three years ago when this book was first published, the astonishing revelations of Joseph McCabe about the Vatican intrigues in different countries of the world, created a sensation among Catholics as well as non-Catholics. No new chapter has been added to the second edition but each chapter contains a note explaining the developments in each country since the first edition was published.

The author, who was a Franciscan priest and had left the Church, published his *Decay of the Church of Rome* in 1909, and gained the reputation of being an authority of Catholic history despite the amiable sarcasm of Mr. H. G. Wells who characterized him as "a grim old Ironside lurking in an alley in Fleet Street for the first rumour of a Papist plot." Revolts against the Catholic Church are nothing new in history, nor is religious persecution a monopoly of the Vatican. Apart from theological controversies, there have been attempts even in recent times to reform the Church and adapt it to modern conditions. The democratic movement led by Don Romolo Murri and the "Catholic modernism," a rather daring movement led by Minocchi and Buonaiuti, were promptly suppressed for the lack of adequate social backing. The mission of McCabe seems to be, therefore, to create an enlightened curiosity among the English and American Catholics about what may be broadly characterized as the foreign policy of the Vatican and thus alienate their support and sympathy for such an intriguing autocracy. McCabe does not discuss theology; he attacks the secular organization of the temporal power that is the Pope. Although the findings of the author can hardly be disputed, his interpretations have not always been impartial and free from propagandistic savour.

The author reveals through a most convincing array of facts and figures the hand of the Vatican in the Spanish Civil War, the Pope's unholy alliance with the Italian Fascists and German Nazis for building up a united front against godless Russia, the Vatican intrigues in Austria, France, Poland, Mexico, Japan and the English-speaking countries. He shows how the Vatican agents in these countries control the press, the radio, the public library, the publisher's office and so on. He traces the successes and failures of Vatican diplomacy in the recent years and points out the growing discord between the Fascists and the Pope. The author, however, sees in socialism and Soviet Russia the greatest challenge to the Catholic Church and thinks that "the reaction some day will be terrible." The author's hope is summarised neatly in the following observation: "We cannot evade the conclusion that in less than twenty years after 1917, the Church . . . lost something like 50,000,000 members, owing mainly, though by no means entirely, to the propaganda of socialism, communism and syndicalism."

Monindra Moulik

A SCIENTIFIC INTERPRETATION OF CHRISTIANITY: *By Elizabeth Fraser. Published by C. R. Jain, 110, Cleveland Gardens, London.*

The manuscript of this book of a learned European lady was "refused by everyone of the half-a-dozen British publishers to whom it was offered." The reason for the refusal probably was that the author attempted to prove that the seed of Christianity was taken from India in the 6th century B.C. and that its doctrines agreed in every particular with Jainism: The 24 Elders of a book of St. John's Revelation were derived from the *Tirthankaras* and the *Siddhas* (perfect souls) of Jainism. Starting with Mahavira, the science of Salvation was progressively developed by Buddha and other spiritual leaders of Asia including Jesus Christ. This the author attempts to prove through the twelve chapters of the book, which should be read carefully by all dispassionate students of comparative religion.

Kalidas Nag

WHITHER WOMAN: *By Y. M. Rege, M.A., LL.B. Published by the Popular Book Depot, Bombay. Pp. 285. Price Rs. 6 or 10s. net.*

Whither Woman is a revised version of a thesis that had been prepared under the expert guidance of Prof. G. S. Ghurye, Head of the Sociology Department of the Bombay University. This generally assures a thoroughness in collecting information and a shifting analysis of data. The reviewer takes this opportunity of paying a tribute to the solid work in social research done by Prof. Ghurye and his students in Bombay.

The subject of the book is a critical study of the social life and thought of the *Western* woman. The author has spared no pains to get himself acquainted with the relevant literature. He has traced the history of woman's position straight from antiquity, taken it through Greek, Roman and mediaeval stages to modern times. In the second part, the knotty problem of sex-ethics is discussed. The changes which have taken place in the idea and institution of marriage receive their due attention. In part three, certain misguided ideals of sex-equality and economic independence of the woman are exposed. Throughout, Mr. Rege takes up what is so natural to a male sociologist, *viz.*, a sensible attitude. He says that motherhood is a supreme function and enlightened motherhood has its rights and duties. Probably, his stress has been more on duties than on rights. He is for freedom, not for independence.

The reviewer does not know what the western woman will think about it. But as a student of sociology he confesses to a feeling of nervousness in tackling such a vast and unfamiliar subject. This is no reflection on the quality of the work, which is certainly satisfying. Will Mr Rege now take up on a wider scale a cross-sectional study of the changing status and views of women on marriage in the community and in the province to which he belongs. It will be an excellent continuation of the work the fruits of which the reviewer has had the pleasure of complimenting once before. It will also bring out in relief the incidence of western ideas on the habits of Indian women. Mr. Rege's wide reading and grasp of social philosophy which are apparent in the pages of this book should stand him in good stead.

DHURJATI MUKERJI

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF MUGHAL INDIA (1526-1707 A.D.) : *By Prof. Sri Ram Sharma, M.A., D. A. V. College, Lahore. Published by the Karnatak Publishing House, Bombay. 1939. Pp. 206. Price Rs. 2-8.*

Prof. Sri Ram Sharma is fairly well-known to students of medieval Indian history as a prolific writer and an indefatigable and enthusiastic researcher. He has turned out a really first-rate work and rendered a very great service to his fellow-workers in the field by publishing his *Bibliography of Mughal India* dealing with the Persian, Sanskrit, vernacular, and European sources of the history of the first six Mughal Emperors from Babur to Aurangzib.

Sir Jadunath Sarkar in his Foreword to this book says, "This little book, crammed with useful information, will be of very great practical help to those of us who want to carry on researches in the history of medieval India......Prof. Sharma has given detailed analyses and full descriptions of some of the rarest MSS and of the Administrative Manual and Gazetteer class of Persian works. His exposure of the wholesale plagiarism by Khafi Khan opens a new line of study in Mughal historical bibliography and deserves the fullest investigation. It is a discovery of first-rate interest" (p. vi).

This little book under review fully deserves the praise it has received from the cautious and unsparing pen of Sir Jadunath. Space does not permit us to point out the manifold excellences of this book and estimate fully the much-needed help and service rendered by Prof. Sharma, who in the course of his search travelled far and wide in India to study MSS in well-known libraries.

Every beginner in the field of research, every serious student of Mughal history as well as the average teacher of it will find this indispensable book worth hundred times its price. We congratulate Prof. Sharma on the unqualified success of his latest literary venture.

K. R. QANUNGO

THE STATE IN RELATION TO LABOUR IN INDIA : *By V. Shiva Ram. University of Delhi. Pp. 171+viii and an Index. Price not mentioned.*

This is the text of the Sir Kikabhai Premchand Readership Lectures delivered in 1933. The author is Professor of Politics at Lucknow and has been for sometime a member of the Secretariat of the League of Nations at Geneva. The title of the book is a misnomer. Five out of the ten chapters deal with general theoretical *pot-pouri*, including two on Labour in Italy and Germany and in Russia, containing contradictory, misleading and inaccurate information. On Indian labour problems the information gathered compares unfavourably with even the material to be found in an up-to-date text-book on Indian Economics or even the *Indian Year Book* published by the Times of India Press. In the Indian chapters also plenty of miscellaneous foreign blue-book information and references to generalities like *laissez-faire-ism*, etc., abound. The author's views are neither enlightened nor progressive. He concludes with a short exhortation to employers and landlords to "understand that they owe a duty to the men of whom they are in charge and that their wealth and power carries with it responsibility for the well-being of the workers." This is even too meagre for the days of Robert Owen. Even as they are, the lectures would have gained in usefulness if before publication they had been sized up on the basis of the facts and comments in Dr. Rajani Kanta Das's *Indian Labour Legislation* (1937) and the League's survey of *Industrial Labour in India* (1938).

WHY SOCIALISTS FAIL : *By M. R. Raju. Pp. 131. Price Re. 1.*

This is a racy pamphlet on the causes of failure and success of socialist revolutions. The Paris Commune of 1871, the Russian Revolutions of 1905 and 1917, the revolutionary episodes in Germany, Austria and Italy and also the Civil War in Spain and China's internal politics are discussed in some detail. The book is bound to interest the active political worker and inquisitive layman, who can not afford to go to bigger volumes. In two concluding chapters the author seeks to demolish the Gandhian creed of non-violence and pleads for the emergence of a new party for which a rational policy is also outlined.

BENOYENDRA NATH BANERJEA

THE POET AND GOD'S WORD : A BACONIAN STUDY : *By James Arthur. Published by the Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras, India. 1940. Price annas six only.*

It is a small treatise discussing the question as to whether Francis Bacon had anything to do with the English Bible or, more particularly, whether he was the unknown final reviser of the Authorised Version of 1611. The author answers the question in the affirmative on the ground that "the high perfection the Authorized Version has attained as a worlk of literary art and the unity it exhibits" cannot be explained without the hypothesis of a revision by one single master mind, and also because of the fact that Bacon has left his finger-prints in the shape of anagram and clock-ciphers. The book is lucidly written but it has hardly any interest for the general reader.

THE VOICE OF THE SILENCE : *By H. P. Blavatsky. Published by the Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras, India. Price Re. 1-12.*

It is the Golden Jubilee edition of the book, first published exactly fifty years ago, with Introduction, Notes and Index by Arya Asanga. "The Voice of the Silence" is a collection of extracts from the Book of the Golden Precepts. It is an inspiring book and is sure to be of invaluable aid to the genuine seeker of truth. These books never get old and the Theosophical Publishing House has done a distinct service to the cause of spiritual advancement by bringing out such a beautiful edition of this priceless treasure.

N. K. BRAHMA

HERESIES OF THE 20TH CENTURY: *By M. N. Roy. Published by Pradeep Karyalaya, Moradabad. Price Re. 1-8.*

Marxism, if anything, presents a philosophy, and a *Weltanschauung* as it is said, and a method for realizing that. Comrade M. N. Roy, is so connected with the second part of it—that of "changing the world,"—that men are likely to forget that he is equally ardent with regard to the first part—that of "interpreting the world." The present volume from his facile and unceasing pen brings him out in that role and offers to Indian readers a lucid and penetrating view of Marxist philosophy.

Of the nine essays in the volume, all are not of even merit. A few may be classed as the usual stuff that as an active journalist Comrade Roy is provoked to pen through. They are quite good in that respect. But the rest, particularly the three essays, "Heresies of the 20th Century," and "What is Marxism?" and "Marxism and Moral Philosophy" are of outstanding merit, and are illuminating in their effect on readers. The first essay is an examination of Sir Md. Suleiman's criticism of relativity and points out with rare logic and learning the inconsistencies of Sir Suleiman's paper. It seeks to establish, like Sir Suleiman, that materialism is not abolished; but while Sir Suleiman attempts to do it by refuting Einstein's theory, Comrade Roy concludes that "rejection of the theory of relativity today would logically lead to the denial of matter." In establishing this point, Comrade Roy throws his penetrating searchlight on the relevant theories of physical science from Newton to Einstein, and thus gives a rapid survey and criticism which deserve hard thinking and call for specialist knowledge on the subject to judge Roy. We recommend the essay to such men of learning and note at the same time that such papers, and more like these, if given in Bengali and other Indian languages, would remove cheap and pseudo-scientific idealism in which, after Jeans and Eddington, it has become a fashion for our "intellectuals" to indulge. The book on the whole enhances Comrade Roy's reputation as an alert mind and as an interpreter of Marxism.

GOPAL HALDAR

THE LITTLE CLAY CART: *Translated from the Original Sanskrit by Satyendra Kumar Basu, M.Sc., University of Calcutta.*

Congratulations are due to Mr. Basu, a student of science and an officer in the Forest Department of the Government of Bengal, for his successful translation of the well-known and popular Sanskrit drama—the *Mricchakatika*. The present publication makes the work accessible to the general reader in a handy and attractive form.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT, BARODA STATE FOR THE YEAR ENDING 31ST JULY, 1938: *By Jnanaratna Dr. Hirananda Sastri. Baroda State Press. 1939. Pp. vi+87+xvi plates. Price Rs. 2-4.*

The report under review gives an account of the Departments' activities during the year 1937-38. During this period, conservation work was carried out at seven sites, while, the excavation work at Gohilwad Timbo was continued. The latter has yielded an inscription belonging to the Gupta period. It also explored and prepared a catalogue of ninety-six historical sites, copied sixty inscriptions, one of which on pottery, is in Brahmi script belonging to the 2nd century B.C.

The text contains iconographic details of certain sculptures and also readings of several inscriptions. The Report is illustrated with excellent photographs.

As the Baroda State contains numerous temples, and as the Department has to repair them from time to time, we do not think it would be difficult for it to prepare and publish, in broad outline, the plan, elevation, section and relative proportion of the different parts of the temples it has to deal with. These will be much more useful than mere photographs to students interested in the architecture of this part of India.

TURKEY AND HER PROBLEMS (A GEOGRAPHICAL STUDY): *By S. P. Chatterjee, M.Sc., Ph.D., D.Litt., F.G.S., Calcutta University.*

This brochure is publication No. 2 of the Calcutta Geographical Society. This Society has been doing some sound educative work through its publications in connection with current problems. The present booklet gives all the details regarding Turkey that an average educated person need know, and it deals with the problems of the country from the commercial, strategic and racial points of view. It is illustrated with maps, diagrams and pictures.

We hope the Society will continue to publish similar educative booklets, particularly in connection with modern problems nearer home.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

CRITICAL STUDIES IN KURAL: *By Prof Purnalingam Pillai. Published by the Bibliotheca, Munirpallam P. O., Tinnevelly District, South India. Double Crown 16mo. Pp. 1-100. Price 1-4.*

Before beginning the examination of the book before us, it will be proper to make my readers acquainted with what the *Kural* is, for valuable as the masterpiece is, it has hitherto been a sealed book to us people of North India. It was my translation of this Kohinoor of early Tamil literature into Bengali, three years and a half ago, that revealed to scholars of Bengal (except a few savants of rare erudition) for the first time the existence of this treasure of Tamil wisdom. While French, German, Italian and English savants, dazzled by the brilliance of this Golconda, contended with one another more than half a century ago, to appropriate as much of it as they could, to enrich their own coffers, we people of the other side of India, have been sleeping in blessed ignorance of the very existence of this rich mine. Surely this does not speak in favour of the worth of us Northerners. It is a pity that a single people of so vast a country as India should have been allowed to remain in undisturbed possession this rich treasure for centuries.

According to Sanskrit writers the objectives of life are four—*dharma*, *artha*, *kama* and *moksha*. This idea of the four-fold division of man's duties entered South India along with the Brahmins themselves. The faithful performance of man's duties as a householder, his due observance of the laws which govern his material prosperity and his proper attitude towards the relation subsisting between the sexes lead him to *moksha* or heavenly bliss. To help man to practise these functions of life faithfully, wise and learned men have written works on *Aram* or *dharmashastra*, *Porul* or *arthashastra* and *Inpam* or *kamashastra*. The treatises written on these topics are based on objective experience. *Ritu* or moksha (the final bliss) is a harder subject to deal with. The consideration of the subject is based on immaterial or subjective speculations. So the author Tiruvalluvar, considering the futility of discussing *ritu* or *moksha*, has

omitted it altogether, and has taken up *muppal* or the first three *vargas* instead of all the four or *narpal*.

Mr. Purnalingam Pillai has divided his book into 12 studies by grouping together the various topics comprehended in the *Kural*.

In the opening study Mr. Pillai brings out some of the salient points of *Kural*. He says that Kural was written for all ages and all people. Tiruvalluvar, though dead, yet lives. "To think is to live, and he by whom the reality and responsibility of life was thought out in all its manifold bearings, still lives in the loving memory of millions. Nineteen centuries have not diminished the weight of his authority or the vitality of his utterances. He lives, and his fame will increase with the flight of time, and as long as men continue to revere the true and the good, will the words of the poet continue to inspire them; and gain him a seat with the great teachers of the world."

In the second study, which has *God* for its title, Mr. Pillai takes his cue from Chapters 1, 2, 36 and 38 of Kural. Tiruvalluvar, he says, is an enlightened monotheist and an eclectic. He recognises metempsychosis and seven worlds and seven-fold maze of birth.

The religion of Valluvar is a standing puzzle. He bases morality on theology. A good or an evil action is a passport to heaven or hell. His theology seems to be natural theology. Death, he said, was but sleep, and birth but awakening from it.

In the third study entitled "Godlike Men," he speaks of men who possess divine qualities and seek after God.

Renunciation is the forgetfulness of "I and mine." Thorough renunciation is achieved when the avenues of desire are relinquished, thorough renouncers perceive truth clearly, have the pure mystic vision, think of no birth again. He that hath no desire, hath no grief.

Then Mr. Pallai summarises the virtues that should be practised to prepare for thorough renunciation. Charity is the real characteristic of the real ascetic. A charitable man will always put himself in the place of the weaker man when he is tempted to deal harshly with him.

Tiruvalluvar condemns self mortification. Real penance is not self-mortification he says, it is patient endurance without doing offence to others. Truth makes man free, pure and wise. The true ascetic is renouncer of wrath. Anger being the bringer of endless evils, should be shunned.

It should be the aim of every right-thinking man to save others from the pain, he himself experiences, to work no wilful woe to other souls, to punish wrongs by forgetting them and conferring on the wrong-doers kindly benefits, which will make them ashamed.

The fourth study deals with courtship and marriage. *Gandharva* marriage was sometimes resorted to in the Tamil land in days of yore. In this study Mr. Pillai reproduces at length Valluvar's beautiful discription of the romantic love of a pair of lovers, who accidentally fall in each other's way in a grove. They plight their faith to each other and enter into the married state without going through any rites. But simple assertion of faith alone was sufficient in those early days of Tamil Society to legalise the marriage. The space at my command precludes me from enjoying with my reader this sweet record.

The subject of the fifth study is Man and Wife. The brief summary given by Rev. Dr. Pope of the duties of Man and Wife, which has been quoted by Mr. Pillai, is reproduced here. "The ideal householder leads on earth a consecrated life, not unmindful of any duty to the living or the departed. His wife, the glory of his house, is modest and frugal, adores her husband, guards herself, and is the guardian of his house's fame. His children are the choicest treasures; their babbling voices are his music; he feasts with the gods when he eats the rice their tiny fingers have played with; and his one arm is to make them worthier than himself. Affection is the very life of his soul; of all his virtues. the first and greatest. The sum and source of them all is love. His house is open to every guest, whom he welcomes with smiling face and pleasant word, and with whom he shares his meal. Courteous in speech, grateful for every kindness, just in all his dealings, master of himself in perfect self-control, strict in the performance of every assigned duty, patient and forbearing, with a heart free from envy, moderate in desires, speaking no evil of others, refraining from unprofitable words, dreading the touch of evil, diligent in the discharge of the duties of his position, and liberal in his benefactions, he is one whom all unite to praise."

Love is the basis of domestic life. The selfish are loveless. Love begets yearning and true friendship. It produces earthly felicity and heavenly bliss. It fosters virtue and is an aid to curb vice.

Wanton women are the bane of society. They possess double minds and will be sought only by the thoughtless, the unrighteous and the unlucky. A harlot is a living and moving hell, and may be likened to a strange corpse in a darkened room.

The sixth study deals with virtues and vices. Virtue and vice have been defined by the poet himself in the following way :

Virtue sums the things that should be done;
Vice sums the things that man should shun.

A kind word should be born of sincerity and accompany a loving eye and beaming smile.

Gratitude is worth more than earth and heaven. It is good to remember any good done, but it is far better to forget the evil. The remembrance of a past good action will erase the deadliest injury done now.

Impartiality is to give each man his due.

Self-control is a precious treasure. Humility will come of self-control. The restraint of wrath is the path to virtue.

Decorum is true nobility on earth.

Patience and forbearance make a man forgive and forget. The Rev. Dr. Pope says that in advising a man to forget others' trespasses, St. Valluvar really transcends Jesus, who only wants to forgive them.

Duty should be fulfilled at any cost or risk, even by selling oneself.

Gift to needy men is real giving without thought of recompense.

Energy is man's wealth. Manly effort will never leave work undone. The lack of it brings misfortune.

A hopeful heart seldom worries itself or is gloomy.

True friendship is sure defence. It never forsakes in times of grief. Unreal friendship is friendship without the consenting mind. Apparent friendship will be changing with the tides and times. Dissembling friendship is villainous. One may smile and smile and be a villain, for all that. Pliant speech without a pliant heart will be as deadly as a pliant bow. The wise man's hate is preferable to the fool's intimacy.

Nobility is characterised by soft speech, virtuous shame and true reverence.

Worth makes the man. It depends on energy of mind and quality of work, and not on birth, high or low. A great man is true to self.

Goodness is tested by inward excellence, and its five props are love, modesty, beneficence benignity and truth.

Sense of shame is manifested in shrinking from evil. The worst of vices is baseness.

It is graceful, says the poet, to ask alms of persons who never deny. It is sinful to deny alms to the deserving. A mess of pottage won by the sweat of one's brow will be sweeter than rich repast received gratis.

Gambling and indulging in intoxicants are to be condemned.

Idleness compasses the ruin of the idler Envy is a degrading vice. A backbiter is the meanest of men.

The seventh study has charateer and conduct for its subject.

Learn thoroughly what is worth learning, and live worthy of your learning.

Character detests the base, while no-character hugs them as friends, character is tested by association.

The eighth study discusses Prudence and Prosperity.

Success in life depends on the doing of a right thing at the right time at the right place by a right person in a right manner. In this view prudence is providence or foresight. Prudence makes for progress or advancement or prosperity. Before beginning to act, let every one weigh the expenditure and its return, as also his own power. The opportunity must not be lost and due recognition of this is prudence. Nothing is hard, if done at the right moment and with proper means.

A man of prudence will duly weigh the doer, the deed and the season for doing it.

The ninth study deals with Health and Wealth.

Diseases arise generally from mistake in diet and other things The poet emphasises good digestion, moderate eating and good appetite.

In this, Mr. Pillai speaks of wealth not accompanied by benefaction. The possessor of such wealth has received various names from Valluvar—being called dead, a demon, a burden to the earth. The miser thus hated will have nothing as his own in the other world.

The subject of the tenth study is King and State.

A great King owns six things—army, people, wealth, ministers, friends and fort, and owns four qualities—courage, liberality, wisdom and energy The King should be prompt and decisive, virtuous and graceful. He should collect the revenue, keep his coffers full, defend his Kingdom and expend from the treasury what may be needed for its welfare. He should be easily accessible, and speak no unpleasant word.

A minister must be a man of tact, and should possess firmness, cleverness, perseverance and zeal for protecting the welfare of the people. The best minister will combine in himself acuteness and learning, and will understand the ways of the world and act accordingly. The minister should possess eloquence, and guard himself against careless speech. His speech should be adapted to the audience, and such as cannot be refuted. A minister must be pure in action, and do what will bring glory to his King

A King's counsellor should be neither too near, nor too far from the King. A minister who is able to read the King's mind will be of great worth to the King.

The essentials of State are land, army, military spirit and wealth. Unfailing health, fertility, joy, sure defence and wealth are the jewels of a good country.

Mr. Purnalingam Pillai has very ably analysed the contents of Kural, and has exhibited the excellences of the book in a masterly way.

NALINI MOHAN SANYAL

A HISTORY OF SANSKRIT LITERATURE: *By Srimati Akshay Kumari Devi. Published by Vijay Krishna Brothers, 31, Vivekananda Road, Calcutta. Pp. 180. Price Re. 1-8.*

The author's is a feminine name. Unless it is a pseudonym, the writer is a woman. The advertisement on the cover of the book shows several other books to her credit. The books of another are also advertised along with these. That other is apparently a masculine writer. That there is an intellectual comradeship between them, seems to be a legitimate inference. Both of them are writing on allied subjects, and have the same publishers, too.

The book before us is full of information. A huge quantity of facts and figures have been compressed into a strikingly small volume. This is a creditable performance. But it is hardly a history. Rather it is a series of summaries of the contents of different classes of books. The summaries are on the whole ably and cleverly done. They are arranged according to a chronological order also. But this order is assumed to be beyond dispute. The identification of the Vedic deities with stars and constellations leaves room for doubt. Is it not arbitrary? At any rate one should expect reasons to believe that it is not.

The summaries are leavened with occasional excerpts from the texts. They are probably intended to be typical and illustrative. We have some from the Vedas, some from the Upanishads, several from elsewhere and a long one from Vatsayana's *Kamasutra*. And the book ends with a reference to the *Suka-saptati*, where "a woman whose husband has gone out on business wants to enjoy herself with her lovers and asks the advice of the parrot" (p. 172). These quotations are, without exception, all of the same type, *viz.*, sexological. Even the quotations from the Vedas (p. 48-49) and the Upanishads (p. 98) are of the same kind. Some times more is put into the translation than is found in the original (*e.g.*, p. 98-99). We are constrained to remark that these selections hardly exhibit a lady-like taste. And if one were to depend on this selection of specimens, one would think that Sanskrit literature of which we have a history here was nothing but a Havelock Ellis running through 5,000 years of Indian civilisation

When the author says (p. 18) that "Pandu was possibly suffering from blood-pressure or heart disease," and that his death was "due to cerebral haemorrhage or heart failure," she makes a permissible conjecture. But when she tells us that "woman's subconscious mind centres round sex" (p. 47), she speaks out too much. And in her encomiums on the Kamasastras (p. 129) also, she goes a little too far.

While we welcome the information contained in the book, we cannot but say that it would not have suffered in value if these nauseating subjects were altogether left out or passed over with brief references. What is more regrettable is that we have these things from the pen of a lady. What might otherwise be described as a really good book has been spoiled by these things and leaves a painfully depressing impression on the mind by being needlessly interspersed with sex-subjects.

The printing and get-up and the arrangement of topics and chapters also leave room for improvement.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

FRENCH

SOUS LE CIEL ROUGE: *By Miliero. Editions Adyar, Paris.*

The author of the book publishes his diary under the pen-name of Miliero, but as it is announced by the

publishers, he was a member of the French army, deserted his rank and fled to Moscow. He was then being haunted by the desire to live and breathe under the atmosphere of social justice which, he imagined, reigned only in Soviet Russia. He aspired to discover the spiritual basis of Communism, but, alas, Russia proved to be, for him, the land of cruel disillusionment. Instead of discovering the traces of a new idealism actuating the life of the makers of Soviet Russia, he found at every step a new materialism more implacable than the materialism of the Old World. Hence he fled back to France and published this book to save the coming generation of his countrymen from falling victim to the lure of Communism. One need not agree with the author on all counts but those who from a distance imagine Soviet Russia to be a Socialist's Paradise are advised to read this significant French publication: "Under the Red Sky."

KALIDAS NAG

BENGALI

SINTHIR SINDUR: *By Srimati Santa Devi. Third Edition. Enlarged by the addition of two stories. Crown 8vo. Pp. 205. Cloth. Price Re. 1. The book has been moderately priced. To be had of the authoress at her residence, P. 283, Darga Road, Calcutta.*

That this book has undergone three editions is an indication of its excellence. The English translations of some of its stories, *e.g.*, "Sikshar Pariksha" ("Teaching Put to Test"), have been highly appreciated by noted English literary critics.

PARABHRITIKA ("THE FOSTER CHILD"). NEW EDITION: *By Srimati Sita Devi. Crown 8vo. Pp. 414. Price Rs. 2-8. To be had of M. C. Sarkar and Sons, College Square, Calcutta.*

This highly interesting novel has a very intriguing plot. It contains, besides, a graphic picture of Bengali life in Burma. When its English translation by the authoress herself appeared week after week in *The Leader*, the publication of its instalments was eagerly awaited by the readers of that weekly.

SVARA-BITAN, PART IV, DEVOTIONAL SONGS: *By Rabindranath Tagore. Musical notation by Kangalicharan Sen. Edited by Sailajaranjan Majumdar. Visva-bharati Bookshop, 210, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Price Re. 1-8.*

Like Rabindranath Tagore's other works, his numerous songs are a priceless possession of Bengal. They are very popular, but unfortunately when sung by persons who do not know their correct tunes they seem like parodies of their real selves. The musical notations now being published by Visva-bharati part by part will enable musicians to sing them correctly. As in other departments of modern Bengali music, so in devotional music, Rabindranath's achievement is most notable.

RABINDRA-RACHANABALI (RABINDRANATH TAGORE'S BENGALI WORKS). *Volume II, Second Edition. Illustrated. Price according to binding Rs. 4-8, Rs. 6-8. Visva-bharati Bookshop.*

Four volumes of Rabindranath Tagore's collected Bengali works have appeared up till now, and of these four two volumes have already undergone a second edition. This is very remarkable. As the first edition of the second volume was noticed in this review, the second edition need not be noticed in detail. Every volume contains some rare work or other by the author, and sometimes new introductions by him to some of his works. All his works when published in full are estimated to fill 25 volumes of more than 650 pages in round numbers of royal 8vo. size. Thus they will cover some 17,000 printed pages of that size.

RUSSIAR CHITHI (LETTERS FROM RUSSIA): *By Rabindranath Tagore. Illustrated. Price Re. 1-12. Visva-bharati Bookshop.*

These very interesting and informative letters originally appeared in *Prabasi* serially month after month and were read with avidity by numerous readers. In book form a large first edition has been sold out. A second edition has been therefore published.

SANAI: *By Rabindranath Tagore. Price Re. 1-8. Visva-bharati Bookshop.*

Sanai is a kind of pipe-like musical instrument used in Bengal on the occasion of marriage and religious festivals. The poet has given this name to the collection of his latest 60 poems. They are in various metres and reflect various moods of the Poet's mind. There are some prose poems also, which have music of their own. No indication of the soul of each of these poems, whether in verse or in prose, can be given in a short notice.

D.

CHHELEBELA ("BOYHOOD DAYS"): *By Rabindranath Tagore. Visva-bharati Bookshop. 210, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Price Re. 1-8 and Rs. 2 according to binding.*

This is Rabindranath Tagore's latest book. It is a most delightful story of his boyhood. It begins as far back in his childhood as his memory can go and ends with his experiences in London as a pupil of Henry Morley. Some glimpses of what he tells the reader in this book are to be found in his *Jiban-smriti* or "Reminiscences," but they are a very small portion of the story told here. Alike in matter and manner it is a thing of beauty and would be to real children and children of an older growth a joy for ever.

R. C.

SUDUR PASCHIM BHRAMANER DINLIPIKA (DIARY OF A TOUR OF THE FAR WEST): *By Srimati Sudha Sen. Book Company, College Square, Calcutta. Pp. 400. Double Crown 8vo. Illustrated. 1940. Price Rs. 2-8.*

The book under review is a day-to-day diary of a tour in America and other countries of Europe, covering eleven months, from 3rd December, 1931 to 29th October, 1932. Though Europe has undergone many changes, now, still the book will be read with interest, as it reflects the reactions of an educated Bengali lady in various strange surroundings. The illustrations have enhanced the value of the book.

SOUREN DE

HINDI

BRAHMA GIT: *Published by the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, 211, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Price two annas.*

This booklet contains some Hindi *bhajans* and other Hindi devotional songs which may be used with profit by Hindi-speaking Brahmos and other theists.

X.

VIDYAPATI THAKUR : *By Dr. Umesh Misra, M.A., D.Litt. Published by the Hindustani Academy, United Provinces, Allahabad.*

This gives a critical account of the life and works of Vidyvapati (14th-15th century), who is famous through his Vaisnava lyrics in Maithili, though he wrote a number of works in Sanskrit and Avahatti as well, some of which still exist in manuscripts and are not so well-known. The learned Doctor deserves to be congratulated for contributing this exclusive and scholarly monograph on a poet and scholar whose fame has spread far and wide, and who occupies a unique position in the history of Vaisnava lyrical literature of Eastern India

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

NAZI GERMANY : *By J. P. Agarwal, M.A., LL.B. Published by Vishva-Shanti Karyalaya, Moradabad. Pp. 80. Price annas ten.*

This little brochure, written in simple and lucid Hindi, deals with the rise of Nazism in Germany and its aftermath. The author has traced its historical background, its poisonous symptoms and characteristics, so as to impress upon the lay public the significance of its fatal nature. The book is a timely publication and will enable the reader to have a correct grasp of the suffering and destruction that Nazism has brought to humanity, much less to Nazi Germany.

KASAK : *By Durga Prasad Rastogi "Adarsh." Published by Rastogi Prakashan Bhawan, Daraganj, Allahabad. Pp. 84. Price Re. 1*

This nicely printed and got-up book is a collection of 24 poems of Sjt. Rastogi, with a foreword by "Rasal." Though we have not come across Sjt. Rastogi's name too often in the field of Hindi poetry, we are inclined to say that he is not altogether a novice and these charming poems will make him known to the Hindi readers. Some of them bear testimony to the fact that he has the making of a poet in him.

M. S. SENGAR

URDU

NISHA OR EK DUKHIYARI PAPAN KI ZINDAGI KA TAMASHA : *By Kishan Parshad Kaul. Published by the Leader Press, Allahabad. Pp. 210. Price Re. 1.*

Nisha is a dull, unimaginative play in three acts, which neither inspires nor leaves any impression on the mind. The author in his zeal to turn a dramatist, has thought it quite unnecessary to plan out a thoughtful and premeditated arrangement of the scheme of the play. The events take place in a quick succession of cinematographic rapidity; their relation to one another being so far-fetched, that sometimes one feels that one is reading a book of short stories. *Nisha* has neither a beginning nor an end and as one proceeds and comes to the end of the play one feels that the story is still untold.

BIKRAMA JIT HASRAT

KHEYAL AFRIN DEMAG : *Published by Hali Publishing House, Delhi. Pp. 66. Price annas six.*

A descriptive book, describing ordinary things and happenings and their reactions on the mind of the writer.

ISAR : *By Moulvi Nurul Hasan. Published by Anjuman Tarraqui Urdu, Hyderabad, Deccan. Pp. 76. Price annas eight.*

In the book under review the author in a short story in simple language deals with the evils of polygamy and its evil effects on society.

ABU BAKR

KANNADA

BRAHMANANDA KESHUB CHANDRA SEN : *By Shri D. Renukacharya, B.A. (Hons.) Bangalore. Pp. 208, crown octavo. Price Re. 1.*

This is a biography in Kannada of Shri Keshub Chandra Sen the great Brahmo-leader of Bengal.

The writer has made a distinct contribution to biographical literature in Kannada by publishing this book on the eminent Brahmo Reformer Keshub Chandra. Modern Kannada has not enough literature of this kind. It is not only a biography but the history of the development of new strains of thought in India. As one reads the book one wishes that it were bigger and more comprehensive.

KANNADA BAWUTA (THE KANNADA FLAG) : *Compiled by B. M. Shrikantia, M.A., B.L. Published by Kannada Sahitya Parishat, Bangalore. Pp. 166, demy octavo. Price Re. 1.*

An anthology in Kannada drawn from inscriptions and from Kannada poets and writers of all ages. Mainly such poems and literary pieces have been selected as deal with Karnataka, its people and their characteristics.

Shri Shrikantia, the reputed Kannada scholar, is one of those who is inspired by the idea of "a united Karnataka Province." though today it lies disintegrated and divided into no less than nineteen administrations. He visualises the whole of Karnataka the land of Kannada speaking people as one. Here he has culled out very nice pieces of poetry and prose which represent Kannada literature and at the same time deal with Karnataka and its life in some form or another. The oldest inscription from which he has taken his first piece is dated 700 A.D. while the last poem is by a living poet, namely himself. It is a very fuseful publication as it gives to us in a handy form some of the best things that Kannada literature can boast of. It is relieved here and there by a few fine blocks which picture to us among other things the sculpture and architecture of Karnataka. The author has also given a map of united Karnataka and has enthusiastically sung about the Kannada flag and its call to the sons of the soil.

R. R. DIWAKAR

MARATHI

ANIRUDDHA PRAVAHA : *By Krishnabai. Published by P. A. Chitre, Baroda. Pp. 134. Price Re. 1-4.*

The art of story-telling has, in recent years acquired a new complexion. From merely chronicling events in an interesting manner, it has evolved a new technique, requiring a unity of purpose, expressed in the minimum of words and unfolding of characteristic incidents leading up to a final denouncement. Looked at from this point of view, the present collection of short stories by Mrs. Muktabai Dikshit *alias* Krishnabai, ranks very high. The writer has already acquired a high place in Marathi narrative literature and her present effort fully justifies that claim. All the stories show a high order of merit. They deal mostly with the eternal subject of love, but love, we are glad to say, not of the barren self-seeking type, but love, which, so far as the woman is concerned, desires fulfilment in the acquisition of her natural complement and the satisfaction of maternal instinct. Some of the tales are illustrative of the atmos-

phere of mixed social life prevailing in the colleges, affording opportunities for the 'romance' which the younger generation of today seems to crave for. One story also reveals a touch of piquant humour. Suffice it to say for the literary merit of the book that it has won for the writer recently the 'Turkhud Prize' of the Bombay University. It is hoped that the writer will, in her future work, deal with other subjects also, which stand in need of the psycho-analytical touch which she is so adept in giving to her narrations.

D. N. APTE

BABHLAVANAT: *By Shamrao Ok. Published by Maharashtra Grantha Prakashan, Kolhapur. Pp. 130. Price Re. 1-4.*

The book is a collection of humorous short-stories and essays, written by one who is not altogether a novice in the art of writing fictions of a lighter and non-serious type. Poona in 1983 A.D., preliminaries of the constituent assembly, Dheyayavadi Kalakriti, Baynkanchi Vyayamshala, Purush Party, Vilayat che Pahune and Lulu are really very impressive. The reader will find something to cheer him up in some of his dull moments. We congratulate the author for this nice little contribution.

M. S. SENGAR

TELUGU

BUCHIBABU KATHALU: *By "Buchibabu." Published by Nammalwars, Post Box 251, Madras. Pp. 102. Price annas six.*

This volume contains five short stories, the first four of which are brilliant, and exhilaratingly fresh. The author depicts love in unusual aspects with rare skill and understanding. The characters that flit across the pages are portraits of living men and women. We move and feel with them. Janaki, Santa and Anna, poignant and pathetic, leave impressions as "the world forgetting, by the world forgot." They are alive—wonderfully alive. These stories are splendid specimens of psychological insight, depth of feeling and poetic imagery.

SIROMANI KATHALU: *By Mr. Srinivas Siromani. Published by Nammalwars, Post Box 251, Madras. Pp. 128. Price annas six.*

Disappointing. The stories lack in aesthetic restraint and technical approach. They abound in indelicacy and snobbish vulgarity. The characters are flimsy: they just fade away. The first story 'Yogyta' is readable, but the remaining three are scrappy. The second story reminds me of Tennyson's 'Dora'—I don't know why. The simple effortless style of the author is the only redeeming feature.

A. K. ROW

GUJARATI

(1) GANDHIJI, (2) ANDHALANEEN GADEEN: *By Jugatram Dave. Printed at the Navjivan Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Paper cover. Pp. 160+40.* (1939). Price annas four and anna one.*

The first book is the Fourth Edition of a work which gives the main incidents of Gandhiji's life in a chatty style, suitable for children. The second called "The Blindman's cart" is a one act play and is running its third edition. It gives glimpses of rural life.

ASHRAMBHAJANAVALI: *By the late Narayan Moreshwar Khare. Printed at the Navjivan Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Paper Cover. Pp. 288. (1939). Price annas two.*

This is the 12th edition of a very useful and valuable book. It contains Bhajans and devotional songs not only in Gujarati, Marathi, Hindi but in Sanskrit and English. The selections are so well and comprehensively made that men, women and children of all creeds can utilise them. Every home should possess and utilise it.

KAHDIPRAVESHIKA: *By Maganbhai Desai. Printed at the Navjivan Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Paper cover. (1939). Price annas twelve.*

Every small and big detail relating to the art and economics of the production of Khadi is collected and explained in a practical way in this little book.

KAVYAPARICHAYA - PART I: *By Ramnarayan V. Pathak and N. N. Parikh. Printed at the Navjivan Printing Pres, Ahmedabad. Cardboard. Pp. 226. (1939). Price annas ten.*

We are glad that a second edition of this useful work has been called for. A commentary at the end has made it more useful.

SITAHARAN: *By Chandrashankar Shukla. Printed at the Navjivan Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Cardboard. Pp. 192. (1939). Price annas twelve.*

The story of the abduction of Sita by Ravan is the main theme of the Ramayana. Every Hindu is familiar with it. The story is told here in a very impressive and correct way by Mr. Shukla. It is so narrated that juveniles and grown-ups both may benefit by it. It has deservedly run into a fifth edition.

PATAN ANE PRAYASHCHITTA: *By Vishwanath Maganlal Bhatt. Printing at the Swadhina Printing Press, Ranpur. Clothbound. Pp. 344. (1939). Price Rs. 2-8.*

Mr. Bhatt is an experienced writer. This translation of the American novelist Nathaniel Hawthorne's novel is a readable one. It has preserved the spirit of the original work and but for the names of foreign places and persons occurring in it would have passed for an original work.

K. M. J.



BURMA NAT FESTIVAL

By L. C. MAUNG

This festival is held in commemoration of the two brother nats (spirits)—the Shwepyingyi and Shwepyin-nge, who are said to have lived near the Sutaungpye Pagoda at Toungbyone, a distance of 7 miles from Mandalay proper.

The history of the festival runs as follows :—The King Anawratha ordered a pagoda to be built at Taungbyone village and ordered each of his subjects to contribute a brick to the shrine. Being still young lads, the young brothers failed to carry out the wish of the King, and when King Anawratha arrived in state to worship at the shrine he discovered that the construction of the pagoda was not complete, there being two bricks wanting in its construction.

The King's son Kyanzittha became jealous of the two brother "nats" and falsely reported that the two young boys had not only paid no heed to the order of the King but were secretly hatching a plot to usurp the throne. The King was angry and ordered their instantaneous execution.

After the consecration of the Pagoda, King Anawratha with his royal party left for old Pagan in a royal barge of oriental splendour with the mythical bird's head at the prow but before the barge could arrive at the landing stage the two brothers, who remained invisible in the waters of the river, had prevented it from proceeding. All efforts to move it proved futile. The Ministers possessed of a mysterious fear and trembling told the King that the two brothers had stopped the barge (Karaweik Phaung). Thereupon the King struck the water with his magic wand when the two brother nats appeared before him with clasped hands in reverence and begged the King to give them a place of refuge near the Sutaungpye Pagoda as 'nat over-lords.'

The King graciously acceded to their request and provided them with a residence (Nat-Nans) on the south side of the Pagoda and also provided them with attendants.

It is in their honour that the trustees of the Pagoda hold this annual festival.

The festival commences with the "washing ceremony" of the two brother nats whose gilded images are carried in a sedan chair (Waw) by bearers to Nayunggon on the banks of the Irrawaddy river. The route taken by the procession are lined with a vast crowd of men, women and Natkadaws who bestrew the images with flowers and rose-petals. The place is agog with musical parties hailing from all quarters of the province and happy-go-lucky sort of 'natkadaws' dance to their hearts' delight. It is not merely the occasion for providing fun and frolic for the people who come from all parts of Burma but more or less for the fulfilment of their vows.



A part of the procession with the sedan chair



The Natkadaws in their strange head-dress dance a grotesque dance

The festival is the biggest one in the province in which people of all nationalities participate. High officials and European gentlemen and ladies are seen during the occa-

sion—a cosmopolitan crowd. There is much fun and laughter when anyone goes near the "Natsan."

Villagers from the surrounding villages flock to see the ceremonial bathing of the two



Police officers, while doing their duty, enjoy no less in the company of the merry-makers

images which is done on a grand scale. The images of the two brother nats are taken out in procession in which the pilgrims take great interest and feel unmitigated joy. To pass the time in mirth and merriment, there is no occasion like this festival which is held only once a year. In short it is the traditional age-long custom of the Burmese. Witty remarks are made in rhyming couplets and to each and every one of them there is an appropriate reply, and he or she who can make his or her voice sound above the rest, wins the day.

Toungbyone itself has much of attraction to most people. Pilgrims feel joy and excitement of travel amidst romantic surroundings, and the universal feeling of good cheer attracts them. Everybody is cheerful; everybody is natural and free. The moat is filled with a large number of boats, sampans and ancient crafts manned by young, gay women and girls attired in their best, in gaudy longyis (skirts) and *highsadones* (coiffure) to match.

People come to the place by special railway trains, motor cars, gharries and primitive bullock carts. Shops of all kinds and eating booths spring up in and around the village.

Pilgrims enjoy the dance of natkadwas. A natkadaw when she looks excited is "nat-

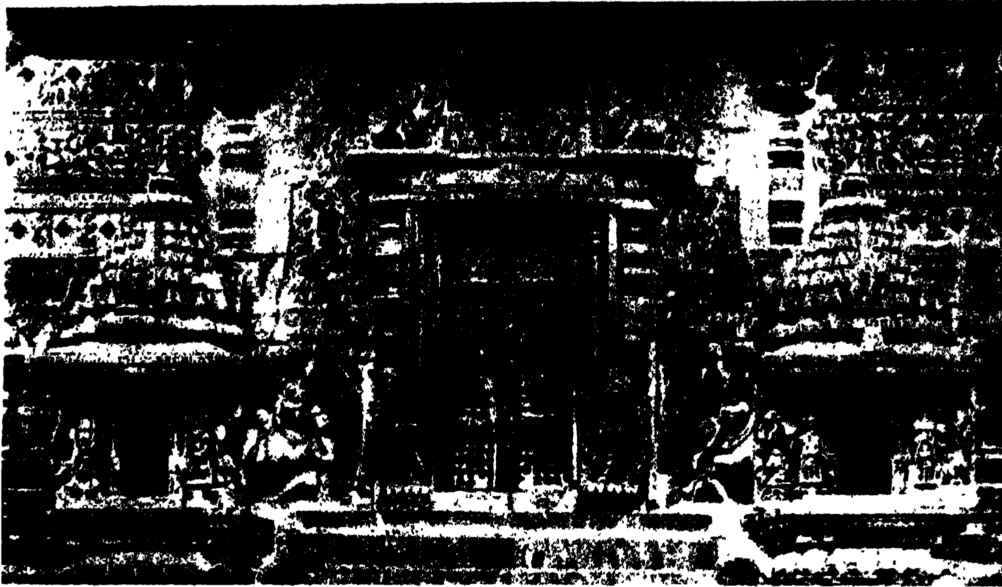




The festival has its business side too

possessed." Boats passing up and down the moat with merry-makers enhance the enjoyable scene. Burmese girls in their gaudy silk longyis and jackets are very prominent. To crown all, musical parties follow the dancers, by boats making the revelry more boisterous. The joyful spirit that prevails is very contagious. In fine, it is the most important and largest festival and fair in Burma that is held in the small village of Toungbyone. This Nat festival is wellknown in merry Burma.





The doorway of a temple at Belur Mysore

MYSORE

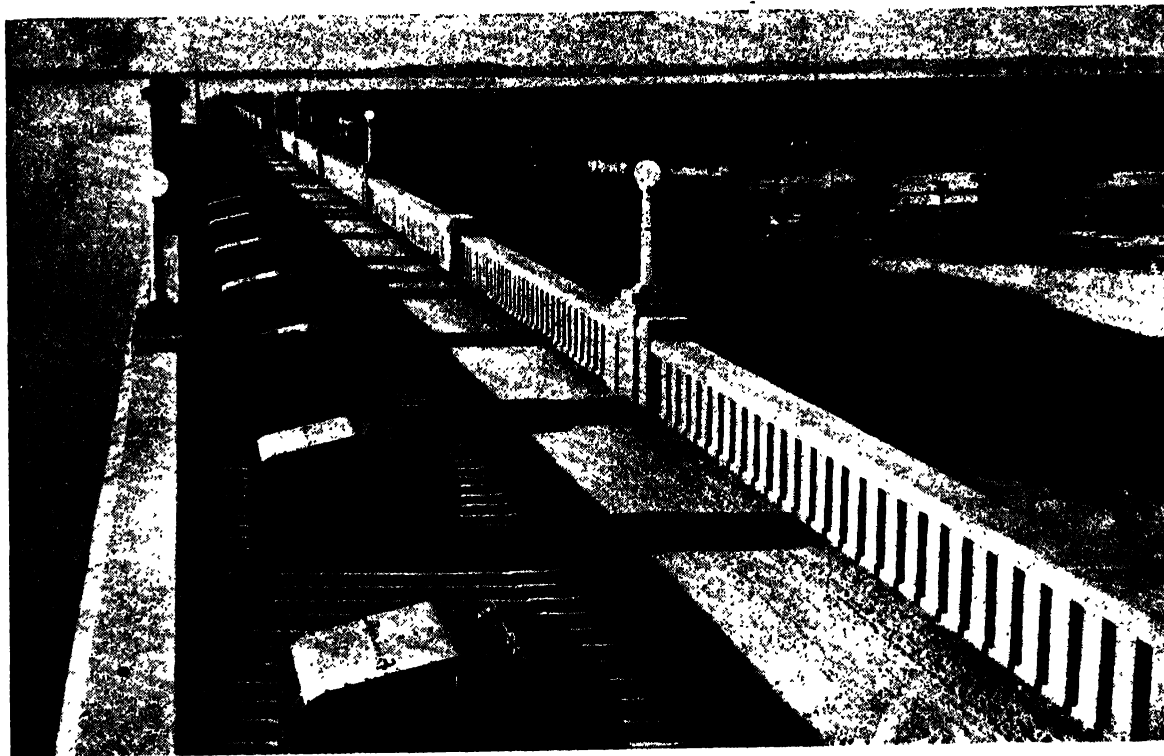
By L. N. GUBIL

THE picturesque State of Mysore with an area of 29,300 square miles is a table-land in South India with a general elevation varying from 2,000 to 3,000 feet. The country divides itself into two well-defined zones, the western portion being the Malanad, or the mountainous country and the eastern portion being the plains. The mountainous part of the State occupies a lesser area than the plains But it is a land of lofty mountains, primeval forest, lovely water-falls, with a marvellous variety of the vegetables and animal kingdoms. The plain country has a denser population. The intermediate country between the Malanad and the plains has the characteristic of both the zones. Hence, so many varied and natural features contribute to the considerable wealth of animal and bird life and go to make the State of Mysore an attractive and picturesque one. There is no doubt that anybody would certainly be well rewarded even by a short sojourn in the picturesque State of Mysore.

The State of Mysore is one of the oldest Indian States, under the sway of Hindu rulers and is well depicted in the two great Indian epics the Ramayana and the Mahabharata. It was the part of the Empire of Asoka whose edicts in pillars could be seen in the north of the State even to this day. The Kadambas, the Hoysala, and the kings of Vijayanagar and all royal races who played a dominant part in South Indian history had their birth places here. The State which is steeped in the traditions of antiquity came under the present ruling dynasty during the 14th century. Towards the end of the 18th century the country, however, passed into the hands of the Muhammadan rulers, Hyder Ali and Tippu Sultan. It did not remain with them for long and the old dynasty of Hindu rulers regained the country with the help of the English and are holding sway over the State ever since. The present ruler, His Highness Sri Jaya Chamaraja Wadiyar, was born on July 18, 1921, and ascended the throne on September 8, 1940.

His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore is the ultimate authority in the State, and he is ably assisted in his administration by a representative assembly and legislative council whose members are mostly elected by the people; he is also assisted by the Executive Council consisting of a Dewan and two other members.

It is hardly necessary to point out that during the past half a century the State of Mysore had been progressing rapidly in all aspects and today it stands as one of the most



Regulation sluices, Krishnaraj-sagar Dam

progressive modern States in South India. At the same time, it also maintains its traditions of Oriental States with all its pomp and splendour unmitigated by the lapse of centuries. Its position as a progressive State is due not a little to the interests and the welfare of the masses evinced by its rulers and the far-sighted policy adopted by successive Dewans who have been ably assisting them. From all points of view Mysore is well worth a visit by those who have a keen desire to see the sights of the world both natural and artificial.

The best season for visiting Mysore would be during the Dasara festivities, which generally falls in the month of September or October, of every year and lasts for ten days. It is aptly termed as a national festival for, it is an occasion of rejoicing to the peasant as well as to the potentate. These festivities are unique in character and have a deeper religious significance. It is an occasion when the ruler of the country prays with single-minded devotion for the prosperity of his people. The forms and rituals that go to make up the religious ceremonies are better seen than described.

The Maharaja holds a Durbar every evening during the Dasara, seated in his Simhasan or royal throne, an emblem of sovereignty. The throne is of fig-wood over-laid with gold. It is also covered with exquisite gold and silver figures of dainty workmanship. A pearl-fringed umbrella surmounted by a mythological bird is over-head. From this throne the Maharaja accepts the loyalty and obeisance of his devoted subjects. The tenth and last day of the festivities ends with a grand procession of the Maharaja seated in a golden Howdah, on a State elephant, headed by camels, elephants and horses richly caparisoned with silver coaches accompanying, and silken banners waving in the air, the procession recalls to our mind all the oriental splendour and magnificence in a modern setting. The whole city presents an enchanting appearance during these days of national social gathering.

The city of Mysore is the capiatl of the State. The Chamundi Hill named after the Goddess Chamundi, the tutelary deity of the Maharaja, lies close by, lending picturesque enchantment to the view. It is the cleanest city of India and being studded with parks and gardens it is also a "Garden City." It has been the capital of the State for over 200 years, It is here that the Maharaja has the Palace,

one of the loveliest buildings in India that took 14 years to construct. It is built of many varieties of stone and the surface from the basement to the roof is resplendent with sculptures of the very best Indian art.

The Chamundi Hill close by, is another place of attraction to the sight-seer. From its top, the traveller gets a panoramic view of the country in and around and with a serene-



H. H. the Maharaja Sri Jaya Chamaraja Wadiyar, the new Maharaja of Mysore

calmness may contemplate the glorious sunset on an evening. The Curzon Park, the Lalita Mahal and the Zoological Gardens are other places of interest. To the business-minded, the city of Mysore is not without its attraction. The Government Silk Factory with up-to-date looms, manufacturing high grade silk fabrics and the Sandal Oil Factory manufacturing Sandal Oil of the purest quality and over which Mysore holds a monopoly in the commercial world, are places well worth a visit. Bangalore is, however, the principal city of the State. It lies on the trunk road Railway line, connecting Madras and Bombay, covering an area of nearly 25 square miles, and having a population of over 300,000. It is perhaps the ninth largest city in India. It consists of two separate units lying contiguous with each other, the Bangalore City and the Civil and Military Station, Bangalore. The administration of the latter area is in the hands of the British who have the head-quarters of the Madras District of the Indian army there.

The equable climate of Bangalore as contrasted with the scorching sun of the plains and the modern attraction and comforts it affords has attracted many a settler from British India. The public gardens of the city known as Lalbag, and the Maharaja's Palace, are places of interest which no one can miss. Bangalore has been rendered famous as a temple of scientific research; scholars from all parts of India resort to the Indian Institute located here. It is also a rising industrial centre with a laboratory, a Government Soap Factory, a Government Procelain Factory and a Government Electric Factory.

Two miles from the city and easily approached by car is the lake of Chamraj Sagar, which supplies good drinking water to the city.

The Nandi Hills rising to a height of 5,000 feet, and situated at a distance of 35 miles from the city of Bangalore, with its ruined fortifications, was once a formidable strong-hold of the kingdom, and played an important part in the history of the State. With its attractive climate, it is now a popular summer resort with modern comforts and conveniences.

Sixty miles from Mysore is the world famous Kolar Gold Mines. The mines have reached a depth of 7,000 feet and is worked on up-to-date lines with all modern contrivances. They are leased to four companies formed and financed in England and they employ 20,000 workmen. The average annual output of gold from 1882 to 1934 is estimated to be of the value of £79,512,815.

On the way from Bangalore to Mysore is the famous Sivasamudram Falls of the sacred river Cauvery. Here the river branches into two streams each of which has a descent of 200 feet in a succession of picturesque rapids and cascades. These water-falls are best seen during the dry months, when it divides itself into many a distinct water-falls of magnificent splendour. The country around abounds in grand sights and the hills are clothed with dense foliage and verdure. The visitor is sure to carry with him an indelible impression of an enchanting scenery. During recent times the water-falls of Sivasamudram have been harnessed for the supply of electrical energy to the State of Mysore. Originally designed for a capacity of 3,600 kilowatts, it has now ten times the original capacity and embraces a high tension route mileage of 550 miles and supplies electrical energy for about 150 towns and villages. The ultimate idea of the Durbar is to carry these



A view of the Sivasamudram waterfalls



The footsteps leading to the temple of Sravanabelagola



The temple of Sundara Keshava at Belur

amenities to every homestead in the rural parts of the State.

To the industrially-minded the Sugar-factory at Mandya, lying on the trunk road from Bangalore to Mysore is of interest. The irrigational facilities afforded during the recent times has increased the acreage under cultivation of sugar-cane by leaps and bounds. The plant at Mandya produces 20,000 tons of sugar and the administration which is keen on self-sufficiency proposes to increase the productive capacity to 40,000 tons per year.

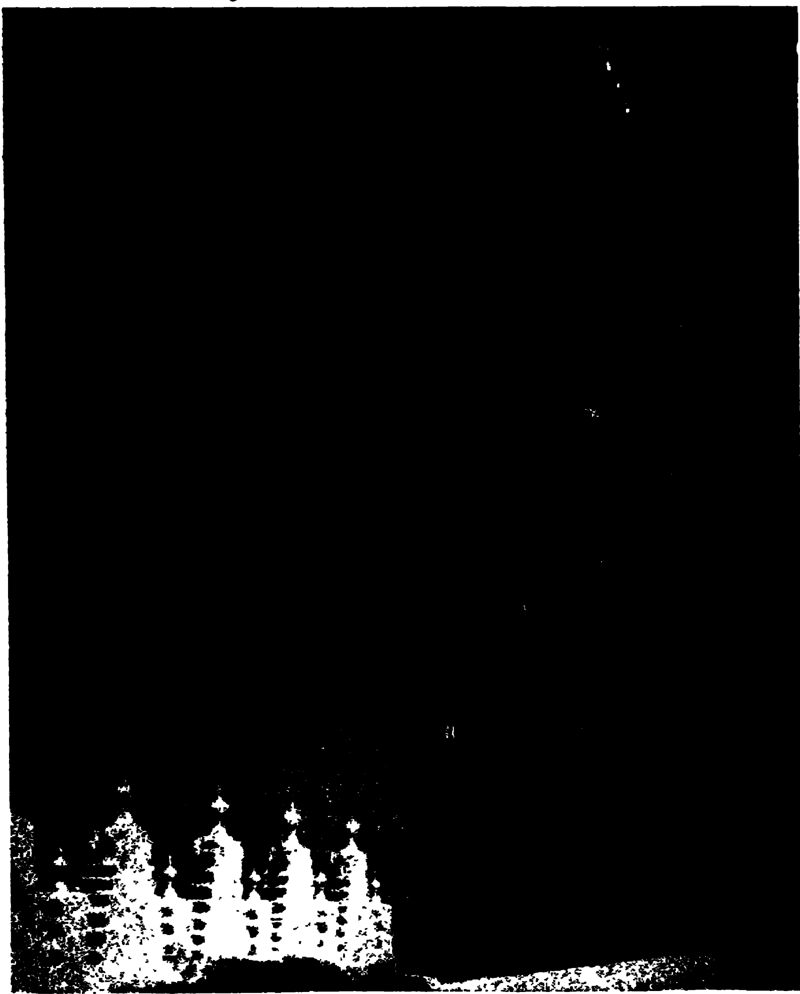
The second largest reservoir in India is in the State of Mysore and is known as Krishnaraja Sagar. The term literally means Krishna's ocean. The water-spread covers an area of 50 square miles. The dam known as the Kannambady Dam is 1¾ miles long and is estimated to store 124 feet of water. The construction of this Dam is a tribute to the foresightedness, indefatigable efforts and engineering skill of Sir M. Visveswarayya, a former Dewan of the State. The reservoir has harnessed the waters of the Cauvery and has brought over 1,20,000 acres of barren land into cultivation.

Close by the Dam are laid out a series of gardens in ascending terraces on both the banks of the river. It is named as Brindaban, after the manner of the enchanting gardens amidst which Lord Sri Krishna revelled. The gardens abound in beautiful lawns, shady walks, scented bushes, fountains and cascades lending colour to the view. The fountain sprays are illuminated in the night and indeed the artistic minds behind the scheme of arrangement have contributed to make the Brindaban a fairyland, a paradise on earth so well depicted by poets of yore.

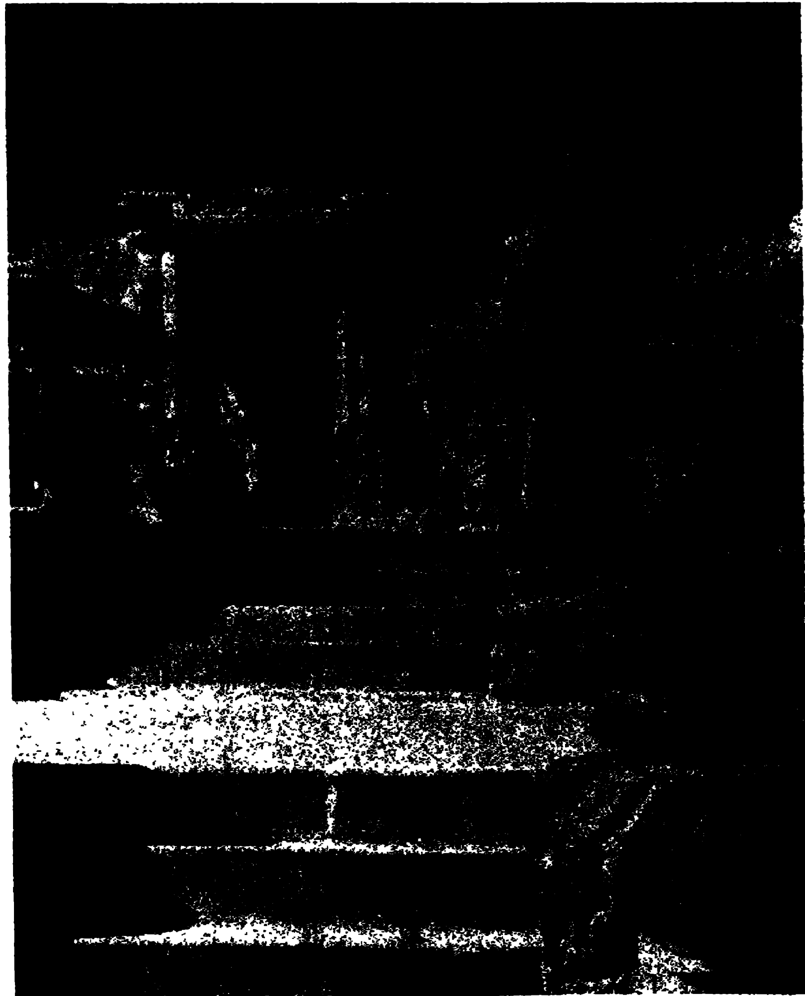
Mysore is not without its places of architectural interest. Thirty-three miles from the city of Mysore lies Somanathpur, taking its name after Soma, a member of the royal family that held sway in the latter half of the 13th century. The shrine at this place is at once a marvel of grace and beauty. The temple is surmounted by three towers which in symmetry and proportion are gems of architecture. The towers are pyramidical in shape and are decorated from top to bottom. The incidents of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata are depicted in the exterior base and above are portrayed the gods and goddesses of the Hindu pantheon. The number of images is well-nigh 200 and bespeak the elegance of outline and marvellous elaboration of detail of the talented artists. It is indeed a museum of Indian art.

The temple at Belur was built by the munificence of a Hoysala King, Vishnu Varadana,

MYSORE



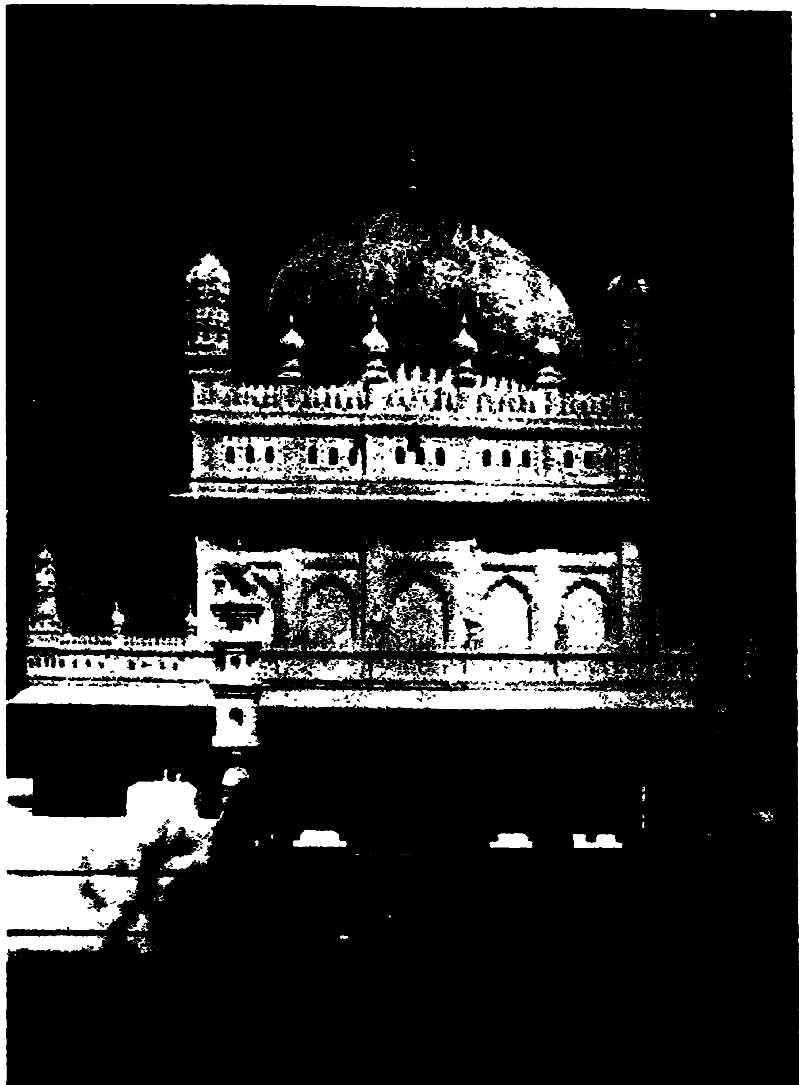
Temple in the palace precincts, Mysore



The temple at Halebid, Mysore



Sri Ranganatha temple, Seringapatam



The Gambuz. Seringapatam

who was a Jain at first but later converted to Vaishnavism by the great reformer, Ramanuja. A great patron of literal arts he built in commemortion of his change of faith, the temple



The sixty feet statue of Sir Gomateswara at Sravanabelagola

at Belur and dedicated it to God Vijaya Narayana in 1117 A.D. Dr. Fergusson has described :

"There are many buildings in India which are unsurpassed for delicacy of detail by any in the world but the temple of Belur surpasses even those for freedom of handling and richness of fancy."

Ten miles from Belur is the village of Halebede which was once the seat of Hoysala Kings. Its architectural monuments which are ranked as master-pieces of Hindu art testify to the splendour of this ancient city. There are two temples, the Hoyaleswara and the Kedareswara temples. The former is an unfinished work of Hindu art. "Had but this temple been completed, it would be one of the buildings on which the advocate of Hindu architecture would desire to take his stand." A person here sees a greater amount of skilled labour than was even exhibited in a like space in any other building in the whole world, and the style of workmanship is of a very high order. Every convolution of every scroll is different. No two canopies are alike and every part exhibits an exuberance of fancy scorning mechanical restraint.

Sravanabelagola lying between two small hills is a place where the historic and the picturesque clasp hands.

The great Emperor Chandra Gupta Maurya who built up one of the biggest empires in India, lived in the third century B.C., and held sway from Pataliputra, his capital in North India. Towards the end of the reign he, like the kings of yore, left his kingdom in a spirit of renunciation and settled at Sravanabelagola in Mysore territory; situated in the middle of two small hills, the place combines in itself the picturesque and the historic setting in Mysore. The cave in which the great Emperor ended his last days here is of everlasting fascinating interest to the historian.

In the year 983 A.D., was built, in the bigger of the two hills, a statue of Gomateswara held in great reverence by thousands of Jains throughout India. The image is sixty feet high and cut out of a huge boulder. Says Dr. Fergusson :

"Nothing grander or more imposing exists anywhere out of Egypt and even there no known statue surpasses its height or excels it in the perfection of art it exhibits."

Serinagapatam, the scene of glorious combats in Indian History, is a small island formed by the river Cauvery. With its strong fortifications considered to be impregnable it was the capital of the Mysore Maharajas for a long time. The historic breach in the Fort effected by General Sir David Baird, is marked by a simple and plain monument.

Mysore again was the abode of great religious thinkers and exponents of Hindu philosophy. In the 8th century A.D., the great Saivaite reformer and philosopher Sankara, founded his Math at Sringeri, a village rendered picturesque by the river Tunga. In this secluded spot and far from the madding crowd Sankara expounded his philosophy to the people of his country. This religious institution is perhaps the richest in India, endowed by generations of kings and emperors. There is a good Sanskrit library in the Math, and contains a good number of unpublished manuscripts.

At Melkote, another peaceful spot in the State lived in the great 11th century philosopher,

Ramanuja. The Narayana Temple renovated by him is its chief attraction. The diamond crown of the deity is kept by the State for safe custody and taken out once a year. It is almost priceless. Ramanuja, the reformer, wrote his commentary on Vedanta Sutras here.

In addition to the Sivasamudram Falls referred to before and which supplies electrical energy to all the industrial enterprises in the State, there are innumerable picturesque waterfalls that pass description. The Gersoppa Falls is situated at a distance of about 60 miles from from Shimoga. Here the river Sharavati reaches a chasm 960 feet in depth and leaps in four distinct cascades. It is a scene of grandeur and sublimity, and the wild and beautiful scenery lends enchantment to the view. Well, has the traveller said of it:

"One might almost gaze for ever on the abyss in which a mighty mass of water appears eternally burying itself in a mist-shrouded grave. The clouds of spray which continually ascend heaven-wards in slow and majestic wreaths appear to typify the shadowy ghosts of entombed waters."

Above all the State of Mysore can rightly be proud of its Pig Iron Works known as "The Bhadravati Iron and Steel Works," with its many important by-products, situated on the bank of the river Bhadra, 11 miles east of the railway terminus Shimoga. This industrial centre is worth a visit by every traveller on his way to the above falls by the rail route that connects Birur and Shimoga in the Mysore Railways.

Mysore is well served by roads and railways and travelling is easy. It offers never-failing interest to every taste and the traveller would certainly be well rewarded even by a short visit to this country.



Sir Oliver Lodge Sketch by S. N. Swamy

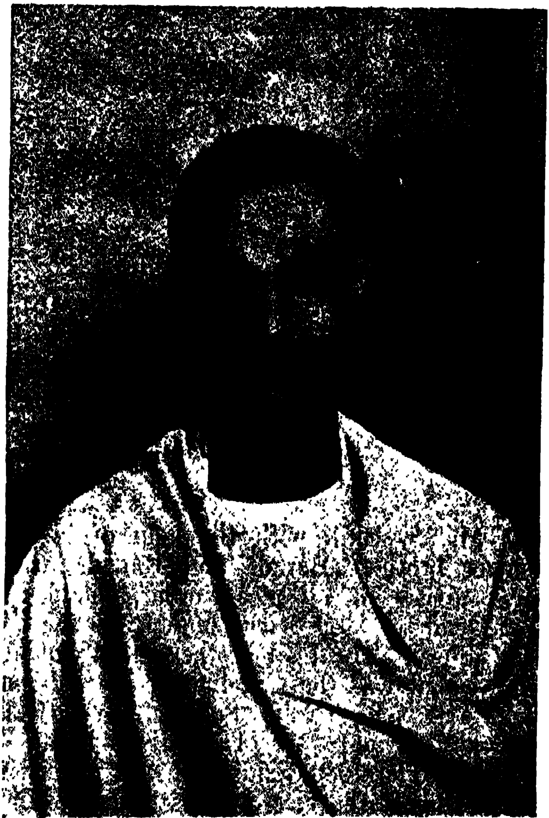
SARADA UKIL—THE ARTIST

BY Y. C. GAUR, M.A.,
Honorary Joint Secretary, All-India Fine Arts and Crafts Society

SARADA UKIL, one of the first flowers of the Renaissance in Indian Art, breathed his last in the early hours of Sunday, the 21st July, 1940, in his Art Gallery at New Delhi. The Muse is all tears. No more the devout hands shall make offerings of unique creations bathed in soft, subdued symphony of colours, instinct with life and eloquence, lyrical and spiritual in suggestion. Poorer indeed is Indian Art.

S. Ukil was born at Bikrampur, in the district of Dacca in East Bengal. His mother possessed artistic tastes. The beautiful title page of the lovely *Roop-Lekha* (Art Journal) is her design. A born artistic genius, Mr. Ukil sucked aesthetic tastes with his mother's milk. There were early signs of his artistic genius. In those days, in the domain of art, as in every other walk of life, the Indian mind was enchanted by the glamour of the West. Indian Art was a slavish imitation of European Art. Even Ravi Varma, the then leading Indian Artist, had a European style of painting and not Indian. The Bombay School of Art hugged occidental models. Then it was that Abanindranath Tagore, taking his inspiration from his uncle Rabindranath Tagore, established the Neo-Bengal School to revive the ancient Indian Art. Mr. Havell gave himself freely to usher in the New Spirit which aimed at giving expression to mental concepts rather than reproducing the objects of the external world, "Lyrical poetry, vigorous romance, and somewhat timid western realism" are said to characterise this Bengal School of Art. This School, with which our young Ukil cast his lot in the heroic band of pioneers, raises "musical visions" not for the "sensuous" but for the "inner eye" immortalising in colour and form the various moods of the spirit of fleeting objects of nature. It shows for the first time that art is something more than mere photographic exactitude. The mirage was more beautiful than the sands. Here in this School was accomplished at once what Blake and Wordsworth achieved for English Romanticism; here the mid-night and the dawn came hand in hand; here the precursors and the pioneers of Indian Art were united in one person. Here under the loving care of his teacher S. Ukil worked with sedulous care till the artist in him found the brush.

While Nandalal Bose, best known among Indian artists after his teacher, began to give freely of himself to his students at Santineketan and A. K. Haldar became the Principal of the Lucknow School of Arts, our young daring Ukil, conscious of his powers, took upon himself the most arduous task of setting up himself



Sarada Charan Ukil

in 1920 independently in the profession, far from his home, in New Delhi where any interest in painting hardly existed. But his unflagging zeal and missionary spirit of propagating the art nothing could chill. And as time went on, by the magic of his exquisite pictures replete with poetic suggestions, he captured the hearts of Princely India and built up a wide circle of admirers and patrons. In



The Ukil Brothers' Art School

1927 Mr. S. Ukil, with the help of his two younger brothers Baradā and Ranadā, themselves artists of no mean order, founded in New Delhi the Ukil School of Art and the Ukil Art Gallery. The Ukil brothers' next laudable achievement was the founding of the All-India Fine Arts and Crafts Society, New Delhi, and an Annual Art Exhibition began to be held. The 1930 Exhibition was opened by His Excellency the Viceroy himself and the Chief Commissioner of Delhi evinced great interest in it. Princes and Chiefs were attracted and the Willingdons too purchased a few pictures. Mr. S. Ukil's "Krishna Leela" (on silk) in water colours, won the Viceroy's cup for the best picture of the Exhibition, at which were displayed some 1500 works by over 200 artists from all over India.

Encouraged by these successes Baradā Ukil, resourceful and daring, took some of S. Ukil's paintings and sketches to London and with the support of the India Society, exhibited them in India House, where, in the chorous of applause, all scepticism was silenced for ever. Critics talked of the Artists' 'delicate and idealistic studies' that were 'stories in themselves.' They found in his works the 'lyrical suggestion' of Rabindranath Tagore's poetry. His paintings took Paris, too, by storm. Baradā Ukil returned with laurels for his brother from the world Art connoisseurs. Within the brief span of 20 years Indian Art had come into its own. S. Ukil's place in the gallery of world artists was assured.

In the wide world of Art Mr. S. Ukil roamed freely, seized upon every subject that caught his fancy and when the inspiration came, with the swiftness that surpassed all thought, he immortalised in colour and line the passing action, the transitory thought, the fleeting mood. Within a brief span of two decades he has contributed over 1000 paintings and sketches to Indian Art. Whatever he touched he turned into gold. Mythology, history, allegory, and landscape—nothing escaped him. In the pain-



At Ukil's Art Gallery, New Delhi, 1935
Standing (*from the left*): R. Ganguli, Ranada Ukil, S. Choudhury, Barada Ukil, G. C. Singh, J. Chakravarty, Gyanada Ukil, S. Bhattacharjee, N. Choudhuri and Bhavani Ukil
Sitting: K. Sen, Ramananda Chatterjee, Sarada Ukil and Jamini Som

ting of landscape he was an impressionist, but not of the Italian type. His vision of natural objects was not a blurred one. He surpasses Renoir in the skill and delight with which he depicts sunrise and sunset and shimmer of sunlight on objects of nature. His art is essentially introspective, inasmuch as it brings out an essential quality with a striking effect. He is not ornamental or decorative. We are not allowed to linger on the minor details of the body but are admitted straight away, with little ceremony, into the wide domain of the ethereal atmosphere where the spirit dances in ecstatic delight and visions unknown to the sense float before our eyes. He reveals to us the very "soul of things." Mark his "Siva's grief." Marvel at the Adonis-like beauty of Sati, the sweet amorous flower struck in the bud. Mark the dainty limbs softly held by her loving lord. But soon into the Lethe are our senses steeped. The midnight gloom of the atmosphere reflected in Siva's eyes almost closed in deep contemplation, silencing pity, love, remorse and grief that struggle for supremacy. A world of weird suggestions is opened out to us. The whole legend flashes before our mental eye, and we are unconsciously reminded of Keats' magic casements opening on the foams of perilous seas in fairly lands forlorn."

Mr. Ukil made his name by masterly interpretations of Indian life in black and white. It is in these drawings that this Indian artist's gifts are seen at their best. It seems scarcely credible that a line of such fineness and sharpness could be wielded by a brush. Yet it is a fact that Mr. Ukil never uses a pen. And to the use of that implement is due the delicacy and inimitable quality of his line. He drew in pencil a series of 30 sketches to depict the childhood of Lord Krishna. Fate did not permit

him to complete the later life of the Lord. Here in these sketches the effect of sharp lines imperceptibly melts into the softest of shadings. The life of the Buddha is illustrated with loving care by 35 exquisitely done pictures which now adorn the Nawanagar palace. He was a frescoe painter too. His 31 big panels grace the stately walls of Shri Gopalji Temple in the inaccessible Bilaspur. He executed beautiful clay model for the Gwalior Pottery Works. His silk paintings are a miracle of delight. Here he evolved his own technique in discarding the Chinese and the Japanese practice of having specially prepared surfaces.

His treatment of Muslim subjects evinces his keen sympathy and genuine understanding of the religion, its sentiments and emotions. He creates the atmosphere congenial to the aesthetic treatment of Muhammadan subjects whether it is "Showing the Id moon," or "Boys Singing in the Dargah," or "On her Beloved's Grave" or "Alamgir."

If Nandalal Bose, the most Ajantan, is the unrivalled master of lines, vital and virile, producing a sculpturesque effect, and if Haldar is the most lyrical of modern painters, S. Ukil is unsurpassable in the delicacy of colour. He is essentially a colourist. The brilliant dazzling mass of colours in juxtaposition, giving a kaleidoscopic effect, he leaves to Gogonendranath Tagore; warm, gorgeous colours are for Ravi Varma; Ukil is the undisputed master of a soft variant of two or three colours in their graded undertones. His pictures have a subdued atmosphere. We marvel at the imperceptibility with which the colours disappear into one another producing a single striking chromatic effect unsurpassed, and hardly equalled, in the whole world of art. Watch Mr. Ukil at work. After making a few stroke he would often lay down the brush and use his supple fingers and the magic palm too deftly blend the colours and produce a matchless effect. Take almost at random his "Departing Sun in the Lap of Night." Here we have blending of mainly three colours crimson, vermillion and blue. Yet ten colours could not produce a better effect. The nether tip of the Sun's disc has just emerged into the dark and the Sun is radiant with red glow; the Night is just beginning to brood on the Earth; the Sun-god is just on the point of leaving the scene. The Lady of Darkness has lifted the veil and has just balanced it in her hands to slip it over her body and envelop the Earth. The red line lacing the dark curtain, the arms and hands and the border of the sari so exquisitely represent the twilight at sunset when the colours imperceptibly mingle and the red rays shoot sometimes far off into the dark skies producing a beautiful colour effect. This is what meets the sensuous eyes. But more is conveyed to the mental vision. The fatigue of the day's journey is writ large on the Sun-god's face, while the Lady of Darkness is awakening from the day's slumber, straightening her limbs, opening her sleep-intoxicated eyes, and balancing her body on one leg. In a while we will have the dance of Night. The delicacy with which the curtain of night is balanced on the four fingers of the left hand while it is softly held between the thumb and the index finger is peculiarly feminine and does justice to Ukil's fine sense of conception and execution.

Mr. Ukil depicts poverty, misery and old age with a unique success. The damsel in the "Id Moon" could perhaps have been created by the brush of a lesser artist. But it needed all the genius of Ukil to bring into being the old man, with wrinkled, weather-beaten face, body kneeded and creased, vision almost fled struggling to catch the glimpse of the auspicious Id Moon. Only Shakespeare could create Lear and only Ukil could create that old man.

Mr. Ukil is careless about the anatomy, but he is always true to the higher anatomy of Indian Art. The almost mechanical skill of the West seems pale, death-pale, before the magic enchantment that his vibrant, living, eloquent pictures create. Sir William Rothenstein, Principal of the Royal College of Arts, London, talks of his "sensitive, disciplined" works having the "lyrical vein of Rabindranath's Poetry." "Refined and pensive, it gives us," he says so aptly, "like Indian music an insight into the delicate moods of the Indian spirit."

Mr. Ukil was a great devotee of the Buddha. He played the leading role in the film "The Light of Asia." He not only professed but lived the Lord's precepts. He was incapable of doing injustice to anyone consciously. There is nothing in the history of Indian Art to compare with his marvellously executed paintings on the life and teachings of Lord Buddha. His life was a poem on Buddhism. The Buddhist Temple may well be proud to claim him as his. The last rites were performed after the Buddhist manner and the Monk paid glowing tribute to Mr. Ukil's devotion to the Lord.

In this inspiring language of form and colour, that knows no barriers of caste, creed and race, he has spoken not only to all Indians but to the whole world and has fostered a better understanding between the Indian communities welding them into a nation and has established a better cultural relationship between the East



Surya Devata in his chariot
By courtesy of the Sarada Ukil Memorial School of Art

and the West, thus bringing the dawn of World Federation nearer.

A list of Mr. Ukil's patrons itself is an index of the great popularity he enjoyed and indicates the high artistic merit of his works. Rulers of Patiala, Travancore, Mysore, Baroda, Indore, Nawanagar, Bharatpur, Mandi, Narsingarh, Chamba, Sachin, and Bilaspur, each has some of his notable works in his art-gallery. Ramsay MacDonald, Lord Zetland, and the Willingdons purchased a few of his works. Seth G. D. Birla, and L. Shanker Lal possess several of his paintings. L. Shanker Lal's drawing room is a miniature art-gallery of Mr. Ukil's paintings designed specially for the purpose.

"The Day on the Lap of Night," "The Eternal Lovers" "Siva's Grief," "Ganesh-Janani," "Krishna the Cowherd" among others in Patiala, the exquisitely executed Buddha series in Nawanagar, "Death of Jatayu," with the Late S. V. Ramaswamy Mudaliar, "The Tandava Dances" at Birla House, New Delhi, "Winter" in Cooch-Bihar, "Showing the Id Moon" at the Prince of Wales Museum in Bombay, "Alamgir" at Mandi, big Frescoe Panels at Bilaspur, "Penance of Parvati," "In Tune with the Infinite," "Kashmiri Boat Women" "Sivaji," "A Link with the old World," "At the Dargah," and "Burden of Life" are some of his most famous works.

Mr. Sarada Ukil's place among the world artists is assured. His paintings adorn the Princely Palaces in India and England. Among artists of the modern school of Indian Art he would rank, I am disposed to think, second only to his great master Abanindranath Tagore, and Nandalal Bose. In view of what he has been able to do in New Delhi for the propaganda of the art in Northern India and Europe and for establishing the All-India Fine Arts and Crafts Society, being the hero of the mammoth adventure, he is his own equal. And Indian Art is poorer today by his sad demise, when he was hardly fifty. For, had he lived longer, there was no knowing how, now, when his art had been perfected and his talents matured, with his diverse streams of genius he would have enriched art in a variety of ways; for he was, besides, bold in enterprise, generous at heart, loving and loveable and most influential in winning the patronage of the rich and Princely India. It is a pity that he has

been snatched away in the full bloom of his gifts, but perhaps Heaven required him, just at the height of his powers, to beautify the moon, the stars, and the sky and to give a more charming hue to surise and sunset.

There is, however, this consolation that he has made Art in New Delhi stand on its own legs. For we have here his Art School, his Art Gallery and an All-India Fine Arts and Crafts Society, his own foundation enjoying the highest patronage in the land, and an Art magazine, too, the lovely and inspiring *Roop Lekha*, and Sarada Ukil lives in these institutions, in his imperishable works, in his two artist brothers, in scores of his disciples, and above all, in the hearts of his admirers and patrons. One of the finest flowers of the Indian Art Renaissance Mr. Sarada Ukil's fate and fame shall be " an Echo and a Light " unto generations.



After the Day's Work

By Sarada Ukil

ART OF SARADA UKIL



Govardhan-dharan



Krishna the Cowherd

By courtesy of the Sarada Ukil Memorial School of Art

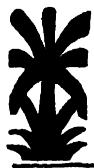


Divine lovers

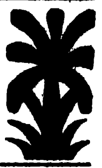


Sivaji

By courtesy of the Sarada Ukil Memorial School of Art



INDIAN PERIODICALS



Rivalries

Social rivalry between the communities is phenomenon of recent growth. Dr. Amiya Chakravarty observes in *The Behar Herald*:

In the villages, even now, people joined each other's and festivals whether Hindu, Sikh or Muslim; their lives are knitted together, economically, regionally as well as by traditions of neighbourliness. In the cities social barriers have hardened due to a variety of causes; while urbanites are perhaps getting immunised, the rural areas are freshly exposed to "carriers" who spread the disease in epidemic form. These carriers assume the garb of religion and indulge in anti-social passion.

The two most difficult problems are the *caste-system* and the *purdah*.

The former is a comparatively old institution, and has outlived its primitive utility; hosts of undesirables are taking shelter in its ruins and using them as their operating base. Vested interests of hard-pressed priest-craft, and rural fear of organised competition in the markets have led people, wherever possible, to exploit their traditions and seek shelter in guilds which used caste-labels. But the folly of trying to solve problems by backward means is being realized. Modern developments have shaken the foundations of caste and "untouchability," new ideas are in the air, trade-unions, labour organizations and co-operative movements are rapidly displacing caste-institutions. Social rivalry has its roots in narrow traditions and usages which cannot survive the impact of historical forces.

The *purdah* is comparatively new to India: it was unknown in ancient and medieval Indian society. It was largely imported from outside.

Both Hindus and Muslims must fight the mentality of fear, evasion and decadent ideas which have doomed half of Indian humanity to inadequate self-expression. Social intercourse can never become real so long as the *purdah* existed. Fortunately, the women themselves are taking the lead; in the case of Sikh ladies, many have directly taken to the bicycle from the walled courtyard without an intervening period of false diffidence. New political consciousness, ideas of human freedom, and a general rise of common sense, make for a rational outlook. Muslims who offer homage to Kemal Pasha while extolling the *burkha* or Hindus who boast about India's golden age and fear women's freedom are living in a world of make-believe.

Rivalry ought to remain in the *cultural* sphere.

Artists, even if they belong to one community, need the stimulus of wholesome competition. In creative affairs, there is room for infinite experimentation, individual assertion and enterprise; but the basis of rivalry is artistic, not communal. Community traditions are valuable in architecture, painting and penmanship, but in the hands of real artists communal heritages would be raw material, or stylistic inspiration, entirely subjugated to the exigencies of art. That is how things had happened down the ages in India. Nobody quarreled over the Taj Mahal or condemned the glorious Hindu architecture of Rajputana from a communal angle. In painting, also, Moghul and Rajput traditions flourished side by side; artists would choose one or the other according to taste or tradition. In music, both *Tansen* and *Tyagaraja* are needed; the great Muslim composer of the North was adored by the Hindu Rajas and the public, the South Indian genius did not merely appeal to the Hindus but to lovers of Indian music.

Cultural rivalry made for fusion of cultures as well as for variety. *Urdu* itself resulted from the amalgamation of the Persian, Arabic and Sanskrit languages. When politicians today speak of cultural rivalry, they use both words culture, and rivalry in a wrong sense.

The minority and majority complexes bred by diplomats have played havoc in social and cultural groups. Modern head-counting is trifle less exciting than the primitive head-hunt. But such extra-cultural activities in the domain of art, if persisted in, would destroy art itself.

Rivalry, in any real sense, cannot exist in religion. Religion begins where rivalries have ended; on the spiritual plane party considerations cease to have any meaning.

It is wrong to make a fetish of external practices and codes; to forsake the spiritual message of religion in fighting for technical and legal injunctions accidentally linked up with a religion, betrays lack of insight. Rivalry exists among religious communities where the original inspiration has vanished. The cure for religious lies in the revival of Religion.

India needs an extra dose of rationalism: it would not harm her spiritual life; in fact would strengthen it. In the West, perhaps, reason has to learn to surrender before spiritual truth.

Religion would lose nothing by welcoming sunlight in dark corners; honest criticism would help us in distinguishing between the accidental and tarnished, and the eternal. Rivalries would disappear in the pure air of truth.

Science, today, rightly understood and applied, can bring new confirmations for religious life. It makes Hindu water, Muslim *chai* (tea) and Sikh *roti* assume humorous implications and lead to their banishment at railway stations and restaurants. Tea, for instance,

came after most religions were founded, and could not claim holy authority behind communual teapots. In its larger aspects, science reveals a divine view of life. The abuse of science in the modern age need not cloud our sight.

Time has probably arrived for a great religious revival in India, in which reason and spiritual insight would operate together and bring new power and hope to men.

India has a special responsibility having a great tradition of religious unity and hospitality; our youth has to face the challenge.

America and Indic Studies

In America academic activity in Indic studies has been limited to a few universities, and this more toward linguistic research than toward effective presentation of the broad scope of Indic culture to the student world. Horace I. Poleman, Director of Indic Studies, Library of Congress, Washington, writes in *Science and Culture* :

American institutions can be proud, however, of this academic research. The names and work of Warren, Whitney, Hopkins, Bloomfield, and Lanman form a glorious chapter in the history of Indic studies.

With the financial assistance of the Carnegie Corporation of New York the development of Indic studies at the Library of Congress in Washington was begun two years ago.

A few others offer something on the art, history, sociology, and philosophy. We feel that perhaps a half-dozen universities in addition must be encouraged to add courses in the languages of India. But by far the most important project will be that of interesting colleges and universities throughout the breadth of the land to include in their philosophy, economics, sociology, history, and fine arts departments an adequate treatment of the Middle East.

The case has been admirably stated by my colleague, W. Norman Brown, as follows in his article on "India and Humanistic Studies in America" :

"Here in the West we still largely confine our humanistic studies to our own civilization. We are concerned with its roots—primitive, pre-historic, and historic—its evolution into its modern state, and the inter-relationships of its subdivisions (British, American, French, German, Italian, Russian, etc.). Where the European-Christian culture has clashed with the Far Eastern, the Indic, or the Islamic, we have generally viewed the clash from the point of view of our own narrower pre-possessions, with little, if any, comprehension of the reason why the Chinese, the Indians, or the Moslems of Arabia or elsewhere have acted as they have, and without taking a wider world-view, of the meaning of these clashes. We have satisfied ourselves with inspecting a single side of the medal, and have assumed that we need not know the other; our history has only one dimension. To state the matter so—even with allowance for some degree of overstatement is to reveal its fallacy."

The East in the West

The Visva-Bharati Quarterly publishes the following article which was found among the papers of the late C. F. Andrews. His own life was a noble and heroic experiment in realising the unity of man's spiritual experience in East and West which he traces so learnedly in the article from which we quote extracts :

In one sense, the Modern Age of Europe has meant a return to realism and a weakening of the idealist outlook upon life. The earlier discoveries of modern science have been made by the concentration of the human mind upon reason and experiment, and the abandonment of the pathway of direct intuition as a source of knowledge. Thus, in more sense than one, a revival of the classics has taken place. In all this process, the West has drifted further and further away from its spiritual basis in the unseen.

Yet even in the West, the romantic element had not been altogether left behind during the Age of Reason which followed the Classical Renaisance. In the Eighteenth Century, it gave birth to the enthusiastic movement known as the Evangelical Revival, which brought into the homes of the poorest a mystical faith, transforming and purifying in its effects. George Fox and the Society of Friends represented another range of mystical religious thought and life. In Germany, also, there dawned a new illumination, that eagerly availed itself of every ray of light from the East, and began once more to follow the pathway of intuition as a means to attain truth. Philosophy, with due reverence, was set up boldly on its throne and renewed search into unexplored regions of the human mind brought fresh facts and experiences to light.

In the Nineteenth Century the Modern Age of Science began. The Christian Church, which had bound itself hard and fast with irrational dogmas and creeds, could not at first cut itself loose, and make the fearless appeal to every faculty of man to join in the search for truth.

A fatal conflict went on, all through the Century, between intellect and faith. Science became more and more abstracted from religion, and philosophy took the same precipitous course. While great gains have been achieved in certain directions by such abstractions, great losses have also ensured. The wholeness of life has been lost sight of, and humanity itself has been divided into compartments.

In Europe, the conception of the universe governed by the postulates of science, has tended to become rather that of an infinite series and a never-ceasing flux, than that of a spiritual ideal being realised under conditions of space and time. The imagination of the modern man is taught by science to picture the crash of systems and the wreck of worlds in an endless sequence. The infinitely great and the infinitely small in nature have been revealed to man's gaze as never before, but the mind and the spirit find no rest in all these bewildering discoveries. Modern minds frequently retire from them, jaded and worn, to the limited ideal of ancient Greece, and say : "Let us leave the infinite alone; it can never be fathomed. Let us perfect that which we know and beautify the world in which we live."

The new age still gropes for that spiritual vision of the Infinite which is satisfying, not

terrifying and morbid; that vision which alone can unify the world.

But as yet there has not been fashioned in the West any philosophy comprehensive enough to meet the true demands of religion and science alike, and bring a new unity to mankind.

In the present turmoil and confusion in Europe after the Great War, which has shaken the confidence and pride of the West, there are very many earnest souls who are looking more and more wistfully to the East. They seek to discover whether the harmony between religion and science on the one hand and science and philosophy on the other, may not be found by taking into account that eastern hemisphere which has hitherto been for the most part outside the field of European research.

One thing is practically certain. The old isolation of the different cultures and religions of the world, which was originally in a great measure geographical, is now rapidly vanishing. The different currents of thought and life among the races of mankind have to be made to flow into one another in the future. Channels of inter-communication must be cut. The romantic and idealsitic element, which is still strong in the religions of the East, must be brought into closer contact with the classical and realistic element, which came back to modern Europe with the Renaisance and has dominated European thought ever since. Only thus can the spiritual conception of the Universe, which is innate in the consciousness of mankind, in East and West alike, find its true setting and its full expression.

The Inner Voice

The mind when it thinks and reasons can only see a part or aspect at a time and cannot take an integral view of things; that is why Truth which has many sides and is very complex always escapes human thought and reason. It is in the silent mind that the true consciousness can be built. Anilbaran Roy writes in *Prabuddha Bharata* :

"So long as the being is subject to the whirl of thoughts or the turmoil of the vital movements one cannot be thus calm and fixed in the spirit. To detach oneself, to stand back from them, to feel them separate from oneself is indispensable." "A mind that has achieved this calmness can begin to act, even intensely and powerfully, but it will keep its fundamental stillness—originating nothing from itself but receiving from Above and giving it a mental form without adding anything of its own, calmly, dispassionately, though with the joy of the Truth and the happy power and light of its passage." (*Bases of Yoga* by Sri Aurobindo).

The one danger is that when there is the peace and the mental silence, one hears many voices which imitate the voice of Truth, and unless the *sadhaka* is alert, he may be seriously misled.

Even in ordinary life, people often commit serious blunders, even crimes, following what they call the "inner voice." It is very dangerous to regard all voices which are heard within as having a divine origin. For there are many invisible forces and beings in the world seeking to have their own way, they are not divine, and indeed some of them are definitely hostile to the divine will and purpose in the world: they are the Asuric and Rakshasic forces which find joy in the woes and sufferings of mankind. Hitler, it is said, guides himself by the "inner voice," and the disastrous nature of his acts leaves no doubt that the voices he hears do not come from any high or divine source.

These beings are not always of a hostile nature or Asuric; they may be mental beings representing half-truths, creeds, dogmas which tend to manifest themselves in the world; and men with very good intentions are misled by them. There are very subtle forms of egoism and desire from which even great men are not free; and blinded by these impurities in themselves, they take the voice of all sorts of imperfect beings as the voice of the inner Divine, and thus they go erratic; and when they are men in leading positions, the consequences of their acts may be disastrous for millions.

The Novel in the Moulding of Social Opinion

In the course of an article on the above subject in *The Aryan Path*, Miss Stella Gibbons the novelist observes :

Until the Four Years War, Western Man was rightly suspicious of attempts to influence him by propaganda in works of art, and he showed his suspiciousness by refusing to read novels which displayed too plainly the glitter of the axe they had to grind.

But since the Four Years War and the rapid crumbling of tradition and security which has followed it, Western Man has developed an active social conscience, and is now rather too ready to welcome novels which expose social disgraces and suggest political remedies. Once, it was the pure propagandist who was made to feel guilty of a crime against art; today it is the pure artist who is made to feel guilty because he does not write about contemporary social problems.

The growth of the sociological novel in the West is partly due, of course, to the fact that social questions are burning in men's minds as they have not burned for a hundred years.

Novelists often catch up, and express in fiction, themes which are agitating the minds of the great mass of people. The Russian Revolution the struggle between Government control and private enterprise in the United States, the problem of permanent unemployment in Great Britain and Europe, the poverty and struggles for self-government in India, the gigantic cataclysm in China—all these immense themes have been presented to the public by the new messenger : wireless. It has not been possible for an intelligent and imaginative man, any more than for a warm-hearted and ignorant one, to ignore them. They have swept through the mind and heart of mankind in the West, and the novelists have obediently written their novels about them.

Nevertheless despite the immensity of the themes with which the modern sociological novelist deals, the *great* English sociological novel, which shall rank with those of Dickens, has not yet been written. In America a novel called *The Grapes of Wrath* has been written by John Steinbeck which is almost as great as *Uncle Tom's Cabin;* almost, but not quite.

It may be interesting, perhaps, to try to discover why the great English sociological novel of the twentieth century remains, so far, unborn.

The crumbling of an old system of security and the confusion brought about by the agonizing birth of the new must of course, be reflected in novels, if only indirectly. A proper novel is a mirror of its time. But there still exist what Carlyle called The Immensities and The Eternities; and the weakness of the contemporary sociological novel in England and America is that it bends these vast facts—parenthood and compassion, tyranny and tenderness, misery and delight to the use of propaganda.

The sociological facts, which should be woven into the story as an unbreakable part of it, are put before the story : indeed, the story is subdued to them, and so are the characters.

The influence of the novel as an instrument of social reform is indirect, like the effect of the Gulf Stream upon the climate of the British Isles. There is still enough of "propaganda sales-resistance" in most ordinary readers to prevent them from relishing and taking into their hearts a novel which flourishes its axe too fiercely; in which the people are conventional propaganda types—the Capitalist, the Worker, the Worker's Woman, the Decadent Capitalist Woman, etc., etc.; and in which the situations do not arise naturally but are devised in order to show up some disgraceful flaw in the social structure.

The common reader still likes to have his heart touched and his imagination fired, as he always has done; and the indirect yet vast effect of such novels as *Oliver Twist* and *All Quiet on the Western Front* is vast precisely because they do these things.

But the modern novel reader has one taste which the propaganda novelist (who finds it difficult to imagine and invent) can easily satisfy : he likes technical details.

He may be too lazy to read a text-book about bridge-building or stocking manufacture, and he is therefore pleased when he finds a novel in which these processes are described as part of a story; a thin and shrill story, but nevertheless a story.

The propaganda novelist falls eagerly upon this taste. It gives him a chance to describe in detail the work of his hero (or rather, his propaganda-peg) and it saves him the trouble of imagining and inventing . . (or rather, of trying to imagine and invent).

Towards the middle of the last century, with the gradual but steady improvement in the social conditions of the poor in England, the sociological novel lost its first drive, and fell into a novel of manners, preferring to deal with the rich and arrived rather than with the poor and aspiring.

The novelist whose creed was "Art for Art's sake" enjoyed a heyday which they have never enjoyed since, and may not enjoy again before the dawn of the Golden Age.

Anthony Hope wrote perfect romances that would now be described as "escapist," and the early scientific romances of H. G. Wells were delighting an educated public which had hardly yet begun to realise what wonders "Science" could perform.

I am an unshaken and obstinate believer in the novelist as artist rather than the novelist as propagandist, and I often, very often wish that Mr. Wells had suffered some sort of creative death after writing the last words of his last great scientific romance.

Unfortunately, something happened to Mr. Wells. He became impatient with the human race. In all his later books the reader hears his voice saying impatiently to his hero, Man : "But it's so *easy* ! All you've got to do to get out of the muddle is to *plan*."

Lack of tenderness and reverence in a writer of sociological novels brings its own punishment : the reader is not convinced and his social conscience remains unmoved.

We are sorry for Mr. Polly with indigestions and vaguely feel that there must be something wrong with a social system which lets Mr. Polly suffer. We do not mind at all what happens to Crystal and Sungold ("Names like race-horses" as some one unkindly said), the Utopians in *Men Like Gods*. Nor (a more important point) do we wish to be like them or to see our friends and relations and the little man who keeps the shoe-mending shop down the hill thus transformed.

In my opinion Mr. Wells is the greatest of living English writers.

But because his sociological novels lack tenderness, patience and compassion for Man, they will not live.

The late D. H. Lawrence, a miner's son turned novelist from the North of England, wrote books about the English poor but they cannot strictly be described as sociological novels. Something is very wrong with the poor here, but much of it is a reflection of the torments in Lawrence's own mind and heart. The background in which the characters in *Sons and Lovers* move is that which has produced some of the world's greatest men : "decent" poverty.

Lawrence saw the remedy in a return to a simpler and more instinctive life, especially in love matters. I would add to this the need for reunion with God. This is a terribly difficult Path. The European war may force us to tread it and we may find true peace at the end.

(Cynical Afternote The most depressing novel I have ever read in my life is Aldous Huxley's *Brave New World*, in which all the social problems are solved !)

Dancing as Spiritual Expression

In India today side by side with the growth of political, educational and other forms of national consciousness is the development of a definite love for the Arts, particularly dancing. Rukmini Devi remarks in *The Theosophist* :

Bharatanatya is a form of Art which obviously had a great origin, for every step, every movement and every gesture is an expression of the spiritual, and the actual form of the dance is such that it is not possible to degrade it below a certain standard. That it was meant to be a means of bringing the ignorant to Light is obvious when you read the Sanskrit books on Bharatanatya. There are also many original books on Bharatanatya in the ancient Tamil language. As far as I can judge, even the present form of Bharatanatya shows us that it is the mother of Indian dancing.

We are not free when we copy. We are not free when we are not ourselves—when we do not express our genius.

A great dancer's art must depend first on the life she or he can express, secondly upon the beauty of technique, and only lastly on stage arrangements, costumes, etc. These must be as ornaments and not essential in themselves. If the dance is true and beautiful it cannot lose by the absence of these though it can be enriched by them.

Bharatanatya is an Art which is complete, and it is remarkable how every detail of form has been thought out to perfect its technique that it may be a perfect instrument of the genius of the dancer.

Without a perfect knowledge of music it is impossible to be a perfect dancer. And no dancer can be great without the power of dramatic expression which is displayed by the body and particularly the face, which is a very different principle from what I observe in the North. This only goes to prove that in India skill in action was of a high order and it was not sacrificed for the sake of the Spirit. Yet such an artist can afford to do very little because even a very simple gesture can be potent with meaning and power. The magic of the genius is the highest magic of all. Though form, technique and skill are essential, they can never be sufficient for if Art is to become an inspiring force in the world, it depends on the artist for whom talent is not enough but a spiritual atonement with the beauty of the Divine. If art is to become an inspiring force in India from the Indian artist there must be the complete dedication of oneself to our Motherland—for through that dedication alone can come the everlasting outpouring of inspiration and blessing that will once more bring India to the forefront of the world as the Land of Spiritual Beauty.

Fallacies about Indian Population

Population is essentially a quantitative science dealing as it does with numbers. It should then be a very exact science. But curiously enough, no discipline is more speculative and therefore vague and inexact than that bearing on population. Dr. Benoy Kumar Sarkar observes in *The Calcutta Review*:

As a rule demographists and statisticians working on Indian data have been struck by the 10·6 per cent of 1921-31. They have not attached adequate importance to the solid sum total of increment during the half-century 1881-1931. This is 39 or rather 35 per cent only. The trend of population growth has therefore been modest. This is the most fundamental plank of Indian demography. From this standpoint there is not much force in the following statement made in the article published in the *Indian Journal of Medical Research* for July 1935 (p. 208): "Compared with many other countries India has exhibited a high rate of increase. The article takes no cognisance of the trend as statistically known since 1881 while establishing this proposition. It points out, further, that the Soviet Republic's corresponding rate is 38·6 per cent (beside India's 10·6)." To this the only observation offered is as follows: "The Soviet Republic is an exception." It is questionable, however, if the demographic situation in Russia may be dismissed in such a simple manner. The population of Russia, vast as it is (146 millions in 1926), cannot by any means be held to be negligible as an absolute factor in world-demography. The extraordinary high rate of increase that Russia exhibits is a powerful element in the population pressure on the world.

No scientific study of the world's population problems can afford to ignore the Russian growth-rate, unless it be obsessed by certain fixed ideas in regard to the Indian or some other demographic situation.

The rates of growth or natural increment vary from decade to decade and quinquennium to quinquennium. It is not safe, therefore, to proceed to calculate the probable trends on the strength of a rate prevalent at any particular point of time. The calculations offered by the present author in 1931 are bound to be substantially different from those that may be made on the basis of the rates available in 1936 or 1939. The positive basis for study is a somewhat long period, in case the relevant figures are available. This is what has been done in the present paper by taking the long-range view of Indian demography since 1881. Such a view cannot be entitled to formulate, as we have been, "a high rate of increase" for India.

High, medium and low are relative or comparative terms. For the purposes of comparison the article in the *Indian Journal of Medical Research* (July, 1935) has cited the rates from some of those countries whose growth is known to be rather low.

There are many regions in the world today exhibiting quite high rates, *e.g.*, Argentina, Mexico, Chile, Poland, Holland, Bulgaria, Portugal, Lithuania, Rumania, Greece, Hungary, and so forth.

In the perspective of these countries, the Indian rate should not appear to be "high." In any case India would be found to be in quite a good company.

The high growth-rates in international demography may be seen in any number of the *Statistical Year-Book of the League of Nations* (say, the one for 1936-37, p. 11). At the same time the question of Soviet Russia being "an exception" would likewise be solved in the negative.

Two points will have to be noticed by every student of comparative demography. First, the trends require to be indicated with as many decades or generations as possible in the past evolution. Secondly, in regard to the demographic regions or zones the selection ought to be as exhaustive and comprehensive as possible in regard to climate, race, socio-economic conditions.

The fallacies of demographists and statisticians about India have in the main arisen from the fact that they have as a rule ignored or not paid adequate attention to the implications of these two items of comparative methodology.

A noteworthy item of Indian demography is the slow but continuous fall in the birth-rate.

To this fact the attention of the International Congress of Population held at Rome in 1931 was drawn by the present author's paper. This was the subject also of his paper at the All-India Medical Conference held at Calcutta in 1932. It was pointed out that the decline in the birth-rate was a world-phenomenon and that India's participation in it was a statistical reality.

It is curious, however, that Indian demographists and statisticians either ignore this reality or do not care to attach any importance to it in their discussions.

An instance may be cited. The birth-rate for British India is given by A. J. H. Russell and K. C. K. E. Raja in the paper on "The Population Problem in

India" published in the *Indian Journal of Medical Research* (Calcutta, October, 1935, p. 558) as follows :

Period	Rate	Period	Rate
1901-1910	38	1931	35
1911-1920	37	1932	34
1921-1930	35	1933	34

Evidently the birth-rate has declined. But the authors maintain that it "has been more or less stationary." In the subsequent paper. "A Forecast of Population in India at the Census of 1941," for the same journal (April, 1937, p. 1185) one of these authors has quoted the same figures and observes, again, that the "birth-rate has been more or less steady from the beginning of the century." One wonders as to why statisticians should persistently try to ignore the reality.

The decline in birth-rate is a solid fact of demographic India, however modest it be.

The fall from 38 to 35 (34) implies a decline of 7·8—15 per cent. It is not negligible and although not considerable it is certainly palpable. In any case it should not systematically escape the attention of the statisticians of the Public Health Commissioner with the Government of India and of the All-India Institute of Hygiene and Public Health, Calcutta. It appears that these and other authors are anxious to prove the thesis of over-population in India and propagate the cult of birth control. They are, therefore, naturally disinclined to mention or attach value to the statistically recorded decline in the birth-rate.

It is regrettable that the Annual Report of the Public Health Commissioner for 1936 (p. 5) has reproduced such views without comment.

We should question also the accuracy of Carr-Saunders' statement to the effect that in India "there is no sign whatever of a decline in the rate during recent years as in Japan." It is to be pointed out that in regard to India this demographist is likewise an exponent of over-population and birth control ideas. His judgment is thus worded · "India, or in any case large areas of it, is over-populated." And, then, again, "family limitation is the only way of escape." His indifference to statistical reality may, therefore, be due to the impact of his conclusions on the objective sense.

It is of course patent that the rate of decline from 38 to 35 (34) is very low.

But it is interesting to observe that Carr-Saunders attaches importance to a much lower rate of decline in another context. For instance, in order to establish his thesis that India is over-populated he asserts that the percentage of the population engaged in industry has declined from 10·7 per cent in 1921 to 9·8 per cent in 1931 (p. 274). In case the one low rate of decline is important enough for notice, the other low rate ought to be noticed too in scientific analysis.

Poetry

Poetry to be really good, need not have anything of the fashionable in it and unless it has in it that music which is only heard in silence, it will naturally betray its purpose. Observes *The Indian Cultural Review* of Port-Louis, Mauritius, in its Notes and Comments :

In one of his broadcast talks, our distinguished contributor, Mr. R. C. Wilkinson, speaking on the English poetess Emily Dickinson, made a very interesting observation on the relation of Poetry to Art and Beauty. He said :

Poetry has also suffered from too literal a criticism. Some critics count the number of times the sun, moon and stars are mentioned in a poem and decide by that test whether the poetry is good, excellent, or supreme. But in fact the natural beauty of the model is no essential proof of the greatness of the art, be it picturesque or verbal. Poetry, like painting, can do without such adjuncts and still be poetry. Beauty which can be heard or seen is only a fashion determined by education and other contemporary factors. Beauty of the earth is like the foam on a wave when the sun glances through it; a moment later the wave has abandoned it, but far and wide other waves flaunt their sparkling headdress, tireless coursers of the great winds and tides of the world.

A poem, like a wave of the ocean, can be plumed with beauty but it must obey the tides and winds of our humanity. There is the harmony which only the greatest artists can achieve and which bears no particular allegiance to fashionable beauty, fashionable goodness, or fashionable truth.

The Song World in Tamil

The Tamil language has, through the course of thousands of years, developed wonderful poetic forms. In the course of his article under the above caption in *Triveni* T. K. Chidambaranath Mudhaliar observes :

The forms are the outcome of the pulsating rhythm and music that pervade the song as a spirit; and it would be no exaggeration to say that to miss that spirit is to miss the whole poem; and, further, that the forms thus evolved are untranslatable.

Here is a love-song of the twelfth century (A. D.). The lady love expects her lover to return in the evening. She is alone in the house and is waiting till it is almost midnight. Then she goes to bed. But she is restless, walks to the door and opens it to see if her lover is coming. The lover is not seen. She closes the door and returns to her bed. In a few minutes she goes again to the door, and in despair returns to the bed. This going and returning goes on incessantly till sunrise. All this is expressed in a couplet :

Expectancy opens and Despair shuts;
And thus swings the door from eve to morn
Thereby wearing out the hinges.

The joy that comes of temple worship has been and is a living reality for the pious. Those that have gone through that pious experience, by strewing flowers at the feet of the Deity and doing obeisance before the *sanctum sanctorum*, can easily understand the depth of the feeling that found expression in the following song, (some three hundred or four hundred years ago).

Why art thou restless, my heart ?
Peace be with you :
The Lord's feet are there,
and there are the sages' songs in praise of them.
And there is my mouth to sing,
and my hands are there to strew flowers.
And, to bow homage to them,
there is my head :
Why art thou restless, my heart ?
Peace be with you.

The image of Nataraja, its transcendent beauty, and the interpretative art enshrined therein are now familiar to the entire Art-world. Through the dancing pose of the Deity at Chidambaram, we have to see a vast figure, filling the very heavens, dancing and whirling in ecstatic joy; and, again, through this cosmic image, one has to perceive the oneness and harmony that governs the whole universe, and thus realise the joy infinite. Here is a glimpse of such a realisation :

Thy matted locks waving in the skies,
Thy complexion resplendent,
The milk-white ashes besmeared thereon,
Thy arched brow, Thy ruddy lips,
Thy smile mysterious,
And, above all, Thy lifted foot,
dripping as though with honey.
These, O, Lord ! If one could have a vision of,
Even the birth, on this earth, human mortal is
worth striving for.

(Found in the hymns of Appar, 5th Century A.D. ?)

The Liberal State

Various descriptions of Liberalism have been given It has been called a method, a party, an art of government, and a form of state organisation. Writing about the Liberal State in *The Hindustan Review* Dr. Bool Chand makes the following observations :

Liberalism recognises that the formation of human individualities is the work of freedom, and the function of Liberal parties has, therefore, been a constant opposition to organised state authority.

The emphasis upon the individual doctrine has had an unavoidable flare of romanticism about it; for Liberalism never stressed or tried to establish the relationship between Liberty and Equality. It has shown its eagerness for the change which comes from individual initiative, but it has exhibited reluctance for the establishment of any form of economic equality, for according to its belief that would be the result of statal intervention, which theoretically, would be abhorrent to it. This dissociation of the ideas of liberty and equality was really a result of the very origins of Liberalism.

Liberalism arose as the result of the emergence of a new economic society at the end of the Middle Ages.

Before the fifteenth century, society in Europe was organised on the feudal basis. The main relationship was between the landlord and the tenant. In such a society all rights were private, dependent upon the possession of land. 'There was no such thing as independent public rights; all the relations which we moderns are accustomed to comprise under that head were immediately rooted in property, contract, heredity, and the family.'

In this society, as a result of certain forces, like the increasing wool and cloth trade with the Flanders, of the spread of the Renaissance spirit and the consequent maritime enterprises of the seamen of Elizabethan court, there was opened up a new vista of trade, and commerce, and manufacture, and ultimately there grew up a new middle class, depending for its wealth not on land but on merchandise and trade.

Liberalism came as the ideology to fit the needs of this new world, in which feudal econo-

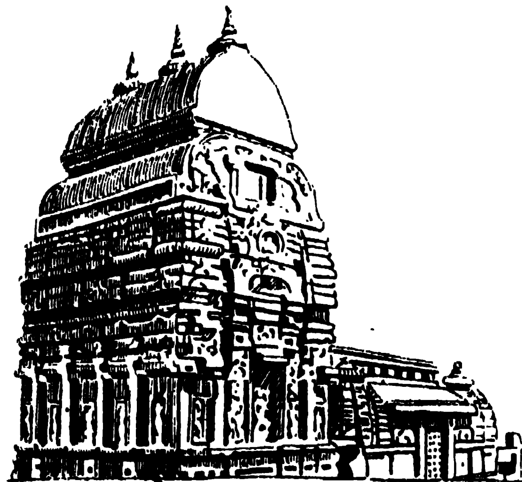
mic relationship was breaking down, and in which a new form of wealth and a new class of population were rapidly rising.

In this age, a concept of natural and public rights, as distinct from the private rights of landholders, was bound to arise. In this new world, where the banker, the trader, and the manufacturer were gradually replacing the landowner and the warrior, status was bound to be replaced by contract as the juridical basis of society. But the self-interest of the middle classes would not let them appreciate that contract could not be quite real, unless it was implemented by some sort of a relationship between liberty and equality, between liberty of contract and equality of bargaining power. It was never foreseen that contract is never genuinely free until the parties thereto have equal bargaining power. The workers in the country, who formed a very large proportion of the population, could not by any stretch of imagination be supposed to have anything like an equal bargaining power at all. Thus although Liberalism has always expressed itself as universal in so far as it has refused to recognise any limits, in theory, whether of class or creed or even of race to its application, yet as a result of the historic conditions within which it has operated, in its institutional result it has been so closely connected with the ownership of property that the large mass of humanity for whose rights it has expressed its zeal has actually remained outside the the narrow circle of its beneficiaries.

This was a necessary result of the middle class origin of the Liberal doctrine. We are indeed not suggesting that Liberalism was anything in the nature of a downgrade step.

Coming in the age in which it did come, Liberalism was a very real and a very profound triumph.

The advent of the middle class to power was one of the most beneficient revolutions in history. It released into activity the conception of that subjective kernel of freedom, a force at once of diffusion and of organisation, which in the course of time penetrated and vitalised the whole social and political structure of society. Liberalism is a great spiritual force; from it followed the recognition of the inherent worth of human personality, although only in theory. As a result of Liberalism, there grew up a greater zeal for truth for its own sake, and a wider and more creative horizon. And most of all it was due to Liberalism that there was evolved the conception of civil and political liberties and of public rights





SHAH JAHAN MEETING MUMTAZ AT NAUROZ

By [illegible]

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NOTES

Rabindranath Tagore's Recovery

The news that Rabindranath Tagore is out of danger and is on the way to recovery, has filled our heart with inexpressible joy. We humbly thank God that he has prolonged the Poet's stay in our midst for the good of humanity.—[Ghatsila. October 23, 1940.]

" We Covet Nothing From Any People Except Their Respect "

The sentence printed above is taken from Mr. Churchill's personal broadcast to the French people, delivered on the 21st October last.

British statesmen and Britishers in general have the habit of forgetting India when giving utterance to world-embracing high sentiments.

Indians of all shades of political opinion will agree that so far as Indians are concerned, the British people *do* covet from the people of India something more than or, rather, other than their respect. Had they coveted only the respect of the Indian people, they would have agreed long ago to India becoming a self-governing country.

Great Britain's more or less definite promises to " grant " self-rule to India, made on various occasions, have not hitherto been kept. And even during the present critical period of Britain's history she would not say definitely when the Dominion Status promised to India would be conceded.

This goes to confirm the longstanding conviction of the people of India that what Britishers covet most from India is her material and human resources,—winning the respect of Indians, if taken into consideration at all, being an affair of secondary importance.

" March Of The Common People " " Towards Their Just and True Inheritance "

Mr. Churchill concluded his broadcast to the French people with the following words :

" *Vive la France.* Long live also the forward march of the common people in all lands towards their just and true inheritance on to better times."

The version of the last quoted sentence, if applied to India, would stand thus :

" Long live also the forward march of the common people in all lands *except India* towards their just and true inheritance on to better times."

Stringent Defence Act Provision For The Press

New Delhi, Oct. 21.

An amendment published in a *Gazette of India* Extraordinary tonight lays down that :

The Central Government or the Provincial Government may for the purpose of securing the defence of British India, the public safety, the maintenance of public order or the efficient prosecution of war, by order addressed to a printer, publisher or editor or to printers, publishers and editors generally.

(*a*) Require that all matter or any matter relating to particular subject or class of subjects shall before being published in any document or class of documents be submitted for scrutiny to an authority specified in the order;

(*b*) Prohibit or regulate the printing or publishing

of any document or class of documents or of any matter relating to a particular subject or class of subjects or the use of any printing press.—*A. P.*

Thailand Goodwill Mission

A Goodwill Mission from Thailand or Siam has been touring India. Thailand is one of the countries in Asia greatly influenced by India's classical language and literature, religion, civilization and culture. We value and reciprocate the friendship of all these countries.

As Thailand is greatly under the power and influence of Japan the information gathered and the experience gained by the Goodwill Mission may be indirectly of advantage to Japan also.

Is Mr. William Holmes' Speech Applicable to India ?

President William Holmes of the Trade Union Congress of Britain delivered a speech at a meeting of its delegates in London on the 7th October last. After dwelling on the horrors of the present war he gave an idea of how the life of the (British) nation will be shaped after the war.

"Not only will there be a rebuilding of the material structure of our life : there must also be a guarantee in our social and economic arrangements that human needs of every man, woman and child shall be satisfied, that food, clothing and shelter, which a properly organised industrial and social order can amply provide, shall be available to all, that freedom of thought, speech and association shall be reaffirmed and safeguarded, and that, through free elections, there shall be free parliaments, necessary to preserve Government of the people by the people and for the people all over the earth."—*B. O. W.*

The people of India have a right to and expect all the good things mentioned above. But it is not enough to have theoretical rights. One must win one's rights. British statesmen may promise many things to us, but truer were the words, addressed not to Indians, of the British poet who wrote :

"Hereditary bondsmen, know ye not,
Themselves must strike the blow who would be free ?"

Mr. Duff Cooper's Broadcast Of Seventh October

In a broadcast address to mark the launching of campaign to bring home to the people of the United Kingdom the immense power of the British Empire and **the meaning of the Empire to its people** in these days of trial, Mr. Duff Cooper, Minister of Information, said that it was necessary and right to recall that Britain is not alone in this struggle. British people were members of a world-wide league of powers, having in. the British commonwealth of nations already built **a new order, passed not on tyranny but on freedom, not on force but on goodwill.**

Referring to contributions made to armed forces from different parts of the Empire he emphasised that these men could have stayed in their distant homes, safe and comfortable, far away from the black-out and air raids and horrors of war. They chose otherwise. **They and their fellow countrymen made up their minds that this war was theirs.** Britain owed them specially warmest welcome. The fact that **their countries chose, through their own democratic parliaments,** to throw themselves into the fight was itself a tremendous challenge to our enemy and tremendous encouragement to all who believed in freedom and democracy as the basis of international order.

MOMENTOUS REVOLUTION

"In the span of our lives there have been many revolutions but none more momentous than **this friendly and peaceful revolution that has given the British Empire its new and proud title, the British Commonwealth of Nations.** In a short span, between two wars against Germany and Empire which at the word of the British Cabinet in London moved in 1914 as a single whole from peace to war became **a community of separate self-governing nations, each taking its own decisions whether it should come into the war or stay out.** It was no longer in 1939 for the British Cabinet to decide the fate of a Dominion. This war became not a mere national or imperial war but a league war, **a war of league of the free British nations and their democratic allies.**

STATUTE OF WESTMINSTER

Change from subordinate colonies to equal and self-governing nations was crowned by the Statute of Westminster passed nine years ago. The Statute swept away the remnants of the imperial control over the law-making powers of the self-governing Dominions. This could indeed be called new Magna Carta. They instantly joined in the war against Germany to the surprise and annoyance of our enemies.

INDIA

Mr. Duff Cooper noted that not all countries of the Commonwealth had yet reached the political manhood or come under the terms of the Statute but their hopes of doing so, **when time was ripe,** were warmly shared in Britain. **India is rapidly moving to take her place as an equal partner in the British Commonwealth, as free as any Dominion, or as this country itself, to choose her own destiny.** We in Britain look on this march of India to full nationhood with pride as well as hope for when it is completed it will have proved that the British Commonwealth holds the secret of peaceful co-operation not only among nations of like race but also among nations of different races.—*B. O. W.*

We simply draw the attention of our readers to the words printed by us above in thick type. No comments are required.

Years ago, the late Mr. James Ramsay MacDonald, who became prime minister of Great Britain, forecasted that in the course of a few months, if not of weeks, *"another Dominion would be added to the British Commonwealth of Nations.* I refer to India." But so **"rapidly"** has been India moving towards her British appointed goal that Mr. Duff Cooper could speak only of "when time was ripe."

Time would undoubtedly be ripe in the

Greek Kalends if the British people were the real arbiters of the destinies of India.

War Resolution in Indian Trade Union Congress

BOMBAY, Sept. 29.

• The 18th session of the Indian Trade Union Congress concluded this evening after passing two resolutions. One resolution was on the attitude of the Trade Union Congress with regard to war. Mr. V. V. Giri (ex-Labour Minister in Madras), who moved the war resolution which, *inter alia,* declared that "participation in a war which will not result in the establishment of freedom and democracy in India, will not benefit India, much less will it benefit the working classes of India," repudiated the claim of British statesmen that the war was being waged for democracy and freedom.

Mr. Aftab Ali (Seamen's Union) Bengal moved an amendment that the differing groups within the Trade Union Congress should be given freedom to advocate their own special point of view. Mr. N. M. Joshi appealed to Mr. Aftab Ali to withdraw his amendment and assured him that the spirit of his amendment would be observed.

Several speakers participated in the debate, after which the resolution was declared passed without opposition.

The other resolution accepted the offer of merger by the National Trade Union Federation on terms demanded.

After the conclusion of the session a mass rally of workers was held in Kamgarh maidan. More than ten thousand workers were present. Dr. Suresh Chandra Banerjea, President, All-India Trade Union Congress and other labour leaders addressed the rally.—*A. P. I.*

Chandragupta Maurya First Political Unifier of India

Delivering the first of this year's Sir William Mayer Lectures, on "Chandragupta Maurya and His Times," at the Madras University Buildings on the 18th October last, Dr. Radhakumud Mookerji observed :

"Chandragupta Maurya takes his rank as one of the greatest rulers of India. He was the first of the rulers of India to have united the country under one rule, ruling for the first time over a Greater India—an achievement which is still not equalled in the later annals—that extended right up to the borders of Persia and over modern Afghanistan and Baluchistan. He was also the first Indian King to bring the valleys of the Indus and of the five rivers of the Punjab as well as the valleys of the Ganges and the Jumna under one political authority and, overcoming the barriers of the Vindhyas, to unite northern and southern India as parts of one empire. He thus gave India for the first time the unity of her history which was later lost so often in local annals."

Chandragupta was not only a unifier, he was a liberator, too, from foreign rule. The lecturer said :

"Chandragupta rose from very humble beginnings—a romantic beginning, indeed. Chandragupta saw the country under the yoke of foreign rule as a result of Alexander's campaign in India. He was thus the first to face the problem of foreign domination and his mind was filled with calculations as to how to liberate the country from that yoke. He rid the country of foreign rule."

Speaking about Chandragupta's ruling over a Greater India and thus bringing about the unity of the country,

Dr. Mookerjee reminded his hearers that even today India is not a political unity, being divided into Indian India and British India. He added, however, that the federation of the whole of India had been the objective of Hindu political thought throughout the ages. The Kshatriya rule enjoined on kings to be the king of kings. Chandragupta, thus, was the first living embodiment of the imperial India."—*U. P.*

That even today India is not a political unity is a fact. But it is divided not merely into British India and the so-called Indian India; there are also the parts, however small, called French India and Portuguese India. And there is also Nepal, which is the only independent part of India. A future Federation or Confederation of the whole of India must include all these parts.

Chandragupta Maurya's Methods of Liberation

MADRAS, Oct. 20.

Dr. Radhakumud Mukherjee continued his second lecture on "Chandragupta Maurya and his times" last evening at the University Buildings.

Dr. Mukherjee in the course of his lecture pointed out how Chandragupta was able first to defeat the Greeks and later triumph over the Nanda Kings. In this task, he was helped by the astute Chanakya to whom he owed his entire success. Speaking about Chanakya, Dr. Mukherjee said that Chanakya whose other name was Kautilya, had written in his famous work "Artha-Sastra" that foreign rule was an "unmitigated evil" and was the worst form of exploitation where the conqueror never counted country he had conquered as he would his own country. Chanakya's idea was to found a "righteous empire, by dispossessing the unlawful kings called the Nandas"—to end their tyrannous rule.

The Professor then dealt with the methods adopted by Chandragupta to achieve this object. The Professor said that when Alexander invaded India, the people were disunited but they were thoroughly united and organised by Chandragupta when Selucus came.—*U. P.*

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru on Pakistan Scheme

LAHORE, Oct. 18.

The position of the Congress with regard to the Pakistan scheme has been further clarified by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in the course of a letter to the District Congress Committee, Gujranwala.

He says that the Congress is entirely opposed to any division of India. It considers the Pakistan scheme to be an impracticable, absurd and ridiculous scheme and has even no intention of giving consideration to it.

It will be remembered that the District Congress Committee, Gujranwala, recently passed a resolution

urging the Congress Working Committee to clarify its position regarding the Pakistan scheme.—*A. P.*

Burma Road Said To Be a "Spiritual" Bond

CHUNGKING, Oct. 19.

Chang Tiufu, former Ambassador to Moscow and now Director of Political Affairs of the Bureau of Chinese Cabinet, declared in a broadcast today, "The Burma road will stand for ever not only as a physical link but as a spiritual bond between democratic countries."—*Reuter*.

China is a democracy. So is Great Britain. But the British **Empire** is not a democracy, nor is the dependent country of Burma a democracy. And India, too, whose mercenary soldiers garrison Burma, is not a democracy.

Married Girl Carried Off From Precincts of Court of Justice

The following appeared on the 8th October last in *Hindusthan Standard*:

BAGERHAT, Oct. 5.

One Biranga Dasi, wife of Bepin Bairagi, of Village Ranipur, P. S. Pirojpur, District Barisal, was enticed away from her father's place in Jaistha last. Bepin brought a criminal case against Hasem Sheikh and others which ended in the conviction and imprisonment of accused Hasem and another. During the trial, no trace of the girl could be found as she was hustled from place to place by the men of the party of the accused, although a search warrant was issued for her.

Bepin moved the court for trial of the remaining accused and shortly after this the police was able to recover the girl from the house of one Akubali Sheikh.

On regaining her freedom, Biranga herself brought a case under Sections 366 and 376 I. P. C. against Hasem Sheikh and others. The complaint was made on the 30th April last. Mr. A. Latif former S. D. O. dismissed the case. On motion before the District Judge of Khulna, the matter was remanded for preliminary enquiry by a Magistrate other than the S. D. O. Mr. Latif.

The case was transferred to Mr. Rahaman, Deputy Magistrate, who was invested with first class powers after his posting here. On the 11th July last, Biranga appeared in court to give evidence for the preliminary enquiry. The accused Hasem and Imanaddi were summoned under Section 366 I. P. C. and the girl was declared to be a minor on medical examination by the local Assistant Surgeon.

The learned Magistrate on that date directed this minor married Namasudra girl to be handed over to the custody of one M. Nawabjan, a Mahomedan muktear.

DISTRICT MAGISTRATE MOVED

The husband moved the District Magistrate at Khulna, for the custody of his minor wife. This prayer was allowed and the girl was directed to be made over to the custody of her husband. Accordingly Bepin moved the trying Magistrate for handing over his wife to his custody on 21st August, 1940 and again on 23rd August, 1940. But the matter, it is reported was ordered to be put up on 5th September, 1940, the next hearing date of the case. On that date, the matter was again pressed, but no remedy was found. Bepin ran to Khulna to the District Magistrate once again, who repeated his previous order. After a delay of more than a month from the date of the District Magistrate's order, Bepin was at last able to obtain an order from the trying Magistrate that his wife would be handed over to him on the 23rd September.

On that day at about 4 p.m. the girl was surrendered in court, and Bepin was asked to take her away. Scenting some danger, Bepin prayed for suitable police escort, for his wife and himself. It is reported that two constables were directed to escort the girl to the hackney carriage standing nearby. The moment Bepin and his wife left the court room, a large number of persons fell upon Bepin, who are alleged to have given him severe blows and snatched the girl away. She was taken to a carriage and driven away at great speed.

Substantially the same story has appeared in the Bengali daily *Ananda Bazar Patrika*. We have not seen it contradicted either officially or non-officially. So the facts as stated above appear to be correct.

The persons who carried off the girl acted like brutes. The other human beings who were at or near the Court premises, official and non-official, Mussalman and Hindu, and who saw and understood what took place, remained passive spectators. None of them had the sense of justice, the chivalry, and the manhood to prevent this brutal crime of kidnapping in broad daylight. These cowards behaved more like worms than like human beings.

The present whereabouts and condition of the girl appear to be unknown. Great is the Government of Bengal, still greater the Government of India and greatest of all is the Imperial Government of Great Britain. But so far as the kidnapped girl is concerned, they are as good (or is it as bad ?) as non-existent. Neither the Hindu Mahasabha nor the Muslim League was of any use to her. And the Indian National Congress, which exists for the protection of the rights and interests of all communities, does not usually evince any particular interest in the safeguarding of the honour and the safety of women.

Society can somehow exist even in a state of political subjection or under a despot, provided conditions do not make for social disintegration. But if the honour and safety of women be not safeguarded by all possible means social disintegration is sure to follow. And if there be social disintegration, what would be the value of Dominion Status or even of Complete Independence ?

Therefore enthusiastic fighters for India's full freedom should take note of the conditions under which common village women live in Bengal and make the utmost efforts to make those conditions normal.

Education of a Real Prince and of a Titular Prince

PESHAWAR, Oct. 8.

An interesting, but simple ceremony was observed when Prince Sadar Ahmed Shah Khan, second son of His Majesty King Zahir Shah joined Maktabi Istqlal, Kabul. He was taken to school by His Excellency Sardar Mohammed Naim Khan, Education Minister, who got him admitted in the first primary class. The Prince sat in the class along with other boys.—*A. P.*

So an ordinary primary school has been found good enough for the son of an independent King.

But no educational institution in the United Provinces has been found good enough to educate the minor Maharaja of Benares; nor has it been found desirable and feasible by the powers that be to give the boy the best available private tutors in his own palace. He has been sent to Ajmer to receive some bureaucratic brand of education at the Chief's College there along with other similar educationally luckless princelings.

Rabindranath Tagore on " Gross Betrayal of Humanity "

October 10, 1940.

The Poet's Secretary. Mr. A. K. Chanda, who recorded these utterances, told a representative of the *Associated Press* that during the last few days whenever the Poet had had respite from acute physical discomfort he asked for latest news in the newspapers. He was greatly pleased to hear of the British decision to reopen the Burma *route* to China.

"During these intervals," Mr. Chanda added, "the Poet has now and again given utterance to thoughts which had been pressing heavily on his mind. The vehemence and persistence with which some of the thoughts were expressed by him indicated how intensely he had felt them. As much as we could remember or note down I have quoted below. Wherever possible his own words have been reproduced but unfortunately we could do so only to a very limited extent."

The Poet said: "I am passing through a period of physical suffering. The doctors have forbidden me to think or to talk. All the same I cannot help it. The doctors do not know that along with physical agony, I am conscious of another pain which they cannot control. The failure of humanity in the West to preserve the worth of their civilisation and the dignity of man which they had taken centuries to build up, weighs like a nightmare on my mind. It seems clear to me that this failure is due to man's repudiation of moral values in the guidance of their national affairs and to their belief that everything is determined by a physical chain of events which could be manipulated by man's cunning or might. The consequences of this belief are proving terrible to man. The first experiment in this diabolical faith was launched in Manchuria. What it has demonstrated is this: that though the poor and innocent people of China have suffered, those that were responsible for this suffering and for like suffering elsewhere, have all been drawn into this vortex. Those who built their power on moral cynicism are themselves proving its victims. The nemesis is daily growing more ruthless. We are in the habit of calling Chengis Khan's hordes barbarians, but not even the terrible Mongols were guilty of such gross betrayal of Humanity as the so-called civilised nations of today are perpetrating before our very eyes. But in the very act of this condemnation one is arrested by one's sympathy for their sufferings. For their own peoples are paying the price of these wrong. My utmost sympathy goes out to the brave and innocent people of China who have suffered most and deserved least of this suffering. They have been the victims of a violence they never perpetrated on others; they have been dragged down into the pit of destruction which they did nothing to dig. I hope they will survive the wrong and will once more be enabled to build up a great civilisation. In the midst of this insane orgy of violence and destruction, I shall continue to hold fast to my faith in the final recovery of man's lost heritage of moral worth. Man is great. We who stand by him have the privilege of sharing disaster and defeat, but never the ignominy of betraying the great trust of humanity. I know that even in this demented world, there are individuals scattered all over who believe with me."—*A. P.*

Amendments to Indian Shipping Laws Discriminate In Favour of British Shipping

BOMBAY, Oct. 12.

The committee of the Indian Merchants Chamber in a letter to the Government of India urge the withdrawal of the amendments recently announced under the Defence of India Rules relating to shipping.

Stating their objections to the amendments, the committee state that they are "tantamount to discrimination in favour of British shipping by restricting the movements of Indian ships and by controlling the rates of freights and fares to be charged by Indian ships while leaving full and complete freedom to British ships."

The committee are "seriously apprehensive" that the restrictions will place the Indian shipping at a great disadvantage and regret that "sufficient attention is not being paid by Government to the needs and requirements of Indian shipping and its development."—*A. P.*

Acharya Panchanan Tarkaratna

BENARES, Oct. 12.

Acharya Panchanan Tarkaratna expired last night at 8-45 p.m. at Benares Chausattiyogini Ghat at the age of 75. His name and fame spread throughout India. His works in Sanskrit and Bengali are unparalleled and his versatile genius was known in different branches of learning.

His Sakti Bhasyas on Brahmasutras (Vedanta), Upanishad and Geeta contain original thoughts in philosophy. He edited and translated about a hundred books and commented on about twenty Sanskrit books. He was a true Sanatanist at heart and soul up to his last breath. He never deviated from his decided Shastric opinion. He was also of true patriotic spirit, owing to which he was once a political suspect and was arrested at the time of Bengal Partition Agitation in 1907.

He held the post of Vice-President of the National Council of Education Committee, President of Bangiya Brahman Sabha and once Vice-President of Bangiya Sahitya Parishad. He was made Mahamahopadhyaya in 1926 and resigned the title in 1929 in protest against the Sarda Act, which, according to his opinion was direct interference on religion by legislation of the foreign Government. His honorary work in the Hindu University for ten years was worth considering. He was

the Dean of the Theological Department of that University.

He breathed his last peacefully at the bank of the Ganges, Benares and was cremated in the Brahmanala of the Manikarnika by special permission of the Collector of Benares.

He was closely connected with Bharatdharma Mahamandal, Varnasram Swarajya Sangha and other religious organisations. The Tarakeswar case was conducted by the Brahman Sabha under his leadership and the mission was successful by removing Satis Giri and appointing a new Mohant.—*A. B. Patrika.*

Hindu Mahasabha On Viceroy's Declaration

At New Delhi on the 13th October last the Working Committee of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha concluded its session after passing many resolutions, the most important of which related to the Viceroy's declaration of August. The committee had no hesitation to declare that the scheme and proposals outlined in the Viceroy's declaration have failed to give satisfaction to the progressive political parties in the country.

The following is the text of the resolution :

The working committee having given their most anxious consideration to the Viceregal announcement of August 6 and the statements made by the Viceroy and the Secretary of State from time to time in elucidation and clarification of the same and having carefully noted the reactions to the same in this country, have no hesitation to declare that the scheme and the proposals outlined therein have failed to give any satisfaction to the progressive political parties in the country, inasmuch as it holds out neither any tangible and definite promise of the inauguration of the dominion government immediately at the end of the war, nor the introduction of the element of responsibility in any form in the present Central Government immediately.

The committee characterises the principles laid down in the assurance given to the minorities or to certain important sections of national life as reactionary, anti-national and anti-democratic. They virtually negative the promise to recognise the principle of self-determination in the case of the people of India in the matter of framing their constitution given in the first part of the announcement and are even calculated to incite and encourage the minorities to insist on impossible and anti-national demands and effectively impede the progress of the entire nation towards the goal of political emancipation.

The committee hope that the Viceroy will take note of the criticisms of the scheme by important sections of the Indian public and soon come out with a liberal scheme of reform in the existing system of Central Government as a transitory measure and a definite unconditional announcement in unambiguous and unequivocal terms recognising the right of the Indian people to frame their constitution of the future Government of India on the basis of dominion status for India in the Commonwealth of British nations.

The committee desire to express their satisfaction at the firm stand taken by the Viceroy in dealing with the extravagant and arrogant demands made by Mr. Jinnah, the leader of the Muslim League, in regard to the representation of the League on the still-born expanded Council and the advisory council proposed the announcement.

The committee deeply regret to express their difference from the opinion of the Congress working committee embodied in the resolution passed at Bombay. The Congress working committee have in the opinion of this committee failed to take a realistic view of the situation and give a correct lead to the country at this critical hour. The hope of the political emancipation of the Indian people depend on the defeat of totalitarian forces and the success of the British people with whom their fate is indissolubly bound. The war has now reached a stage when the Indian people can no longer afford to be indifferent to the vital problem of India's defence. The adequate preparation of the Indian nation for her national defence is a matter of vital importance to them. The committee ask them in all earnestness to urge on the Government of India to fully arm and equip the country for their defence by raising a strong national army, navy and air force, promising the Government active co-operation and participation in their effort of India's defence. In this connection the committee desire to invite the attention of the Government of India to the frequent complaints published in papers that the claims of the Hindus do not receive adequate recognition in the matter of recruitment to certain branches of national defence activities. The committee emphatically insist on the elimination of all arbitrary and artificial classification of the Indian people as martial and non-martial and a deliberate attempt should be made to enlist in the defence forces recruits of all classes in proportion to their numerical strength in the population of the country as far as possible.

By another resolution the committee expressed the view that as the future governance of India should be based on the principle of pure democracy and nationalism as distinct from religious or pseudo-religious principles, any attempt to frustrate this end either by Government or any organisation must be resisted at any cost.

Sjt. V. D. Savarkar, President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, has declared in the course of a statement, published some time ago, that the final political goal of the Mahasabha is the same as that of the Indian National Congress, namely, Purna Swaraj or Complete Independence, though what is immediately demanded by the Mahasabha is Dominion Status. In the resolution printed above there is no mention of Complete Independence. Is that due to mental reservation ?

Rumour of Restoration of Fourteen Districts to Hyderabad

One of the resolutions passed by the Working Committee of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha was to the following effect :

The meeting understood that the public feeling in the country had been considerably agitated by persistent rumours that the 10 Andhra districts of Madras presidency and four districts of Berar were going to be restored to the Nizam of Hyderabad in recognition of

war services and the committee thought it necessary that the Government of India should make a public statement to allay the public apprehensions in the matter.

A statement has been made on behalf of the Madras Government that that Government knows nothing about such a deal. But such a statement cannot obviously remove all suspicions, as the Madras Government is not the final authority in the matter and may receive information about the affair when everything has been settled by the Government of India and the Secretary of State for India. The India Government should make a statement as early as practicable.

Men are not cattle. There was a time when slaves used to be bought and sold like cattle and other goods even in civilized countries. But those evil days are no more.

If there is to be any change anywhere in the political status of Indians, it ought to be from subjection to freedom, but not from one kind of subjection to another of a worse character. In any case, the wishes of the inhabitants of the fourteen districts concerned should determine their future.

Madras Census

The following reasonable resolution on the next census in Madras was also passed by the Working Committee of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha :

The committee urged that the census operators in the Madras presidency should give complete details of all Hindu castes separately as was done formerly and as is done in other Indian provinces instead of dividing Hindus into two main sub-divisions only, *viz.*, Brahmins and non-Brahmins because 'this latter sub-division has been introduced purely on political purposes instead for ascertaining the truth about all castes and communities comprehensively. The relations between the Brahmins and other communities are the same as between all other communities amongst themselves.'

"Every Indian Is A Born Defender Of India"

Sjt. G. M. Jadhav, Director of Military and Physical Education, Bihar, begins his pamphlet on "The Defence of India" thus :

Every Indian is a born defender of India. The defence of India is primarily the concern of the people of India. For the defence of India there should be 350,000 Indian soldiers, 200,000 Indian sailors and 200,000 Indian airmen under the command of Indian officers. The men and the officers should be selected from the different provinces in the following proportion :

Ten per cent each from Bombay, Madras, Bengal, Bihar, U. P. and the Punjab.

Five per cent each from Assam, Orissa, C. P. and Berar, Sind and N.-W. F. P.

Fifteen per cent from the Indian States.

In this way Indians from the different parts of India, will be responsible for the defence of India and India will have a national army, a national navy and a national air-force.

The defence forces of India should certainly be drawn from all parts of India.

Airmindedness in the Panjab and Bengal

It is stated that the total number of applications for air-training received by the authorities is 3,297. Of this number 867, the largest, have come from the Panjab, and 472, the next largest, from Bengal.

Earning Women of Calcutta

A rally of earning women of the city and suburbs of Calcutta was held on the 29th of September last under the presidentship of Dr. Miss Maitreyi Bose, M.B. (Calcutta), M.D. (Munich).

About 200 women from all sections, representing professors, teachers, nurses, factory women and peasant women were present.

In course of her speech the president explained the significance of social independence and asked those present to be alive to safeguard their interests.

Mrs. Basana Sen, one of the conveners, explained the purpose of such a conference and put before those present a plan of action for improving their conditions.

Prof. Mrs. Kalyani Sen and Mrs. Kalyani Bhattacharjee on behalf of women professors, Miss Banalata Sen and Miss Bijaliprova Devi representing the women teachers, Miss Hemnalini Roy representing the nurses, Tarulata Mandal and three others on behalf of peasant women of 24-Parganas, Maharajia on behalf of Chatkal Mazdoor women and Miss Sushila Devi on behalf of the girl students placed their respective grievances before the gathering and gave an outline as to how to overcome the difficulties for the betterment of their living conditions.

A charter of demands was then adopted by the meeting. A committee had been formed with members from all sections of the House to work out the scheme for the betterment of living conditions of women.

This is a notable and significant movement.

The Study of Hindi in Madras Presidency

The following report is taken from the Sunday edition of *The Hindu*, dated September 29, 1940 :

MADRAS, Sept. 29.

Inaugurating the Hindi Week this morning at the Rangaswami Iyengar Hall, Hindi Prachar Sabha Buildings, Thyagarayanagar, Lt.-Col. K. G. Pandalai spoke on the need for South Indians learning Hindustani. Mr. S. Satyamurti, Mayor of Madras, presided.

Mr. M. Satyanarayana, General Secretary, presented a report of the Hindi Week celebrations last year. He said that collections by way of selling Hindi flags

amounted to about Rs. 500. The Week was also celebrated in 50 centres in Andhra Desa, 30 centres in Kerala, 20 in Tamil Nadu and 20 in Karnatak.

Mr. Satyamurti said that Hindustani was rapidly becoming the *lingua franca* of India and those who hoped to play a constructive part in the public life of this country should learn Hindustani. The work of the Hindi Prachar Sabha had grown into a magnificent tree with flowers and fruits, shedding its life-giving shade over the whole Presidency and the Sabha kept together all its parts—Andhra, Tamil Nadu, Kerala and Karnatak—under the umbrella of Hindi Prachar. He hoped that its work would grow from strength to strength and that the ultimate ideal would be the extinction of the Sabha when Hindustani had become universal in this province. Mr. Satyamurti urged that Hindustani should become compulsory in all classes of schools and that students should be entitled to promotion only on passing the examination in that language. The Madras Government, "just now in power by accident," had upset to a certain extent the order of the Congress Ministry making the study of Hindustani compulsory in our schools. The new order stated that the Government had no intention to discourage its study. But there were pinpricks by way of orders by the Educational Department. He understood that students who wanted to learn Hindustani should produce certificates of approval from the parents. He hoped that it was not true. He added that the Government should do everything in their power to encourage the study of Hindustani.

Wishing the Hindi Week success, Mr. Satyamurti hoped that those who were prejudiced against the compulsory study of Hindustani would be converted to the view that an educated Indian in future ought to know at least two languages, Hindustani and his own mother-tongue. His ambition was that every Hindu should be conversant with Sanskrit and he thought that a knowledge of four languages, namely the mother-tongue, Hindustani, English and Sanskrit, would not be too much for them.

THE UTILITARIAN ASPECT

Lt.-Col. Pandalai referred to his early official career in the medical service at Kohat which necessitated his learning Hindustani and added that in northern India it was necessary to have a knowledge of the language. In the army, English was absolutely unknown. There he became acquainted with what was called Hindustani which was a mixture of the spoken languages of the north and which was fast growing. We must acquire a knowledge of Hindustani through which alone we could come into contact with the greatest proportion of the people of India. Personally, he thought that there was no need for compulsion; people would learn Hindustani. But the problem was how to make those who had learnt the language, avoid forgotting it. Dr. Pandalai suggested that they should increase their social contact with Hindi-knowing people who had settled here. They could also see good Hindi films and he had been doing it personally.

It was absolutely wrong to say, Dr. Pandalai said. that if Hindustani grew in popularity, some other language would die. On the other hand, as Hindustani grew. the local or regional languages would also grow. If any argument were needed that Hindustani was already unquestionably the leading language of India, he would point out to them that in all foreign broadcasting stations, broadcasts intended for India were given only in Hindustani, because all foreigners knew that it was the only way of reaching the largest number of people in India. Personally, Dr. Pandalai thought that if Hindustani was made an optional subject in high schools and colleges, there would not be much opposition. Concluding, he appealed to the people of Madras to take part in the Hindi Week and become "admirers of Hindustani—a beautiful language."

Mr. K. Sanjiva Kamath and Mr. R. Chinnaswami Iyengar spoke exhorting the people to learn Hindustani.

Mr. B. Jagannatha Das, proposing a vote of thanks, pointed out that since the change in the Government order regarding the compulsory teaching of Hindustani, 30 more schools had introduced it and the actual number of pupils learning it was substantially larger.

The speakers seem to have taken Hindi and Hindustani to be synonymous, which they are not.

If, as stated by the last speaker, making the study of Hindustani optional has resulted in the increase in numbers of the schools teaching and the pupils learning it, that shows that the making of Hindustani compulsory was a mistake and the policy of sending people to jail for opposing the compulsory teaching of that language was wrong, as we have held all along.

Conflicting or Competing Claims of Handloom and Mill Industries

CALCUTTA, Oct. 17.

The reviews of the various provincial Governments as also of Millowners' Associations on the suggestions received by the Central Government for resolving the difficulty regarding conflicting claims of handloom and mill industries (textiles), are now being sought by the Government of India.

The suggestions received by the Central Government relate to the imposition of excise duty on mill-made cloth, imposition of a terminal tax on mill products, restriction of mill output by prohibiting mills from producing certain classes of cloth, imposition of cess on mill products, reduction of duty on yarn and fixation of quota and of particular counts between the handloom industry and the mill industry.

In their circular letter the Government of India request both the provincial Governments and the associations to indicate whether they have any suggestions to make whereby the conflicting claims of handloom and mill industries may be resolved. It is stated that the Government are anxious to arrive at some definite conclusion on the subject before the next industries conference proposed to be held at Lucknow on December 16 and 17.—*A. P.*

As both handloom and mill industries require to be encouraged, the spheres of the two should be clearly defined.

Annual Report of Indian Institute of Medical Research

The aetiology of bowel disorders, so common in Bengal formed the subject of a special laboratory enquiry at the Indian Institute for Medical Research during the year 1938-1939 and 1939-1940, says Dr. J. C. Ray, Secretary of the Governing Body of the Institute, in his report for the years 1938-39 and 1939-40.

Typhoid toxin, production of typhoid toxin in association with B. Coli and enterococcus, immunisation

against typhoid infection by oral administration of typhoid vaccine, available iron content of Indian food-stuffs and dietaries and of cow's and mother's milk, the effect of cobra venom on the vitamin C content of tissues and the immunity from malaria were, among other subjects, investigated by the Institute during the years under review.

Dr. Ray in his report states that much of the work at the Institute has been rendered possible by a grant of Rs. 10,000 from the Government of Bengal in 1938. The researches on the immunity problems concerning malaria have received further support from the Bengal Government by a grant of Rs. 10,000 during the current year. The Calcutta Corporation has continued to help the Institute by giving a recurring annual grant of Rs. 2,000. The India Research Fund Association has also supported the work on cholera toxin and immunity by financial grants in two successive years.

Expressing the Institute's gratefulness to Sir P. C. Ray, Sir A. R. Dalal and Mr. A. R. Siddiqi, Mayor of Calcutta for their continued and active interest in the Institute, Dr. Ray appeals for public help for a permanent building for the Institute, which is cramped for space. The offer of Rs. 25,000 made to the Institute by Sir Dorab Tata Trust through Sir A. R. Dalal, Vice-President of the Institute, still stands. If this can be augmented by donations from the Government, public bodies and munificent citizens, it will be possible to have a permanent building for the Institute with an attached research hospital and an endowment fund for meeting part of the recurring expenses. Dr. Ray adds that a full scheme for the purpose has been drawn up, and he trusts that with the help of his generous countrymen, they will be able to place the Institute on a secure foundation.—*A. P.*

Sir P. C. Ray on Manufacture of Chemicals in India

"If essential raw and basic materials are available, the manufacturers in India could supply not only the whole of the normal requirements of the country in respect of medicines but would also be able to cater for export market," said Sir P. C. Ray, while presiding at the Second Annual General Meeting of the Indian Chemical Manufacturers' Association held on the 3rd October, 1940 at Calcutta. As regards the heavy chemical industry, Sir P. C. Ray stated that

> Many of the acids with few exceptions were being produced in this country. Some concerns had also started the production of alkalis, *viz.*, Soda Ash, Bleaching Powder, Caustic Soda, etc., on a small scale and within a short period India would be producing these materials in sufficient quantity. Besides, several concerns have under project the manufacture of Sodium and Potassium Bichromates, Acetic Acid, Oxalic Acids, Tannic Acid and other acids and alkalis. If, however, the stimulus provided by the War continued, time would not be far, when provided encouragement and support of the Government of India were available, this country would have a full-fledged chemical and pharmaceutical industry.

Sir P. C. Ray then referred to the question of co-ordination between the manufacturers and research institutions.

> In India several universities and other institutions were carrying on research on a number of items but there had not been much co-ordination so far between the institutions and the industry. He appealed to the research institutions as well as the manufacturers to put their heads together and suggested the establishment of a Chemical and Pharmaceutical Research Advisory Board consisting of representatives of the Indian Chemical Manufacturers' Association and of research institutions for exchanging views and advising the institutions about the subjects on which researches would be useful to the industry.

Coming to the handicaps under which the Pharmaceutical Industry in this country is labouring, Sir P. C. Ray stated that

> some of the Provincial Governments still hesitated and refused to implement the recommendations of the Excise Conference held in 1937. For instance, the Government of Bombay refused to reduce excise duty on spirituous medicinal preparations that might be used for other than medicinal purposes and toilet preparations and perfumeries from Rs. 25-10 to Rs. 17-8. The Government of Sind also refused to reduce the Excise duty on Absolute Alcohol and rectified spirit. He urged these Governments to take steps to translate into action what they themselves approved at the Excise Conference, failing which he suggested that the Government of India, at whose initiative the Conference met, should use their good offices to persuade these Governments to implement the recommendations of the Conference without delay.
>
> The necessity of reducing high railway freight on raw drugs and medicines, which prevented the masses in India from getting cheaper medicines, was also emphasized.

Coming to the activities of the Medical Stores Depots, Sir P. C. Ray stated that

> although the requirements of the Government in respect of medicines had considerably increased, the manufacturers were not benefited by the increase and the production of several items at the Depots was increased. There was no reason, according to him, why the manufacture of Tinctures, Spirituous preparations and Extracts should be continued and extended at the Depots, when the Drug Industry was able to meet the normal requirements of the country both civil as well as military, the quality was reliable, and the prices were also cheaper.

While congratulating the Government of India for enacting the Drugs Act, 1940, Sir P. C. Ray regretted that the Government of India failed to appreciate the importance of having on the Drugs Technical Advisory Board, representative of the manufacturers. He also requested the Government of India to make arrangements with Indian States for enacting similar legislations or adopting the Drugs Act, by the time the Act was enforced in British India.

The manufacture of drugs has been gradually extending in various parts of India and is likely to expand still further. It is to be hoped that research workers will be employed in increasing numbers by all manufacturing concerns and research institutions and that they will fully

utilize the vast amount of scientific information given in the monumental work entitled *Indian Medicinal Plants* by Major B. D. Basu, I.M.S. and Lieut.-Colonel K. R. Kirtikar, I.M.S., revised and brought up to date by Father Blatter, S.J., and Father Caius, S.J.

Sir M. N. Mukherji at Berar Hindu Conference

AMRAOTI, Oct. 19.

The plea that the Hindus should take an enthusiastic interest in the war effort and must organise defence on a wide basis, was made by Sir Manmathanath Mukherji in his presidential address at the Berar Provincial Hindu Sabha Conference here today.

Sir Manmatha said that the idea of "All-India Nationalism," as fostered by the Congress, noble though it was, was today outside the range of practical politics." He advanced many reasons for this and after tracing the history of the estrangement in the political trends of the two major communities in India, said: "I have tried to explore the causes for this estrangement and I am unable to attribute it to anything else than a desire for supremacy which amounts very much to a spirit of conquest—religious, political and perhaps also territorial."

NO FAITH IN NON-VIOLENCE

Sir Manmatha said the Hindu Sabha had no faith in non-violence and non-co-operation. "It is prepared," he said, "wholeheartedly and sincerely to work in co-operation with those by whom it is now the destiny of our country to be ruled." Such co-operation, he said, must be on honourable terms, based on recognised principles of justice and equity and with due regard to the position of the Sabha and the crores of Hindus whom it represents. Their immediate ideal should be Dominion Status of the Westminster type.

Finally, he placed before the conference certain proposals designed "to make Hindus think and feel in terms of a nation." These included their rallying round a common banner and the evolution of national script.—*A. P. I.*

Golden Jubilee Session of Assam and Bengal Brahmo Conference

DACCA, Oct. 19.

The 50th or the Golden Jubilee session of the Bengal and Assam Brahmo Conference, formerly known as the East Bengal Brahmo Conference, which began on the 9th October last at Dacca, lasted for five days and terminated on the 13th October. Sj. Amar Chandra Bhattacharya was the Chairman of the Reception Committee and Professor Subodh Chandra Mahalanobis was the President of the session. Visitors who came from very many places of Bengal and from several places of Assam, Bihar, Orissa and U. P., and attended the session, numbered about 250.

The subjects of discussion included those relating to the dissemination of Brahmoism in the rural areas and the duty of the Brahmo Samaj in the field of social service. Speeches by Sj. Jogananda Das and Dr. D. N. Maitra, and one on the religious Poets of Northern India, during the Midle Ages by Sj. Satis Chandra Chakravartty with the accompaniment of devotional Hindi songs, were among others, the features of the session. About 500 people joined the tea party and enjoyed one another's presence.—*H. S.*

The Indian Messenger has made some useful observations on this session of the Brahmo Conference. It says, in part:

The Golden Jubilee Session of the Assam and Bengal Brahmo Conference was significant for more reasons than one. One of the most remarkable features was a new outlook discernible both in devotional exercises and in its discussions. Specially significant were the Presidential Address and the sermons delivered by Sjs. Baradakanta Bose and Satis Chandra Chakravarty. They looked upon the Brahmo movement from a new angle of vision, laying special emphasis upon the fact that the time has arrived for the Brahmo Samaj to take into consideration the various problems of life, economic, social, religious and political, which confront humanity. The religion of the future must be one, which, without ignoring the personal aspect of religion, must also seek to ensure justice, equity and fairness in life. It must not only be strong in faith but also in rationalism. It must direct all its efforts towards the harmonious development of all aspects of the human personality. It must look at life in its entirety and integrate it for the attainment of the highest ideal of humanity.

The same new outlook characterised the discussion on the various problems presented before it.

According to our contemporary, the problems and questions discussed were: Rural Missions, Social Service, Strengthening of Mofussil Samajes, The Need and Desirability of Writing a New History of the Brahmo Movement (for telling the present and rising generations what the Brahmo Movement has done and is still doing in the fields of religions and social reform, politics, education, literature, art, science and industrial and other economic advancement of the country), Youth Organization and A New Federal Constitution for the Movement.

Disciplinary Action Against Sjt. Sarat Chandra Bose

October 11, 1940.

The *Associated Press* is informed by the Congress President, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad that the All-India Congress Parliamentary Sub-committee has taken disciplinary action against Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose, Leader of the Congress Assembly Party in Bengal, and has expelled him from the party.

CHARGE AGAINST SJ. BOSE

In communicating the decision of the Committee to Mr. Bose, the Congress President says that the Committee is definitely of opinion that Mr. Bose has knowingly adopted an attitude which is not only against Congress discipline but creates in the party a general state of confusion, which affects the whole work of the Congress organisation in the province

The Committee has therefore removed him from the Bengal Assembly Party and demands his resignation from the membership of the Assembly as he has broken the pledge he had signed by going against Congress discipline, adherence to which was the condition precedent for his getting the Congress ticket.—*A. P. I.*

The reasons for taking disciplinary action against Sjt. Sarat Chandra Bose have been definitely stated in the Congress President's

letter to him. In order to decide whether the action taken by the President, Maulana Azad, is right or wrong, it is necessary to know what Sjt. Bose has to say on the charges brought against him. On this point the following *Associated Press* message gives some information :

DEHRA DUN, Oct. 15.

The confidence that Bengal public will support him, was expressed by Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose, who is now on a short visit here, when interviewed by the *Associated Press* on the disciplinary action taken against him by the Congress Parliamentary Sub-committee.

Mr. Bose said : "I received Maulana Abul Kalam Azad's letter on Sunday last. The letter contains several incorrect statements and unwarranted insinuations. The Maulana Saheb was fully informed of my reasons for rejecting Mr. Kamini Kumar Dutta's candidature and supporting that of Mr. Birendra Kishore Roy Chowdhury. I maintain that his decision to the contrary was wrong and perverse and betrayed a lamentable ignorance of the situation in Bengal.

"Having no papers here, I cannot send an immediate reply but I shall reply to the Maulana and issue a fuller statement and release the complete correspondence to the Press on my return to Calcutta early next month. I have every confidence that Bengal public, including my electorate, will fully support and justify my action." —*A. P.*

So those who want to form an unbiassed judgment on the affair should wait till Sjt. Bose's return to Calcutta and the publication of his fuller statement. Without it and judging from the Maulana's letter above one would be disposed to conclude that the Maulana has been at least technically right. Whether his action has been expedient and timely is another matter. Sjt. Bose is an able leader. His removal from the position of leader of the Bengal Assembly Congress Party would most probably affect the efficiency of that party, particularly in its opposition to the Secondary Education Bill and the Calcutta Municipal (Amendment) Bill, though Sjt. Bose and his party have not been either the first or the foremost to oppose these obnoxious measures. Others began and led the opposition and they have followed.

It would, however, be unwarranted and unreasonable to insinuate that Maulana Azad had sought to remove Sjt. Sarat Chandra Bose from the Bengal Legislative Assembly in order to facilitate the passing of the anti-Hindu Secondary Education Bill and Calcutta Municipal (Amendment) Bill by the communal Ministry of Bengal. For, should that Ministry be determined to pass these Bills at any cost, as there is reason to believe they are, they would succeed in doing so, not by defeating the opposition by stronger and more cogent arguments, but by sheer majority of party votes. Hence, in that case, even if Sjt. Sarat Chandra Bose were ten times as able a parliamentarian as he undoubtedly is, his abilities would not prevail against the voting strength of the Ministerial party. So, in that case, his presence in or absence from the Assembly, would make no substantial difference in the result.

Until it has been proved by Sjt. Bose beyond doubt that the Maulana's charges are quite untenable, no other hypothesis can be fairly started for explaining the action taken by him against Sjt. Bose.

In the meantime, however, the cries have been raised that the action taken is an insult to Bengal, that it is part of the Congress vendetta against Bengal, and so on and so forth. As Sjt. Bose is neither the whole of Bengal nor the sole and foremost representative of Bengal, an action taken against him, even if proved to be wrong (which is not yet the case in the present instance), cannot be correctly stated as an insult to Bengal. As for the vendetta theory, though we think the Congress has not made any adequate endeavours to help Bengal in her fight against the grievous injustice done to her by the present constitution (based on the Communal Decision) and against her other woes, we do not believe the Congress has acted in this or any other matter from any revengeful feeling against Bengal.

In any case, there will be time enough to start theories like the above when Sjt. Sarat Chandra Bose will have succeeded in demolishing the Maulana's arguments.

President Vithalbhai Patel's Will

The late President Vithalbhai Patel left by his last will and testament about one lakh and twenty thousand rupees to be spent by Sjt. Subhas Chandra Bose for pro-India propaganda in foreign countries and other patriotic purposes to be determined by Subhas Chandra. For some technical flaws the Bombay High Court set aside Sjt. Bose's claim to the amount. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, President Patel's brother, has now made over Rs. one lakh to the treasurer of the All-India Congress Committee. His letter to Maulana Azad on the subject concludes thus :

On October 9, I received the accompanying letter with a cheque of Rupees one lakh from Messrs. Amin Desai and Nanavati drawn in favour of myself and all the other heirs in accordance with the final decree of the High Court. The cheque has been sent by me direct to Messrs. Bachraj & Co., the treasurer of the A.-I. C. C. On behalf of myself and the other heirs of the deceased I now propose that the amount be accepted by the working committee and a committee consisting of Sjt. Jawaharlal Nehru, Sjt. Jamnalal Bajaj, Sjt. Bhulabhai Desai, myself and the President of the A.-I. C. C. as *ex-officio* member and chairman of the committee be appointed with full authority to spend the amount in such manner and for such purposes as this committee may think fit.

The heirs of President Patel are legally, according to the Bombay High Court's judgment, within their rights in withholding the amount from Sjt. Subhas Chandra Bose. But it would have been graceful or decent to include Sjt. Bose or some nominee of his in the Committee named by them for spending the amount. Obviously, however, they have no confidence in Sjt. Bose, though President Patel, whose money they are handling, had full confidence in him. But what is the *moral* authority of the heirs of President Patel for setting aside his wishes as regards the objects and manner of spending the sum left by him? What is the *moral* authority of the Committee appointed by them to exercise "full authority to spend the amount in such manner and for such purposes as this committee may think fit"? It seems to us that the Commitee ought to have been asked to spend the amount for the objects and in the manner stated in the will. In other words, the Committee should have been asked to do what President Patel had wished Sjt. Subhas Chandra Bose to do. The will may have had technical flaws, but it was a genuine will. And hence the wishes of the deceased gentleman ought to have been respected as regards the objects for which he wanted the money to be spent.

Muslim League Committee's Proposal About Pakistan

KARACHI, Oct 19.

The Constitution Sub-committee of All-India Muslim League under the Chairmanship of Sir Abdulla Haroon is assembling at Delhi from 11th November onwards to complete the Pakistan scheme and submit it to Mr. Jinnah for his approval.

The Committee, on whose recommendations the All-India Muslim League at Lahore session adopted the broad principle of the Pakistan scheme, is stated to have fully investigated the possibility of the proposal and is said to be in a position to complete it by first week of next month.

According to the new scheme, it is sought to provide without transfer of population separate homelands covering one-third of the total area of India for the entire Muslim community excepting 1½ crore. The area which is to be claimed by the Muslims under the scheme would consist of Sind, Baluchistan, Punjab, N.-W. F. P. tribal areas, Delhi Province, some districts from the United Provinces, Bengal excluding two districts, Assam, Hyderabad Deccan, Kashmir and few districts from Madras.

Each of these areas shall constitute separate units owing allegiance to one common regional Sovereign State. The latter can enter into treaties with similar Hindu States regarding matters of common zeal. If necessary some confederal form of arrangements may be devised to unite on voluntary basis the different regional Sovereign States in India. Each regional State shall be directly responsible to British Government—*A. P.*

Nationalist Mussalmans, whose number is not at all negligible and may be greater than or equal to that of Muslim Leaguers, are against the Pakistan scheme. And it is needless to repeat that we are absolutely opposed to it, in whatever way it may be modified. *Any* vivisection of India is entirely repugnant to us.

We have said all along that the Pakistan proposal has the undeclared backing of the powers that be. Our statement is confirmed by the information, hitherto uncontradicted, given by Dr. Moonje to the effect that the Viceroy told him that the Pakistan proposal could not be ruled out at this stage.

So, in order to enable the Muslim League to continue to bask in the sunshine of British favour, the League Committee states that "Each regional State shall be directly responsible to the British Government." Once upon a time, in order not to appear less freedom-loving than the Indian National Congress or the Hindu Mahasabha, the Muslim League had declared Complete Independence as its goal. Is Complete Independence equivalent to being directly responsible to the British Government? As Lord Linlithgow has not ruled out Pakistan, the Muslim League Committee obliges him by ruling out Complete Independence!

It is to be noted that the regional States are to be of two kinds, Hindu and Muslim. The League Committee ordains that not only the Muslim States but the Hindu States also are to be directly responsible to the British Government! The Muslim League is obviously the arbiter of the destiny of both Hindus and Muslims.

The entire Muslim community of India is much less than one-fourth of the total population of India. If one and a half crores of Mussalmans be deducted from the total number of Indian Mussalmans, the remainder will be less than one-fifth of the total population of India. For this less than one-fifth the Muslim League Committee provides, in characteristic predatory fashion, "one-third of the total area of India."

The Committee propose to parcel out India *according to Muslim convenience.* They want Kashmir evidently because Mussalmans form the majority of its population. But they want Hyderabad, too, where the Muslims form a small minority, on the ground that the Nizam is the ruler. Why not then leave Kashmir to the Hindus, as the ruler is a Hindu? Some districts are to be taken from the United Provinces and Madras, perhaps because there are many Mussalmans there. Why not on the same 'principle' leave to the Sikhs and Hindus some

regions of the Panjab where they preponderate? In the province of Bengal, many more districts than two have a Hindu majority, and Calcutta, too, has a Hindu majority. All these should be left out of Pakistan. Most of the inhabitants of Assam are not Mussalmans. So that province ought not to form part of Pakistan. Mussalmans do not form a majority of the population of the province of Delhi. Hence that province, too, cannot form part of Pakistan.

How can "*sovereign* States" be responsible to the British Government?

But as we have said, we are absolutely opposed to any and every scheme of vivisection of India, we need not go on pointing out the absurdities of the Pakistan scheme.

Bengal Government's Ban On 'Prejudicial' Public Meetings and Processions

The *Calcutta Gazette* of October 24 contains the following notification:

In exercise of the power conferred by Sub-rule (1) of Rule 56 of the Defence of India Rules, the Governor is pleased to make the following order:

1. No person shall convene, organise, hold or take part in any public procession, meeting or assembly for the furtherance of any object, or the discussion of any matter, the furtherance or discussion of which—
   (*a*) is, or is intended or is likely to be, a prejudicial act within the meaning of Clause (6) of Rule 34 of the Defence of India Rules; or
   (*b*) is intended or is likely to affect prejudicially the defence of British India, the public safety, the maintenance of public order, the efficient prosecution of war or the maintenance of supplies and services essential to the life of the community.

2. (1) For the purpose of securing compliance with or preventing any contravention of this order an officer authorised under paragraph 6 may, by an order in writing, direct that no person shall, during such period as may be specified in the order, convene, organise, hold or take part in any public procession, meeting or assembly unless—
   (*a*) written notice of the intention to hold such procession, meeting or assembly has been previously given to such officer; and
   (*b*) previous permission in writing to hold such procession, meeting or assembly has been obtained from such officer.

(2) An order issued under sub-paragraph (1) may be in respect of public processions, meetings, or assemblies generally or any class or kind thereof or any particular public procession, meeting or assembly.

The remaining paragraphs of the notification deal with details.

Action Against Two Bengal Papers

DARJEELING, Oct. 24.

The Bengal Government have forfeited Rs. 1,000 out of the security deposit of Rs. 2,000 made by *Advance* under the Defence of India Act for the publication of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's article entitled "On the Verge" in its issue of October 2. The paper has been directed to deposit a fresh security of Rs. 2,000 within a week.—*U. P.*

BURDWAN, Oct. 23.

As a protest against the Government order asking the editor of *Bardhaman Barta,* the leading weekly of the district, to submit all matters intended for publication in that paper, for scrutiny by the local Press Adviser, the members of the Board of Trustees of "Bardhaman Barta" have decided to suspend publication for six months.—*U. P.*

Lawlessness in Sind

It is deplorable and scandalous that lawlessness continues in Sind.

KARACHI, Oct. 23.

Full reports received in Karachi now show that in all eight persons were killed and four more injured in village Jahanpur in Sukkur District yesterday. All the victims were Hindus and included one woman who was also shot dead. Two police constables were also injured. All the injured persons were admitted to Sukkur hospital where the condition of one is described to be serious.

It is reported that twelve Mahomedans clad in Khaki entered the village at 6 a.m. yesterday. On entering the village they assaulted two policemen and snatched away from them two rifles together with cartridges.

The raiders then reached the village 'bazar' and scared the village Muslim 'chowkidars' away. They then raised a false alarm "thief, thief" hearing which two Hindus came out of their homes and were fatally shot. The raiders then entered a shop where seven Hindus were sleeping and killed four of them with gun shots and hatchet blows and injured one. Two however managed to escape.

At this stage it is further reported that one Hindu carrying a gun climbed the roof of his house and fired ten shots at the dacoits who retaliated and disabled the Hindu.

The assailants then entered a Hindu house and killed a Hindu Sethia and his wife with gun shots.

Meanwhile the two constables who had been deprived of their guns managed to get two guns and attacked the assailants who however, escaped into the thick forests after wounding the constables.

No arrest has been made so far.

The District Magistrate, the Deputy Superintendent of Police, and about 80 police constables hastened to the village.

Jahanpur is a small village comprising 60 houses of Hindus besides some Mohammedans.—*A. P.*

It is not a matter for surprise that the Working Committee of the Sind Provincial Muslim League has come to the conclusion that it is the Hindus in and outside Sind who are to blame for the murder and plunder of Hindus in Sind by miscreants.

As the Sind Ministries have failed, for some reason or other, to put an end to lawlessness in the province, the responsibility for doing so rests in the first instance with the Governor of Sind and in the last resort with the Governor-General of India. Both have the power, under the Government of India Act, to discharge this

responsibility. But neither authority has yet moved in the matter.

Bratacharis in Madras

MADRAS, Oct. 20.

In the presence of a large gathering of Corporation School teachers and students, the Bratacharis, led by their Founder-President, Mr. G. S. Dutt, I.C.S., gave a demonstration of folk dances and rhythmic physical exercises, last evening, at the People's Park. Sir S. Radhakrishnan presided.

Mr. O. Pulla Reddi, Commissioner of the Corporation, said that in a comparatively short time, the Bratachari movement had become popular in this part of the country. So long as there was no political tinge about it, the movement would surely flourish.

Sir S. Radhakrishnan said that he knew Mr. Dutt's great enthusiasm for this particular movement and he was greatly impressed, when he saw it in Bengal, by the spirit of buoyancy and joy which animated those who took part in it. "In this country we do not seem to realise quite enough." Sir Sarvapalli added, "how much of health and happiness was due to physical health and efficiency. Most of us, including myself, are physically weak, mentally tired and we are giving an impression of being washed out in every sense of that term. Right round the world, in every country, there are now youth movements, movement of work and joy established for different purposes and what Mr. Dutt has done and is doing, is merely an expression of that world-wide spirit to make our lives a little more healthy, a little more happy and joyous. We must all be thankful to Mr. Dutt for adding to the joy of life." He had no doubt that Mr. Dutt's inspiring example would make others here take up this movement and adapt it to local conditions and linguistic units.

Mr. Dutt said that the movement stood for harmony and synthesis. By rhythmic dances and physical exercises, people could get over inner conflicts. Joy was necessary and it was the essential of Indian life. The movement sought to bring that joy back to individual social and political life. Hindus and Muslims had joined the movement without any thought of difference. "This movement." Mr. Dutt added, "is not a political movement and we have brought into it all people—Congressmen and non-Congressmen. At the same time it is impossible to deny that every movement of social reform and regeneration has a political effect on the people."

The party then gave a demonstration of songs, dances and acrobatics, which were much appreciated.

Mr. Raghunatha Aiyar, Educational Officer of the Corporation, proposed a vote of thanks.—*The Hindu.*

MADRAS, Oct. 21.

The Bengal Bratachari party led by Mr. G. S. Dutt, I.C.S., Founder-President of the Movement, gave a final demonstration in the city of Bratachari exercises and folk-dances before a large gathering.

Mr. Dutt said that the movement which was essentially Indian, aimed to bring about harmony among peoples and nations, thus creating a world synthesis.

Sir Mahommed Usman, Vice-Chancellor of the Madras University, who presided, said that at a time when the greatest need of the country was unity, the Bratachari movement was most welcome.—*A. P.*

Kishorimohan Santra

The sudden and untimely death of Sjt. Kishorimohan Santra, Assistant Secretary of the Publication Department, Visva-bharati, at the age of 47, has been a great loss not only to that institution but to many other institutions and causes in the country. He was a devoted worker and made himself particularly useful in connection with the publication department of Visva-bharati. He endeared himself to all who knew him by his gentlemanliness and amiability. He was a good Bengali scholar and stood first in Bengali in his year at the B.A. examination of the Calcutta University. Influenced by the non-co-operation movement at its inception, he gave up his post-graduate studies in the Calcutta University post-graduate department and joined Visva-bharati.

Imminence of Famine in Jubbulpore

It has been reported that famine is imminent in Jubbulpore district. We hope the authorities will promptly give relief to those in distress and take other necessary steps to deal with the situation adequately.

Famine Conditions in Parts of West Bengal

Parts of the district of Midnapur, such as the Contai and Tamluk sub-divisions, having suffered from devastating floods, the inhabitants of those regions are in great distress. Sir P. C. Ray has appealed for fund, to give them relief on behalf of the Central Committee formed for the purpose.

Owing to partial failure of crops, famine conditions prevail in some other parts also of West Bengal, such as parts of the Bankura, Birbhum, Burdwan and 24-Parganas districts. Dr. Praphulla Chandra Ghosh has appealed for funds to help the people in distress.

It is to be hoped the public will respond liberally to these appeals. But the primary duty to give relief rests with the Government of Bengal, as also with the Government of India who control the Famine Insurance Fund.

Pramathanath Chatterjee

Pramathanath Chatterjee, who retired about two decades ago from public service as divisional Inspector of Schools was for some time personal assistant to Mr. Orange, Director-General of Education (now styled Educational Commissioner with the Government of India). He was a very efficient and popular officer. But he will be remembered more as author of the Bengali novel "Nabīnā Jananī." That book, which was written about half a century ago, and has undergone three editions, is known to many for its too melodious

songs. It is a pity that Pramathanath did not write more books; for he had an attractive style and was noted for his genial humour. He was noted for the purity of his character and his engaging personality. One of his sons, Amarnath, who pre-deceased him, was a very enthusiastic Congress worker. The school and retreat near Gangajalghati, named Amar-Kānan after him, preserves his memory. His father made a gift of the book "Nabīnā Jananī" to that institution. Another son of Pramathanath is a Congress worker.

Pramathanath and the editor of this monthly matriculated in the same year some sixty years ago from the same school and proceeded together in the same bullock cart from Bankura to Raniganj to board the E.I.R. train there in order to proceed to Calcutta to join the same college there. For years the two friends lived together in Calcutta as mess-mates.......

Merger of Two Trade Union Bodies

The merger of India's two Trade Union bodies is a welcome move.

BOMBAY, Oct. 3.

The National Trades Union Federation met in open session on Saturday, 28th September at the R. M. Bhatt School (meeting place also of the Trade Union Congress), Mr. N. M. Joshi, M.L.A. (Central) presiding. In his presidential speech Mr. Joshi said that the experience of two years' joint working with the Trade Union Congress had convinced them that in the interests of the working class whom they wished to serve, unity in Trade Union leadership was essential. Hence he suggested that the affiliation of the two organisations (T. U. C. and Federation) effected in 1938 should now be consummated in complete merger or amalgamation.

Mr. V. V. Giri (Madras), moving the merger resolution observed that they were taking a momentous step and he hoped that under one leadership the movement would rapidly grow. Mr. Mrinal Kanti Bose (Bengal) seconding the resolution observed that some risk was being taken, but if there was good will on both sides, there would be no split again. "If we all own our allegiance mainly if not only," said Mr. Bose, "to the working class and not to the various political parties to which we may belong we will find that in ninety-nine points out of hundred we agree."

The resolution was carried unanimously with acclamation.—*U. P.*

Depressing Picture of Bengal Students' Health

A gloomy picture of the health of the student community is given in the Annual Report of the Students' Welfare Committee of the Calcutta University for the year 1939-40.

INCIDENCE OF DISEASES

There is an increase in the incidence of Malnutrition, Pyorrhœa, Dental Caries among both college and school students. The increase in the incidence of Enlarged Liver and Spleen is another striking feature of the findings of the medical examination conducted by the Medical Board attached to the Committee.

ECONOMIC DISTRESS

"These factors," the Report says, "point to a deterioration in the nutritional level of the students due directly to the faulty adjustment of the diet but traceable ultimately to the increasing economic distress among the middle class population of Bengal from which the students are largely recruited."

The health of the women students are, for practical purposes, on the same level as those of the male students.

HEALTH EDUCATION

The Report emphasises that health education should be an intrinsic part of the general education and suggests that participation in health education and health activities, which includes physical training, should be made compulsory for every under-graduate during the first two years of his University career.

Most Bengal students come from Hindu middle class families. The income of these families has been prejudicially affected by various lagislative and other measures of the present Bengal ministry. If the Hindus want to survive, the entire Hindu community must devise means to improve the economic condition of the community. It is futile, foolish and unmanly to expect any outside help. The community must be its own saviour, humanly speaking.

"Assamese Not Enforced in Bengali-speaking Areas of Assam Province"

DHUBRI, Oct. 7.

Sir Muhammad Saadulla, Premier of Assam in reply to a deputation of the Bengali-speaking people of the Goalpara District which waited on him said that his Government had no objection if the Goalpara people wanted Bengalee as their language. He further stated that the Government of Assam had issued no circular enforcing Assamese in the Bengali-speaking area.—*U. P.*

Move for Unity Among Different Christian Denominations

How the Bengalee Christians of twenty-four denominations could be united under one church was discussed on Monday at the first day's meeting of the sixty-third session of the Bengal Christian Conference, Mr. A. K. Shaha, Principal of the Calcutta Blind School, presiding.

The discussions centred on a scheme drawn up by the Bengal Christian Conference embodying the constitution of the proposed united church.

Mr. Shaha, in the course of his speech, stressed the need of unity among the different denominations of the Bengalee Christian community and urged that the sooner they could shake off their communal spirit, the better for the community they belonged to and the faith they professed.

The Conference will meet again on Tuesday, when it is expected to adopt a resolution on the subject discussed on Monday.—*A. P.*

This is a move in the right direction.

High Posts in Information Department A British Monopoly

NEW DELHI, Oct. 12.

It is not merely the Supply Department of the Government of India in which highly-paid posts have been created and most of these have been filled up by non-Indians. Some statistics about posts in the Press Adviser's Department and the Bureau of Public Information, Government of India, are also revealing. As will be seen from the following details the best-paid jobs have been given to members of the staff of the Anglo-Indian Press.

The Press Adviser's Department was created on the outbreak of war. The following journalists have been recruited for this Department :

Mr. Desmond Young, Press Adviser on Rs. 3,000 (from *The Pioneer*).

Mr. Britter, Assistant Press Adviser on Rs. 1,500 (from *The Times of India*).

Defence Publicity Section :

Lt.-Col. I. S. Jehu (from *The Times of India*)—Director of Public Relations on Rs. 2,000 (approximate with allowances).

Capt. Emerson (formerly of *The Statesman*)—Assistant Director—about Rs. 1,000 with allowances.

Capt. Dossett—Assistant Director—over Rs. 1,000.

BUREAU OF PUBILC INFORMATION

The following is the list of new officers added to the Bureau of Public Information since the outbreak of war :

(1) F. H. Puckle, Esq., I.C.S., Director-General of Information, salary Rs. 4,000.

(2) Mr. B. L. Sharma (formerly editorial apprentice in the *Hindustan Times* and later Ferozepur correspondent of *The Statesman*). Information Officer—Rs. 700.

(3) Mr. Ali Jawad, Bar-at-Law (formerly connected with *The Pioneer* as a Columnist). Information Officer—Rs. 750.

(4) Mr. Fonseca (formerly of *The Times of India* Office). Assistant Information Officer—Rs. 400.

(5) Mr. R. I. Hall (formerly of *The Times of India*). Information Officer—Rs. 800.

(6) Mr. K. V. Venkataraman (formerly Publicity Officer, Sugar Syndicate). Information Officer—Rs. 600.

(7) Mr. Handa (formerly Sub-Editor, *The Tribune*, Lahore). Information Officer—Rs. 550.

(8) Mr. V. Krishnaswami (formerly Translator, News Section, All-India Radio). Assistant Information Officer—Rs. 400.

(9) Mr. B. Kapasi (formerly *United Press* correspondent, Baroda). Assistant Information Officer—Rs. 400.

(10) Mr. Mukherji (formerly of *Jugantar*, Calcutta). Assistant Information Officer—Rs. 400).

Two more Assistant Information Officers, one for Urdu and one for Hindi, each on Rs. 400, have also been appointed. There are also a number of officers called "Journalists" on Rs. 300 each—one for each language, English, Urdu, Hindi, Bengali, Tamil, Gujerati, etc.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru on Federation of Nations

GORAKHPUR, Oct. 8.

"The war has made it clear that smaller nations could not exist as separate entities," observed Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, addressing a large public meeting here yesterday. He added : It was difficult even for greater nations to claim separate existence or to command wide empires. One had to think of federations of nations, either of smaller or bigger ones.

Pandit Nehru stressed the importance, to India, of being very wary before making her next move. If they could face the present upheaval with courage and strength, they could turn the situation in their favour.
—*A. P.*

Individual Civil Disobedience

The statement of Mahatma Gandhi detailing reasons and circumstances which led him to decide that individual civil disobedience should be started by persons selected by him, one after another, has been published all over India in the Indian press; the account of the incidents leading up to the offering of Satyagraha by Sri Vinoba Bhabe and the substance of the speeches delivered by him have also appeared in the press; and the developments following his speeches have also been reported in the press. All these records have historical importance. Hence those who keep accounts of contemporary events for future reference should preserve cuttings of newspapers containing these records.

Government Attitude to Individual Civil Disobedience

Some journals had conjectured that Government would treat individual civil disobedience as beneath notice and would consequently take no notice of the speeches or other activities of individual satyagrahis, whilst others had advised the Government not to take any notice of them. The anticipations of the former have proved false and the advice of the latter has not been followed by the Government, proving that Mahatma Gandhi knows his business.

Ahimsa And The Use of Force

We hold that, just as force has to be used to meet the attacks of wild animals or to bring them under control, so also, if men behave like wild animals, force should be used to meet their onslaughts and bring them under control. This should be done as dispassionately as possible. After the aggressors' attempts have been frustrated, they should receive just and considerate treatment. Then comes the time to bring the quality of ahimsā into full play.

Ahimsā is the highest ideal, but the use of force also has its proper use. It was not given to man for nothing. Its wrong use is, of course, reprehensible and should be scrupulously eschewed.

Thoroughgoing Ahimsa

We respect thoroughgoing ahimsā-ists. We, too, believe that hatred can be conquered by love and justice, but not in all cases and under all circumstances. In the case of individuals, if a man who is an ahimsā-ist be threatened even with death and if he *courageously* prefers not to resist the aggressor in spite of possessing the power of resistance but chooses even to be killed, that is undoubtedly highly ideal conduct, though non-resistance proceeding from helplessness or cowardice is not at all to be praised. The ideal and duty of a woman ahimsāist is the same as that of a man who is an ahimsā-ist—the same in all cases except one. The exception arises if any attempt be made to rob her of her most precious treasure. Then her duty is to resist even by killing the aggressor. There is no harm if she dies in the attempt.

That is Woman's God-given additional right, which many members of the sex have courageously exercised in faithful discharge of the duty implied in the right.

Nations are collections of individuals. If a nation be attacked, resistance in case of the possibility of its success is justifiable. Whether in certain circumstances there is a possibility of resistance being successful, it is for the nation attacked to judge. A nation which is attacked may also choose not to resist. This choice may be due to different causes. Successful resistance may be out of the question; or the nation attacked may be too chicken-hearted or servile-tempered to think of resistance; or, though capable of resistance and possessed of the courage to resist, it may choose not to resist out of wholehearted devotion to the principle of ahimsā and pacifism.

When a powerful nation which is in a position to resist does not resist because of full faith in ahimsā, it is only then that the efficacy of the principle can be tested and a claim may be made that there has been no resistance because of devotion to non-violence.

If Great Britain had chosen not to resist, she could have justly claimed that her non-resistance was due to wholesouled faith in ahimsā.

Mahatma Gandhi's Appeal to Great Britain Not To Resist

It may be permissible to think that Mahatma Gandhi's appeal to all Britons not to resist proceeded from his belief that Great Britain had the courage and the power to resist and that, therefore, she was in the ideal position to offer non-resistance. Therefore, Gandhiji paid the highest compliment to Britons by his appeal.

We think that Gandhiji as a wholesouled ahimsā-ist was justified in making the appeal that he did. He had the moral and the spiritual justification for doing so. It would have been a dereliction of duty on his part and he would have fallen from his high ideal if he had not done so.

Gandhiji's Moral Right To Preach " No War "

Similarly Gandhiji has the *moral* right, though he or any other thoroughgoing ahimsā-ist like him may not have the *legal* right, to speak against war in general and this war in particular. It is understood, of course, that these thoroughgoing ahimsa-ists who may speak or write against war must be prepared to bear the legal consequences of such action; for the State which makes defensive war efforts has the moral as well as the legal right to restrain and prevent anti-war agitation. He may in fact feel that it would be moral and spiritual suicide for him not to do so.

But cowards and haters of Great Britain have no similar moral and spiritual right and duty to preach " no war " with reference to war in general and this war in particular.

Right of Advocates of Force to Make War Effort

Similarly, those who believe that it is a duty to resist aggressoin have every right to go on promoting war efforts of every description. Only, they have no right to force others holding the opposite view to take part in their activities.

Government Order And Notification, And Liberty of the Press

The main resolution passed at an extraordinary meeting of the Executive Council of the Indian Journalists' Association, held in Calcutta on the 23rd October last, runs as follows :

> That this meeting of the Indian Journalists' Association places on record its emphatic protest against the imposition of fresh fetters on the Press by an Amendment of the Defence of India Rules, published in the *Gazette* on 21st October, empowering the Government of India and the Provincial Governments to require, in the name of public safety and prosecution of the War, printers, publishers and editors to submit for scrutiny to a Government officer any matter relating to a particular subject or class of subjects before publication, to prohibit or regulate the printing or publishing of any document or class of documents or of any matter relating to a particular subject or class of subjects or the use of any printing press.
>
> The Association notes that even before the publication of the Amendment in the *Gazette*, the Government of Bengal through its special Press officer has

directed the press by an order dated the 17th October, not to publish accounts of incidents relating to the Satyagraha by Mr. Vinoba Bhabe or any developments in that connection without previous reference to the Chief Press Adviser, Delhi, and has directed the Editor, *Burdwan Barta*, a Bengalee weekly of the district of Burdwan, to submit for scrutiny to the District Press Officer, Burdwan, all matter intended to be published in that paper.

The Amendment lays down conditions which are impossible of fulfilment particularly in the case of daily newspapers and cannot but be harassing in its operation to the Press in general and they do completely take away, without the slightest justification, what had remained of the liberty of the Press. The measures taken by the Government of Bengal, even before the Amendment came into force, are reprehensible and show an utter disregard of the liberty of the Press.

By another resolution the Secretary was directed to send copies of this resolution to Mahatma Gandhi, the Government of India and Government of Bengal and the Press.

Gandhiji Suspends Publication Of "Harijan"

Mahatma Gandhi has issued the following statement to the press (October 24, 1940) :

"On the 18th instant, the Editor of the *Harijan* received the following notice from the District Magistrate's office, Poona : 'I am directed by Government to advise you that no account of incidents leading up to Satyagraha by Mr. Vinoba Bhave and no report of his speeches or any subsequent developments should be published without previous reference to the Chief Press Adviser, Delhi. I would like to bring to your notice that this is in your own interest to avoid prosecution, under Rule 38 of the Defence of India Rules.'

"Thereupon I entered into correspondence with H. E. the Viceroy. The correspondence is still going on but it is necessary for me to take a decision today, for if I did not, there may be waste of public money. In view of the reply hitherto received I have no course left open but to suspend publication of the *Harijan*, the *Harijan Bandhu* and the *Harijan Sevak*. I cannot function freely if I have to send to the Press Adviser, New Delhi, every line I write about Satyagraha. It is true that the notice is only advisory and that therefore I am not bound to act up to it. But the consequence of disregard of advice is also stated in the notice. I have no desire to risk prosecution against the Editors. The three weeklies have been conducted in the interest of Truth, and, therefore, of all parties concerned. But I cannot serve that interest if editing has to be done under threat of prosecution. Liberty of press is a dear privilege apart from the advisability or otherwise of Civil Disobedience. Government have shown their intention clearly by prosecution of Shri Vinoba Bhave."

"I have no complaint to make against the prosecution. It was the inevitable result of his defiance of the Defence of India Rules. But liberty of press stands on a different footing. I am unable to reconcile myself to the notice which, although in the nature of advice, is in reality an order whose infringement will carry its own consequence. I am sorry to disappoint the numerous readers of the three weeklies. Next week I shall be able to let the public know whether it is to be merely a suspension or an indefinite stopping of the three weeklies. I shall still hope that it will be merely a suspension and that my fear will prove to be groundless. But should it prove otherwise I may inform the public that Satyagraha is independent of press advertisement."

"If it is real it carries with it its own momentum and I believe the present Satyagraha to be very real. It will go on. I will not be provoked into any hasty action. I am still not ready with the next move. But as I have said in my previous statement, every act of Civil Disobedience is complete in itself. This press notice shows how effective it has been. Every act of repression adds strength to the reality. Satyagraha thrives on repression till at last the repressor is tired of it and the object of Satyagraha is gained. Whether, therefore, I take the next step or not and when I take it is a matter of no consequence to the public. Let those who sympathise with it follow implicity the instructions I have issued. I believe and my belief has been tested repeatedly that a thought deliberately thought and controlled is a power greater than speech or writing and any day greater than steam which is husbanded and controlled. We see the latter every day carrying incredible weights even across steep precipices. Thought power overcomes much greater obstacles and easily carries greater weights. But let me give a practical hint to the non-believer in the power of thought husbanded and controlled."

"Let every one become his own walking newspaper and carry the good news from mouth to mouth. This does not mean what boys used to do in the past, *viz.*, trumpeting about of bits of news. The idea here is of my telling my neighbour what I have authentically heard. This no Government can overtake or suppress. It is the cheapest newspaper yet devised and it defies the wit of Government however clever it may be. Let these walking newspapers be sure of the news they give. They should not indulge in idle gossip. They should make sure of the source of information and they will find that the public gets all the information that they need without opening their morning newspaper which they should know will contain garbled, one-sided information and, therefore, not worth the trouble of reading. For it may be that even public statements such as I am now issuing may also be stopped. It is the condition of life under an autocratic Government whether foreign or indigenous."—*A. P.*

The suspension or discontinuance of the publication of the three weeklies by Gandhipi will be widely regretted. No other journal in India can be a substitute for them. They were unique as an expression and reflexion of Mahatmaji's unique personality. No sufficient reason exists for passing the Government orders which have led to this deprivation of the public of a source of information and inspiration.

Other journals, whose proprietors' opinion of the Government orders is similar to that of the Mahatma, have not been able to act as he has done, partly because these are in part conducted as business concerns, not entirely as means of serving the nation and humanity.

Greater Surprise in Store for "Surprised" America

Mr. Duff Cooper, in the course of explaining to "Reuter" the special campaign of

broadcasts, films and press advertisements (which commence on the 7th October last) "to bring home to the people of Britain the true significance of the extraordinary experiment of the British League of Independent Nations," said with reference to Americans' interest in and ignorance of India :

"During his tour in America he found greatest ignorance on India and when he explained what had been done by Great Britain in India, the people in America were not only interested but surprised."

We will charitably assume that Mr. Duff Cooper could not tell the American people *all* about Britain's dealings with India, past and present, because of his own ignorance of many facts.

If the American people could be shown the other side of the lantern, they would be not only still more interested but vastly more astounded.

"Alleged" Inaccuracies in the Census of 1931

A Bengal Government press note, dated October 4 last states, in part :

Letters have recently been published in the Press, emanating from an organisation which represents the Hindu interest, which criticise a circular issued by the Special Officer for the Census of Calcutta. The protest is directed to a passage in the circular which advises that normally Muslims should be appointed to perform the house-numbering of exclusively Muslim areas in Calcutta. . . . . The letters conclude with plain hints that these instructions have been influenced by a design on the part of Government to perpetuate alleged inaccuracies of the Census of 1931 which are said to have favoured the Muslim community.

Real inaccuracies in some of the reports of the Census of 1931 have been pointed out in well documented and well argued articles contributed by Sjt. Jatindra Mohan Datta to *Prabasi* and *The Modern Review*. These journals have never refused to correct mistakes in what appears in them. No official of the Bengal Government has ever shown that the inaccuracies pointed out by Mr. Datta are not inaccuracies but true figures. Therefore, the public is entitled to hold that the inaccuracies are real and the conclusion drawn therefrom by Mr. Datta is right.

Chotanagpur "Sanatan" Adibasis Claim To Be Hindus

On 22nd October, 1940, a meeting of the Sanatan Adibasis was held at village Hatia P. S. Ranchi under the presidency of Tone Munda of Chand P. S. Ranchi. After the speech of Babu Theble Uraon, the following resolutions were passed :

By the instructions issued on behalf of the Government, it has been ordered that those Uraons, Mundas and Kharias who observe Sarhul, Bahar and Jankore festival respectively, their religion shall be recorded according to their castes and those who observe *Diwali* festival, their religion shall be recorded as Hindu. We all Uraon, Munda and Kharia observe all the Hindu festivals, and *Diwali* festival is pompously observed in every home and the goddess Lakshmi is worshipped that day. We are the believers of Hindu religion. This meeting therefore requests the Government to direct that the Uraons, Mundas, etc., be recorded as Hindu in the coming Census of 1941.

The Catholic Sabha has urged our religion to be recorded as tribal. They belong to other religion and they have no right to speak about the religion of Sanatan Adibasis.

Linguistic Enumeration in Census

In the census, just as every one should be enumerated as belonging to the religious community to which, *according to his statement*, he belongs, so also every one should be counted as belonging to the linguistic group to which he says he belongs. In the province of Bihar, great fluctuations in the number of the Bengali-speaking people have been observed owing to efforts having been made to represent numerous persons as Hindi-speaking who are really Bengali-speaking. All concerned should endeavour to prevent such wrong enumeration.

Two Bridges on Burma Road Destroyed

TOKIO, Oct. 26.

Japanese Naval Warplanes on Friday afternoon destroyed suspension bridges over a gorge in the upper reaches of Mekong river, paralysing traffic on the Burma Road.—*Reuter*.

China will certainly reconstruct the bridges as expeditiously as practicable.

War in Europe, Africa and Asia

It is not practicable in a monthly review to make any up-to-date comments on the war in Europe, Africa and Asia. We note with admiration the valiant fight which Britain has been carrying on for the defence of her hearths and homes and of her associated peoples. Her skill and capacity are as conspicuous as her valour.

Germany is, it seems, trying on the one hand to get new allies and fresh subject territory and on the other carrying on a peace offensive.

China is as determined as ever to recover and maintain her liberty and integrity. Japan is said to be trying to conclude a treaty of peace with China on terms as advantageous to herself (Japan) as may be practicable under the circumstances.

Fresh Order on the Press

NEW DELHI, Oct. 25.

The following order has been issued by the Government of India in exercise of the powers conferred by Clause (b) of Sub-rule (1) of Rule 41 of the Defence of India Rules, the Central Government is pleased to prohibit the printing or publishing by any printer, publisher or editor in British India of any matter calculated, directly or indirectly to foment opposition

to the prosecution of the war to a successful conclusion or of any matter relating to the holding of meetings or the making of speeches for the purpose, directly or indirectly, of fomenting such opposition as aforesaid :

Provided that nothing in this order shall be deemed to apply to any matter communicated by the Central Government or a provincial government to the press for publication.—*A. P.*

This order is very elastic and therefore very drastic.

Futile Suggestion of Manchester "Guardian"

The Manchester *Guardian* has suggested that Mr. Amery should go out to India and arrive at a settlement with the help of leaders who do not belong to the Congress camp, and thus end the deadlock. This is a futile suggestion. For, apart from the greater hold which the Congress has on the people of India than any other organization, no leader of any organization possessed of some appreciable influence can co-operate with the Government fruitfully, unless the British Government parts with a substantial amount of power. But that government will not part with power;—it has shown no inclination to do so. Keeping in abeyance for the present its demand of independence, the Congress wanted a National Government at the Centre. The British Government did not agree. All the other representative organizations in India which count, want Dominion Status. But far from conferring Dominion Status on India now, *the British Government would not give even a definite* **Parliamentary Pledge** that could be relied upon, to the effect that after the conclusion of the war within a definite period to be named therein Dominion Status of the Westminster Statute variety would be conferred on India.

A Case of Refusal of Domicile Certificate in Bihar

Sjt. Sris Chandra Chakrabarti, headmaster of the Rammohun Roy Seminary of Bankipur, and his wife have devoted their best energies to the welfare of Bihar during the greater part of their active life. Their children are natives of Bihar and have been brought up there. *The Behar Herald* writes :

These children have known no other home than the land of their birth. One of them a girl, passed the last Matriculation examination of Patna University with distinction and qualified for a Government scholarship and for admission to public institutions for University education. She was told, however, that her claim would not be admitted unless she got herself declared as a citizen of Bihar by obtaining what is known as a certificate of domicile. She duly applied for such a certificate. The usual protracted inquiry followed : weeks passed into months : at very long last, she was informed that her application had been rejected. In other words, in the eyes of the public authorities, this child of one who had given the best part of his life working for the education of Bihari children, cannot, though a native of the province, be admitted to its citizenship and to the educational facilities which go with such citizenship.

We are glad to find that *The Searchlight*, a Congress organ of Bihar, considers the denial of a domicile certificate to Miss Chakrabarti a flagrant case of injustice. It writes, in part :

Mr. and Mrs. Chakravarti have always been held in high esteem. They have given their best to Bihar, and we do not know of a single Bihari who will grudge their children the privilege of Bihar citizenship to which they are undoubtedly entitled. This is one of those flagrant cases with regard to which Biharis have done all they can to see to it that justice was not denied.

As Biharis and Bengalis both agree that injustice has been done to Miss Chakrabarti, there should not be much difficulty in obtaining justice for her.

Bombay Storm Havoc

We feel deeply for the sufferers from the recent cyclone at Bombay. Nothing, of course, can be done for those who have died. For the relief of their relatives and dependants, if any, all that is possible is, we are sure, being done. For Bombay has numerous men and women who are both willing and in a position to make large donations in the cause of suffering humanity. There is also no dearth in Bombay of social workers to devote themselves to the work of relief in a spirit of altruistic service.

Drastic Application of Defence of India Act

The Defence of India Act rules are being drastically used for repressive purposes in various parts of the country. This has given rise to much unrest. We are unable to judge whether war efforts have been accelerated thereby, though undoubtedly the action taken everywhere under the Defence of India Act is meant to expedite war efforts.

All-India Bengali Cultural Reunion

It has been announced that this year the All-India Bengali Cultural Re-Union, known as Prabāsī Banga-Sāhitya Sammelan, will hold its session at Jamshedpur during next Christmas week. Though the literary side of Bengali culture is emphasized at this re-union, separate sittings are set apart for Science and the Fine Arts (particularly Painting and Music) also. During some of the previous sessions Sociology, Journalism, Industry, History and Economics also had separate sectional sittings. According to the constitution and rules of the Sammelan

politics cannot be discussed. There is ample justification for eschewing politics at this Sammelan. Apart from the fact that Bengalis, like other provincials, differ greatly among themselves, in their politics, politics would prevent Government servants from taking part in the proceedings of the re-union. That would be a great loss to it as well as to these public servants also, and the Sammelan would lose much of its value, usefulness and attraction as a social function. It has been, therefore, a wise decision to leave out politics.

Sardar Patel on the Rights of Indian States' Subjects

BOMBAY, Oct. 24.

"Our attitude towards Indian States will continue to be what it is," declared Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel presiding over a meeting held under the auspices of the All-India States People's Conference this evening at the Marwari Chamber Trading Hall. Seth Jamnalal Bajaj addressed the meeting on the present situation in Jaipur State.

Sardar Patel said that Jaipur was not the only State in India that urgently required administrative improvements. Foreign administration in this country had very much complicated the position. The interests of the subjects were not taken into account but only the interests of the British. The political department controlled all the States and the rulers as such had very little or no voice. In a number of States the rulers had delegated their powers to the Dewans who in turn were controlled by the political department.

Proceeding the Sardar said that there was sufficient justification for the people to take energetic steps to fight for their rights. But they were not going to launch and precipitate action because of the present uncertain and fluid conditions. The present state of affairs was bound to end sooner or later. He added that in the great changes that were to come there would be room only for those Princes who commanded the loyalty and affection of their subjects.

Concluding Sardar Patel criticised the attitude of Britain towards India. They proclaimed that they were fighting for democracy but the same democracy was denied to India.—*A. P.*

Viceroy Opens Eastern Group Conference

On the 25th of October last the Viceroy opened the Eastern Group Conference with a well considered and businesslike speech. His repeated references to the British Commonwealth would have been quite appropriate and graceful if India, where the conference is being held, had been a part of the Commonwealth enjoying Dominion Status. But it does not possess that status. It is a subject country forming part of the British Empire. Commonwealth and Empire do not have the same connotation. At a Conference sitting in a country held in subjection the reference to the British elements' common heritage of freedom which they had met to defend was not quite graceful, though we are far from suggesting that His Excellency had the least intention to wound Indian susceptibilities.

The use of the expression "mother country" at this Conference may lead people who do not know, to have the impression that Britain is the mother country of India as well as of the British Dominions. But that is not, of course, a fact.

The descriptive prefatory sentences tell us, among other things, that "Sir U Paw Tun, leader of the Burma delegation, was a picturesque figure in the Burmese national dress." Perhaps no Indian official delegate or non-official Indian adviser present at the Conference wore his national dress.

Coming to the actual object of the Conference, one may be sure that it will lead to the increased production of munitions in India, but time alone will show whether it will give a permanent stimulus to India's Indian-managed industries or help in the rise and growth of new industrial concerns financed and managed by Indians themselves.

"Pulpo" Products

The following articles are manufactured by the Pulpo Products Company, Ltd., from a plastic named "Pulpo" invented by Sjt. S. C. Rae Choudhury.

Toys of all descriptions, Mechanical toys, Art figures, Artistic table-lamps, Lamp shades, Switches, Brackets, Ash tray, Pin cushion, Decorative ink-stands, Paper weight, Pen-holder, Flower vases, Plane table tops, Curved table tops, Photo frames, Photo mounts, Fancy jewellery cases, Knitting cases, Buttons, Golf-coat buttons, Buttons (for ladies' garments), Snuff-boxes, Fancy pots of all descriptions, Embossed pictures on glass, Sticks, Umbrella handles, Plane boards, Curved boards, Sheets, Decorative partitions, Decorative ceilings, Suit cases, Attache cases, Harmonium boxes, Radio boxes, Electric fan blades, etc.

The industrial utilization of this plastic will, it is hoped, relieve to some extent the unemployment problem of Bengal. This industry will be a major industry as well as an incentive to a number of cottage industries utilizing the plastic manufactured by this company.

We have seen many of the articles manufactured by this company. They are light, durable, moderately priced and attractive in appearance.

Britain Fighting For Freedom of Speech

In the course of a recent speech of his one of our provincial Governors said that Great Britain was fighting for freedom of speech and religion. The recent drastic curtailment of the liberty of the press all over British India and the restrictions on the liberty of holding meetings,

processions, etc., in Bengal are an unintended illuminating commentary on this gubernatorial pronouncement.

"What Is The British Empire?"

That was the question asked recently by the Governor of Madras in the course of a speech of his. His reply to this question was :

> "It is a democracy of self-governing countries. Dominion status is democracy. When people say that Dominion status is not democracy they are not saying what is a fact. If they go to Australia or to Canada or to the other parts of the British Empire to see what Dominion status means, they will realise that it means democracy in the truest sense—a great link, that is the only link between Canada, Australia, South Africa and other Dominions and Great Britain."

It is false to say that the British *Empire* is a democracy of self-governing countries. India, which contains the vast majority of the people of the British Empire, is not a self-governing country. Not to speak of other things, even in the matter of this war, India, unlike the self-governing Dominions, was not allowed to determine whether she would join the war or remain neutral ;—she was dragged into it. The Governor of Madras himself knows all this. So he had to add :

> "Dominion status and self-government as has been given to Australia, South Africa, New Zealand and Canada, is going to be given to India."

But he did not say when it was going to be given, and even if he had said so, the British Parliament would not have been bound to act according to his promise. For, during the debate on the Government of India Bill (which became the Government of India Act of 1935) it was stated without contradiction in both houses of Parliament that, not to speak of promises or pledges of lesser persons, Parliament was not bound against its own judgment by any promise given by even the British Sovereign. So, it is only an Act of Parliament or something of similar authority emanating from it which is binding on it.

To determine the nearness or remoteness of the uncertain future when the British authorities may confer Dominion Status on India, or to determine whether they at all really intend to do so, it is enough to consider the implications of Lord Linlithgow's words to the effect that "they (the British authorities) could not contemplate the transference of their present responsibilities for the peace and welfare of India to any system of government whose authority is directly denied by large and powerful elements in India's national life." So long as the British Government wields supreme power in India, it will always find it easy to find "large and powerful elements in India's national life" to deny the authority of any popular system of government demanded by the majority of politically-minded Indians, and hence the excuse for not transferring power to it will never be wanting.

Manipur Cultural Academy

During Professor Dr. Kalidas Nag's visit to Imphal, the capital of Manipur, the Manipur Cultural Academy was founded for the purpose of advancing the cause of and propagating Manipuri culture. Maharajakumar Priyavrata Singh, B.A., Durbar Member, has been chosen president of this academy. It is hoped that under the fostering care of such a cultured personage of high position the object of the academy will be promoted in all directions. It will soon take up the work of collecting manuscripts in Manipuri character. Manipur is famous for its dance and *kirtan* and other music, as also for its cloth of various beautiful designs.

Firing on Hindus At Kulti

Thanks mainly to the public spirit and energy of Mr. N. C. Chatterjee, Barrister-at-Law, the facts relating to the firing on Hindu processionists at Kulti have been published in detail in the press. They had taken out a licence for the procession. On the first day of the procession they proceeded along the route laid down in the licence and during the hours during which they had been permitted to lead the procession. There was no interference with the procession or molestation that day. The next day also they followed the route fixed by the authorities and observed the hours also. But that day they were attacked by a Muhammadan crowd. The guardians of law and order ought to have prevented this attack and, if necessary, they could have fired on the aggressors. But instead of firing on the aggressors, they fired on the Hindu processionists "in the dark," lights having been put out by the aggressive mob. Several Hindus were killed and many more wounded—all the casualties being Hindus. In order perhaps to make up for this discrimination, the local authorities have arrested an equal number of Hindus and Mussalmans.

An idependent inquiry has been demanded by the Hindu public. But though weeks have passed since the day of the occurrence, the Ministers have not yet (October 26) decided whether there would be any inquiry at all by an official or official *cum* non-official committee. Is this a foretaste of Pakistan?

Congress and the Pakistan Scheme

In a previous note we have commented on the summary of a report of a Muslim League committee on the Pakistan scheme. *The Leader* observes with reference to it that " the Congress as a body has not deemed it right or necessary to utter a word about it either through its working or all-India committee. " That is true. But Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru have condemned it separately in their individual capacities. Their condemnation is quite unequivocal, though Gandhiji has said that, if at the Constituent Assembly the Muslims wanted it, he did not know any non-violent means of preventing its materialization.

We have heard from a Congressman holding a high provincial position in the Congress that Maulana Abul Kalam Azad has advised Congressmen not to agitate against the Pakistan scheme, as it would come to nothing. That is, of course, his own personal opinion. But how does he know ?

Pratap Chunder Mozoomdar Centenary at Madras

We are pleased to learn from Sjt. V. Venkataratnam, Joint Secretary to the Truthseekers' Society, Madras, that the birth centenary of Bhai Pratap Chunder Mozoomdar was celebrated with due solemnity at Madras under the presidentship of Mr. Satyamurti, the Mayor of that city. In the course of his concluding remarks the Mayor paid a tribute to the Truthseekers' Fraternity, saying :

> It was indeed surprising that when the whole of India was a desert of communal factions and bickerings, this Fraternity was like an Oasis aiming at cultural and communal harmony. He was pleased to be in the midst of such an atmosphere. Proceeding, he observed, that our heritage is so valuable that our first act in a Free India shall be the founding of a National Portrait gallery and National Biographic and Historic Society to perpetuate the memory of our National heroes and the immeasurable wealth of heritage India has produced in the spiritual realm. It was deplorable, he added, that a personality who created such an impression in foreign lands and who was responsible for raising the prestige of our Motherland, should be allowed to be forgotten by posterity. It proved how our education is anti-national and requires to be changed to suit the genius and culture of our beloved Motherland. He concluded that whatever might be the scientific achievement of the West—construction or destruction—it is India which responds to and satisfies the spiritual cravings of man, *viz.*, " whence, wither and who I am."

Indian Troops' Excellent Work in Egyptian Desert

CAIRO, Oct. 23.

While awaiting their turn to go into action, Indian troops stationed in the western desert have already gained reputation throughout the British Imperial Army for the rapidity of progress in the erection of defence-works. Working from dawn to dusk, pausing only for meals, unworried by the heat and sand, within one month they have completed the entire large-scale defence works which it had been calculated would take three months to finish. Even hard-bitten New Zealand commanders, whose troops have been hardening up by digging, have expressed the highest admiration for the work put in by the Indian troops. Like the other troops, the Indians were very glad to leave the camp near Cairo, where they had been for a year. The defence works are so vast that it has been necessary to establish one-way traffic and incongruous notices like " no entry " and tin-hatted traffic police now appear where a short time ago camels grazed and the gazelle roamed wild.—*Reuter.*

But though the Indian troops have done three months' work in one, do they get at least the same pay and allowance as white troops ?

Bengal National Chamber on Supply Department

The fact that all the key positions in the Department of Supply and the two branches of the Directorate-General—Supply and Munitions Productions, are held by Europeans, while with one or two exceptions, Liaison Officers for different industries and Controllers of Supplies in important centres are also all Europeans, form the subject of a letter addressed by the Committee of the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce to the Government of India.

> The Committee point out that officers recruited from European business firms are, as a result of this policy and by virtue of their position, able to know the secrets of rival Indian business houses. Besides, it is only natural for Officers of the Department recruited from the European business houses to foster the interests of European businessmen to the detriment of their Indian rivals, and to form a cause of vested interests, amongst whom available patronage will be distributed.
>
> FACILITIES FOR THE EUROPEANS
>
> In regard to the hopes that have been raised about a large number of new industries being started for supplying the requirements of the Government for the prosecution of the War and the essential requirements of the civilian population, the Committee are of opinion that it would be easy for the Europeans recruited from European business houses and holding key positions in the Supply Department to obtain prior hint about the intentions of the Government to grant protection or subsidy to the new industries likely to be started, and thus anticipate Indian enterprise in these directions. The Committee also draw attention to the fact that the Department of Supply has now practically superseded the Indian Stores Department. Manned mainly by Indians, and conversant with the conditions and requirements of Indian industries, the I. S. D. has, as a matter of fact, largely succeeded in its attempts to foster Indian industries by purchase of Stores here and, while the Committee quite appreciate the need for expedition in regard to the administration of the Supply Department, they are at the same time of opinion that the Stores Department could have been successfully utilised in organising the new Department of Supply.

The Committee also fail to understand the reason for taking away the control of the I.S.D. and the Deparmtent of Supply from the portfolio of the Member for Commerce and Industries.

They are indeed of opinion that if the original aims of the I. S. D. are to continue to be faithfully carried out, and if the supplies connected with the War are to be utilised as an opportunity to strengthen existing industries and to fill in the gaps in the Indian Industrial structure, the proper and logical course would be to entrust the Department of Supply and to reassign the I. S. D. to that Member of the Viceroy's Cabinet whose task and justification are to foster commerce and keep an alert and sympathetic watch over the industries.

Congress Goodwill Mission to Waziristan & Bannu Banned

Messrs. Bhulabhai Desai and Asaf Ali wanted to visit Waziristan on a goodwill mission on behalf of the Congress. But they were not permitted by the Governor of the N.-W. Frontier Province to go there " in view of the misunderstanding which would inevitably arise"—whatever that may mean.

In Dr. Khan Saheb's telegram to the Governor requesting permission for the Goodwill Mission to visit Waziristan it was stated that Messrs. Bhulabhai Desai and Asaf Ali "desire to make it clear, while they lay particular stress on direct and independent contacts, that they would be prepared to be accompanied, if you think it necessary, by one of your representatives who may be present at all interviews and conversations which they may have in Waziristan."

Bannu is in British territory, but the two Congress leaders were not allowed to go even to that town, the official reason stated being that their "pre ence in Bannu would give rise to misunderstandings"—whatever that may mean.

In the course of a speech delivered in Peshawar Sjt. Bhulabhai Desai said that they were not going to Waziristan to do any anti-war propaganda, nor arrive at any secret understandings with tribesmen. They only wanted to tell them that they were tied together by the common interests of friends and neighbours. How childlike of the Congress leaders to think that the British authorities would like the Waziris to regard Congressmen as friends!

Sir M. Visvesvaraya on Automobile Industry

A project for starting an Automobile Industry in Bombay has been before the public for the past five years. A note entitled " Automobile Industry in Bombay—Latest Phase for the Project" has just been issued by Sir M. Visvesvaraya.

The author points out that cars could be manufactured and sold in India at considerably cheaper prices than those current in normal times. A car which costs Rs. 1,400 at the American factory is sold in India for Rs. 3,500. The difference of Rs. 2,100 is at present spent on freight, insurance, import duty and other charges. The bulk of these charges could be avoided when a car is manufactured in India. Allowing a large margin for every consideration, the Indian factory can still earn a good profit. The prospects of the industry seem very promising.

Sir Visvesvaraya is confident, as a result of his study, that the manufacture of motor vehicles is not at all complicated. Much of it is automatic and as evidenced from the experience of automobile assembly plants working in India, the Indian workman is quite competent to handle the motor manufacturing plant and machinery.

The project is worthy of public support, and is entitled to the support of the Government also.

America Takes Steps For Preparedness

Opening his election campaign in Philadelphia on October 23rd last, President Roosevelt said: " It is for peace that I shall labour for all the days of my life." That was a sincere utterance. But it does not mean that America is for peace at any price. The United States possesses a large and efficient navy and an up-to-date and adequate air force. Both are being made still more powerful. Its land army is not negligible. Its factories can manufacture arms, munitions and aeroplanes not only for itself but also for supplying its friends with them. The vast sums voted for preparedness for war are indubitable proofs of its determination to remain free and to uphold the cause of world freedom. No aggressor is likely to easily land on American soil and declare, " veni, vidi, vici." It is determined to make full use of its man-power, as the new Conscription Act and its operation show.

NEW YORK, Oct. 17.

Sixteen million men registered on Wednesday for military service under the new Conscription Act.

This gigantic task, which is unparalleled in the history of the United States, was carried out almost without a hitch and except for a negligible minority, every one took the registration in good part. Rich and poor of all classes, together with cowboys, Red Indians and Negroes marched to the registration offices all over the United States.

Hollywood film stars sat on the steps of registration offices awaiting the opening of doors. Four Chinese boys headed the line at the Philadelphia herdquarters, while among those registering at another station were forty Hindu seamen.—*Reuter.*

INDIANISATION OF THE SERVICES THROUGH NATIONAL EYES

By Dr. H. C. MOOKERJEE, M.A., Ph.D.,

Head of the Department of English & Fellow, Calcutta University; Member, Legislative Assembly, Bengal; President, All-India Conference of Indian Christians

It has been authoritatively stated that the total yield of foodcrops in British India fluctuates round about 50 million tons. If we divide this amount by the total population, we get the average of less than one pound per head per day, due allowance being made for exports, fodder, wastage, etc. The result of this food shortage has been summed up by K. T. Shah in his *Wealth and Taxable Capacity of India* in the following terms :

"The Indian people are under-fed. The consequence is obvious and unavoidable. Either one in every three individuals must go hungry or, what is much more easy, insidious and injurious, every one must cut one out of every third meal necessary to him. This inevitably becomes the common practice and the consequence is the progressive deterioration in physique and energy that renders additional production with a view to make up for the deficit increasingly more and more difficult. This vicious circle is complete. The Indian people, are relatively speaking, debilitated and inefficient because they have not enough food available. They cannot produce sufficient for their requirements of the lowest standards because they are lacking in strength and energy."

Sir John Megaw, formerly Surgeon-General of India, summed up the same state of things in a slightly different way when he observed that

"In India as a whole, 39 per cent of the population could afford adequate nourishment, 41 per cent were poorly nourished and 20 per cent badly nourished."

The toll in preventible disease and death according to the same authority was as follows :

"About 13 million people are suffering from venereal diseases, the figure of 2 million sufferers from tuberculosis is much too low, 6 million people suffer from nightblindness due to bad diet, nearly 6 million are totally blind, rickets due to deficiency in diet affect 200,000 persons, the victims of malaria in a year are no less than 50 million and may easily exceed 100 million."

Sir M. Visvesvaraya in his book *Planned Economy of India* said :

"In 1924, a detailed estimate was made of the national income or dividend of India, which for the year 1922-23 was estimated at Rs. 2,500 crores, giving a per capita figure of Rs. 78. It was also estimated that the total drain from India from all sources was about Rs. 220 crores in a normal year, which would leave the net annual income at Rs. 71 per head. In a year like the present (1934), the country's income cannot be more than Rs. 50 per head of population."

Along with that he also said that the rural indebtedness of the agricultural population of British India is about Rs. 50 per head and added that this explains the difficulty experienced by them in meeting their financial obligations.

This is the economic background against which we have to consider the question of the Indianisation of the Services. I may mention in passing what I have elsewhere proved irrefutably with the help of facts and figures that the administration in this country is at present one of the most expensive in the whole world.

Indianisation and Economy

According to the Statistical Abstract for British India, 1930, the military expenditure amounted to 56 crores, out of this 43 crores represented expenditure on what is called the effective army. At that time out of a total of 277,356, 60,000 were British soldiers. This was a little over 25 per cent of the total strength of the army. The cost of maintaining each British soldier was six times that for maintaining an Indian soldier. The replacement therefore of the British by the Indian soldier would have meant a saving of about 25 crores per year.

The Indianisation of the Civil Service would mean a very large saving not only as regards the actual salaries drawn but also as regards the money sent to England for pensions and military training. According to the "Parliamentary Debates," House of Commons, 8th November, 1929, during the year ended 31st March, 1929, the amount paid in Great Britain in respect of pensions totalled the enormous sum of £2,083,958 for Military, Naval and Indian Medical Service officers and £1,617,719 for Indian Civil Service officers, the grand total being £3,701,677.

Add to this the fact that Indianisation will have the indirect effect of lowering the scale of salaries of the higher Indian officers, which are at present too high and very much beyond the ability of India to pay. According to Dr. Rajani Kanta Das, author of *The Industrial Efficiency of India*, the Indianisation of the services will imply an economy of at least 40 crores a year,

But it is not proposed to deal with this aspect of the problem here.

Self-government implies the right to administer one's own affairs and the enjoyment of adequate opportunities to do so. It is also admitted that we have no right to grumble or feel disappointed if non-Indians are appointed to do work requiring special knowledge and skill which are not available in the country itself.

Rightly or wrongly, National India feels that, under the Government of India Act, 1935, the position of the Indian has been reversed. Instead of the non-Indian being brought in only unavoidably, it is the Indian who is placed in this invidious and unenviable position. And it is the non-Indian on whom valuable privileges are showered and it is he who receives special protection ensuring his enjoyment of these privileges. Formerly the appointment of non-Indians in large numbers could be justified on the ground that properly qualified Indians were not available. But this cannot be urged with truth today.

Not only does National India demand a greater share in the administration of the country for the children of the soil, but it also feels that the replacement of the non-Indian by the Indian and the transfer of powers of appointment, fixing of emoluments, discipline, etc., to the popular ministers would effect a great economy in the cost of administration. Para 316 of the Report of the Joint Select Committee of Parliament says :

> "We are informed that the percentage of the total annual revenue of a Province which would be required for the payment of all service emoluments may be taken approximately as 40 p. c., and we are satisfied that, in respect of payments which constitute so large a proportion of the total annual liabilities of a Province, the suggestion (of a prior charge on the Provincial Purse) is impracticable."

If the correctness of the above statement is admitted, salaries and allowances only are absorbing 40 per cent of the provincial revenues. To this we have to add rent for public buildings, cost of stores and other materials and the charges of provincial debts which may be regarded as more or less fixed amounts. It was reported to me by the Indian Christian representatives in the different provincial legislatures that it was with some difficulty that the cabinets in the different provinces were able to set apart 12½ to 15 per cent of the provincial revenues for nation-building work.

In addition to the question of excessive expenditure, National India wants to know what special kind of service we are getting from non-Indian officials which we cannot get from our nationals provided they receive the right type of training. Though interested parties may hold a contrary view, it maintains that there is no dearth of suitable men in our motherland. There is scarcely any department in the civil administration where, when opportunity has been given, Indians have not demonstrated their capacity to discharge their duties satisfactorily. No one questions the desirability of importing experts on a limited covenant but it is no compliment to the British administration if the British persist in holding that, after a rule lasting more than a century and a half, it has failed to produce say 6,000 men out of a total population of 400 millions or so fit to carry on the work of administration.

National India feels that the existing scale of salaries specially in the Imperial services has to be cut down in accordance with the economic condition of the Indian tax-payer. At present, the Imperial services more or less set the standards for the emoluments of all public servants, the result being that even the members of the provincial services expect higher salaries than can be borne easily by the people of the country.

The only justification for self-government is the taking of vigorous steps for improving the condition of the masses which can come only when our economic resources are developed. This work cannot be done at an appreciably rapid rate so long as such a large percentage of public resources as mentioned above is pledged for the maintenance of an excessively paid public service.

Indianisation appears to be one of the best ways out of this impasse, for once the Imperial services come under the control of popular ministers, the members can be induced or, at the worst, compelled to work under terms more in keeping with our resources. It is also possible that the Indians among them might feel more inclined to serve their own flesh and blood on less favourable terms than people whose interest for our welfare cannot, in the very nature of things, be expected to be so close and intimate.

Indians also feel that Indianisation of the public services would infuse into the official, a larger measure of sympathy and understanding of the peoples whose affairs will be administered and last, but not least, Indians will acquire knowledge and experience to conduct their own affairs which they can never do unless they are actually placed in responsible position.

Provincial Autonomy and Indianisation

As soon as provincial autonomy was introduced, many provinces were faced with the problem of finding money to finance development

programmes and social reforms. One of the most obvious ways of providing the necessary funds was obviously a grading down of salaries and a simplification of the administrative machinery.

On the 29th March, 1938, the Central Provinces Assembly unanimously accepted a resolution moved by the then Premier to provincialise at an early date the Indian Civil Service, the Indian Police Service and the Indian Medical Service. Dr. Khare stated that the resolution was not in any way a reflection on past and present members of the Services neither did it imply that the relations between the members of the Services and his Government had been anything but generally cordial. He made his position clear by saying :

> "My quarrel is with the system of recruitment and the control of the services by the Secretary of State, which has been foisted on us by the Government of India Act. If we are going really to have a change in the administration of India, making her self-governing, then it is absolutely anomalous to vest the recruitment and control of the Services in the hands of the Secretary of State for India. It is absolutely inconsistent with the position we are claiming for India."

Proposals for retrenchment in the Public Services were formulated early in June, 1938, by the Orissa Government. About the middle of the same month came proposals for administrative economies in Burma. On the 11th July, 1938, came the proposals of the Bihar Government which were followed shortly after by the proposals of the Bengal Government.

Comparing all the proposals, one finds that they fall into two classes. Two of the provincial governments, *viz.*, Bengal and Orissa, had a sufficient sense of reality to understand that any demand for the abolition of the All-India services they might put forward would be refused. They therefore contented themselves with taking steps for securing economy in the provincial services. Reduction in the salary scales in almost all branches have been introduced, the greatest sufferers being those who, under different circumstances, would have drawn the highest salaries.

The Bihar and Burma schemes had points of similarity for, in addition to reducing the existing salary scales, they proposed the abolition of the All-India services. Though it may be argued that the Burma proposals have no immediate reference to Indian provinces, they are referred to very briefly here in order to show their drastic nature and also to prove that Asiatics have come to realise the high price they have to pay for the work done for them by the Imperial services. They are desirous of having it done through a cheaper agency and lastly they feel confident that they are quite able to look after their own affairs efficiently.

The Burma proposals included the abolition of three Deputy Inspector-Generalship of Police, of five Divisional Commissionerships and one Financial Commissionership, and the amalgamation of the posts of Auditor-General and Accountant-General. The whole administrative machinery of Burma was described as faulty, its cost absorbing an unduly large proportion of her resources. The salaries of High Court Judges were observed to be exactly double those of Puisne Judges in Ceylon or Malaya, and their pension terms described as "extremely generous." The recommendations also included revision of the special leave rules for European officers and discontinuance of the Burma allowances to new recruits.

Turning to Bihar, we find that not only did the Retrenchment Committee propose reductions in the emoluments in the provincial services, but it requested that the Secretary of State should permit reductions in the salaries of the Governor of Bihar, of the Chief Justice and the Judges of the High Court. They held that the Imperial services are no longer necessary for purposes of provincial administration and suggested that new recruits to these services should be given the same pay as members of Provincial services. Other equally drastic steps were recommended but there is no need to enter into greater details here.

What strikes the impartial observer is the unanimity with which Indianisation was demanded. Where this demand was not voiced, it was because the people felt that their cries would go unheard. Here and there, Europeans have pointed out that any serious reduction in the salaries offered may imply the employment of a less efficient type of men. But, here in India, we have to remember that security of tenure and the prospect of a pension are very great attractions, that a very great difference between the standard of living of Government officials and the middle classes from which they come, is not at all desirable. These seem to National India very cogent arguments for the introduction of lower scales in the salary of the provincial services as well as for demanding the Indianisation of the Imperial services till it is granted in the largest possible extent consistent with the efficient administration of the country.

Indians as Successful Administrators

Public opinion in India has all along maintained that, except for a few posts demanding specialists' knowledge and experience, there is

no necessity for manning Government posts by non-Indians. This matter was discussed even in the first Congress of 1885 since which time, the demand for Indianisation has grown more and more insistent. It is almost a certainty that, if interference from outside was not apprehended, the autonomous provinces would immediately put an end to recruitment from abroad. The contention that non-Indian service is essential for efficiency, purity or impartiality is no longer regarded as valid. As the result of public pressure, many services, to all intents and purposes, have been Indianised. We all know that from 1924, under the recommendations of the Lee Commission, the Secretary of State for India has ceased recruitment to four services, *viz.*, the Roads and Buildings Branch of the Service of Engineers, the Educational Service, the Agricultural Service and the Veterinary Service and yet, if reports are to be credited, the work of administration has not suffered.

I have enjoyed the privilege of visiting some of the larger and more progressive of the Indian States and I have never come across anything to lend support to the often-expressed view that the presence of the British bird of passage is essential as a pre-requisite either for the maintenance of law and order or the orderly progress of the people towards the ultimate goal of self-government. The recruitment of non-Indians under pleas of this type is a slur on Indian probity, an indirect charge against Indian manhood and a violence to the elementary ideas of self-government. The existing rule under which the Premier of an autonomous province cannot, without the sanction of the Governor, order the transfer of even an Assistant Magistrate or a Superintendent of Police is a constitutional anomaly which needs setting right.

Extension of Training & Cultural Facilities

Except for the decennial census and the various departmental reports which very often fail to supply up-to-date information and which are published by the Central and the various Provincial governments, information on such vital matters as the wealth and income of India is limited in scope and often faulty in accuracy. Social statistics are essential for the formulation of social policies, the importance of which was realised by the Royal Commission on Agriculture. As matters stand at present, the results of social research are to be found in the reports submitted by the Commissions and Committees appointed by the Central and Provincial governments. It will suffice to make my point clear if I mention the Royal Commissions on Agriculture, Industry and Labour and the various committees on unemployment, etc. These are not only useful as affording very valuable data for shaping the policy of administration but also for focussing public attention on certain defects in the social and economic organisation of the country and in creating public opinion.

I do not think any one will deny that the primary object of appointing these Commissions and Committees is to collect data for shaping the administrative policy. In the circumstances, no one should feel surprised if, in selecting their members, the Government should show some partiality for those likely to support its views. Even when the members are drawn from people belonging to a different category, the terms of reference may be too limited to afford them an opportunity of offering their views. It is in this way that non-Indian control, very often unconsciously, has not done as much as might have been possible under different conditions. We have also to remember that no administration can be perfect. It is not human nature that a foreign ruling nation should go out of its way to initiate those investigations which, however, urgently required for social or other improvement, are calculated to disclose weaknesses in the administration. It is therefore natural to expect that a majority of the members of these investigating bodies should be drawn from members of the ruling classes or those in sympathy with them who would naturally be disposed to look with a lenient eye on such defects as may reveal themselves in the course of their enquiries. This explains why in a majority of cases the members are drawn from non-Indian officials of the higher services, while still others are imported from abroad. This dual policy has not only made such investigations very expensive, for nowhere else are officials paid such high salaries, but it has also indirectly prevented Indians from being duly trained to do such work satisfactorily.

Only a national Government alive to these needs will face these problems squarely and fairly. It would naturally send its best men abroad for undergoing the special kind of training necessary for this work. Men of outstanding merit would also be imported from the West with the clear understanding that they would be expected to train Indians for work in the fields in which they are specialists. In this way, not only would India be able to provide her own men for undertaking this kind of work but study and training of this special type would also be gradually popularised.

Up to the present, almost all the higher intellectual work involved in carrying on the administration of our country has, of necessity,

been done by the British. No one could fairly criticise this state of affairs so long as properly qualified Indians were not available. But things have been improving very rapidly and, not only for the sake of economy but also for the sake of national well-being, it is necessary that Indians should be entrusted with this responsible work. The only way to encourage leadership is to select the right type of men and then to entrust them with responsible work. To plead lack of leadership as an excuse for withholding responsible work from Indians can never be justified, specially when those responsible for this attitude happen to be themselves interested both politically and economically in maintaining the *status quo*.

The entrusting of the administration of such work as census, statistics, research, investigations, reports, all of which may roughly be included under the broad head of the Intelligence Department will naturally imply arrangements for the training of Indians for such work. This must increase the cultural facilities of the people which, every one admits, are of an extremely limited character today. The provision of these facilities in India while primarily meant for the liberal and technical training of the prospective officials will certainly be availed of by people other than those for whom they are primarily intended. The theoretical knowledge gained by those who will undergo this type of education even when they do not serve Government, will have a value all its own. But when this is fortified by experience of the actual work of administration carried on by Indians, it cannot but be regarded as a still more valuable asset to the nation. It therefore follows that the higher education and training of this special type which will have to be imparted to Indians in order to make them good administrators must have at least one beneficial effect, namely, raising the general cultural level of the whole nation.

Utilisation of Experience

Census authorities seem to hold the view that, in at least the industries, the working age period lies between 15 and 50. But it is a fact that this active period lasts beyond 50 in other fields of work. For instance, 55 is the maximum age for Government servants in India. It is also equally true that most of the European officials who are, as a class, more careful about their health than the average Indian, can work efficiently even beyond 55. We know how often retired officials who, in the opinion of Government, possess experience in any special direction, are brought back to India in order to give their advice or offer their suggestions on particular problems on which they are regarded as authorities. Both in the West and East, there are many who have retired from active participation in the daily work of the world aged beyond 60 but who are still very useful members of society. These are in a position to benefit their country by the very valuable knowledge and experience they possess in different branches of social activities.

It has been stated already that most of the superior intellectual services under Government are held by non-Indians. These officials no doubt gather very valuable experience in the course of their administrative duties. During their residence in India, on account of their social aloofness, they are unable to confer any cultural benefit on the people of this country except in their extremely limited official capacity. No fair-minded man will criticise them for their failure in this particular direction, for he must make allowance for the fact that these non-Indian officials are themselves the victims of an antiquated system which has outlived its usefulness. The greatest loss due to the employment of non-Indian in the highest branches comes when they retire at the age of 55 or so, when the knowledge and experience they had gained and which, under different circumstances, might have been devoted to some cultural and social welfare work in a non-official capacity, are not available to India. I am convinced that a large part of the moral and intellectual impoverishment of India is due to the control and the virtual monopoly of most of the higher functions of the State by non-Indians who, quite naturally, can be expected to have little if any social interest in the land of their exile and who leave India for good as soon as their period of service is over. This to my mind, constitutes one of the strongest arguments for Indianisation of the services. Then again it has to be admitted that the largest and most responsible organised activities in India consist at present of the discharge of the higher State duties and the administration of the higher State functions. The undertaking of this work by competent Indians cannot but tend to the development of self-confidence and a sense of responsiblity not only among the people actually engaged in such work but also among their countrymen. In other nations, the self-confidence and the experience gathered in the discharge of the higher State functions have nearly always provided the inspiration for large-scale business enterprise. This to my mind, explains at least partly the shyness of Indian capital and the imperfect development of business administration in our motherland.

National India and Indianisation

Under the Government of India Act, 1935, no one can touch the members of the Imperial services who are protected by the Secretary of State. It has been proved more than once that their pay and pensions as compared with those of similar services in other parts of the British Commonwealth are excessively high. The different Provincial Governments either reduced the emoluments of the Provincial services or were contemplating doing so before we had the present political impasse. It cannot be argued at this late hour that the work of administration is likely to break down when entrusted to Indians. This may be the opinion of the British Government which, National India maintains, is likely to be swayed by the interests of its nationals either consciously or unconsciously. India demands that the experiment of administering her affairs by her own children should be tried. To refuse permission to this laudable claim on the plea that it may turn out a failure is, for all practical purposes, denying Indians the right to self-development.

Add to this the other fact that the great difference which formerly existed between the emoluments of members of the Imperial services and those of the Provincial services have been made yet greater by the economy drives of the different provincial government. This one factor has to be taken into account by the practical man. I, for one, feel that the wide disparity between the rights of these two classes of public servants is calculated to result in a spirit of envy, of insubordination revealing itself by the discharge of duties in a spirit of sullen discontent and misunderstanding.

Then again the fact that while the Minister in charge of a Department was drawing Rs. 500 a month, his Secretary might draw up to nine or ten times this sum, presented very embarrassing implications. Speaking as a third party, I hope I am not uncharitable when I suggest that the Congress ministers had, by the acceptance of this small salary, not only demonstrated in a very practical way their consciousness of and sympathy with the poverty of India's millions but, what is more, they had, it may be unconsciously, placed the highly paid non-Indian official in the most unenviable position of a proved and declared exploiter.

Let me conclude by quoting the words of Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Iyer when he gave evidence in January, 1924, before the Lee Commission on this question of Indianisation. He said :

> "Unfortunately the speech of Mr. Lloyd George about the steel-frame work of the administration in India had had the effect of shaking the faith of the Indian Public even in the intentions of Parliament as embodied in the Reforms statute. Is it unnatural for India to feel that the time has come for her to manufacture her own steel and obtain protection for it ? The Indianisation of the Services is believed to be necessary not merely for the purpose of providing full and adequate opportunities for the development of Indian administrative talent, but also for preparing the people for the attainment of Responsible Government by effecting some retrenchment in public expenditure. The Indianisation of the services sooner or later is as inevitable as the grant of Responsible Government."



HIROHITO, EMPEROR OF JAPAN

By Dr. SUDHINDRA BOSE

His Heavenly Majesty, Hirohito, the present Emperor of Japan, is the 123rd direct descendant of Amaterasu, the Sun Goddess, and all Japan is celebrating the 2,600 birthday of the empire this year. The divine ancestry of the Emperor may be a fable to the rest of the world, but to the loyal Japanese it is a living fact. The Emperor is traditionally the Son of Heaven, symbol of many centuries of rule—godhead, as it were, of a religion of patriotism. His person is sacred. He is a ruler who can do no wrong, at least in theory.

In the heart of Tokio stands a vast compound surrounded by a broad outer moat of green water. The moat in its turn is fringed by a tremendous granite wall. Inside the wall are the green lawns, the gardens, the villas, the palace, and the various subsidiary paraphernalia of the imperial establishment, including a 9-hole golf course. Entrance, except to specially invited guests, is forbidden.

Perhaps no other royal residence anywhere is so zealously guarded or kept so free from curious intruders, for it is Japan's holy of holies —the abode of the Emperor. Other royal establishments are usually accessible to the public. This one is like a consecrated shrine—a thing apart.

Just as the imperial area itself lies in the center of Tokio life, so is the palace—or rather the place where the Emperor happens to be— the very fountain-head of Japanese national existence. In no other country is the sovereign venerated to the degree that obtains in Japan.

One can see almost any time of the day crowds of Japanese of all ages standing outside the palace gates in reverential awe. Once while I was in Japan, my curiosity led me to mingle with one such group of Japanese. They folded their hands, dropped their heads, closed their eyes and muttered prayers in the direction of the palace. Hundreds of miles away, people bow in the direction of Tokio.

For 2,600 years Japan has been ruled by the same imperial family, without a break in the succession. No foreign conqueror ever invaded Japan. No foreign invading hosts ever set foot on the soil of Nippon. The psychological effect of this is of tremendous significance to the national development of that country. And the Emperor is the sacred symbol of that national life.

Shintoism is the only religion that Japan has given birth to, and it is the predominant religion of the Sun-Rise Empire. The Shinto religion is based on the divinity of the " heaven-descended " imperial dynasty. Thus the Emperor is an essential feature of what may be called the state religion of modern Japan. In the words of Professor Nobushige Hozumi, professor of law in the Imperial University of Tokio : " The worship of the imperial ancestors is the national worship."

Shintoism teaches people, above all, to be loyal and patriotic. The Japanese adore their sovereign and love their country as probably no other race of people. Patriotism and loyalty— these constitute an important article of the Shinto faith.

The Emperor is the head of the ruling House. He is the Universal Father, the quintessence of the race. He is the father, the teacher, the elder brother of the people. He is their protector, their salvation, their religion. He is the richest source of wisdom. All the loyalties of race and nation, family and household, are blended in one supreme, universal loyalty to him. To live for him is the commonplace of existence; to die for him is a privilege coveted.

The loyalty which Shintoism inculcates is at the present time focused entirely upon the head of the state. The Emperor's photograph hangs in every school in the empire. The attitude of students and teachers toward this picture is one of veneration. Persons have lost their lives in trying to rescue the photograph from fire, and school principals have committed suicide because the imperial picture has been destroyed or removed.

English-language newspapers which print the words, Imperial Household, without capital letters are guilty of impiety and are suppressed.

It is an unwritten law in Japan that no one can look down on the Emperor. No man, or image of a man, may be placed above the Emperor if he is passing. When the Emperor's car goes by, no one may remain on balcony or roof, workers on lofty steel structures must scurry to the ground, and no person may stand upon even an 8-inch doorstep. Passengers in

tram cars must either get out or sit down behind closed windows until the regal procession has gone by.

The present Emperor is suspected of democratic leanings, and is not at all like his father. When his father would get sick, court physicians could feel his pulse only through a piece of silk gauze. Tailors had to guess at measurements for the European clothes of the monarch. In a word, no lay finger could be placed upon the sacred body of the Emperor.

Some years ago the private car of Emperor Mutsohito, grandfather of the present ruler, was delayed 20 minutes in the railroad yards at Kioto. The station-master immediately committed suicide. He felt that he was responsible for this slight to his sovereign.

When Hirohito's grandfather stepped out of the seclusion of the palace, people looked upon him as a God. They considered the very ground he trod upon as sacred. More, they gathered up the dust he walked upon as a remedy for disease.

Hirohito is the first ruler of Japan to receive modern education. At the age of 7 he entered the exclusive Peer's School where he met the other boys of Japan's nobility. Under private tutors, he continued his studies in political science, history, foreign languages (English, French, German), physics, chemistry, biology—subjects which students of Liberal Arts division are studying at American universities. But biology is Hirohito's hobby. He plays tennis, rides horseback, is a keen follower of the American baseball game and carries on experiments in his own biological laboratory.

Every morning and evening he reads newspapers carefully, both Japanese and English. He reads them so seriously that you might think he was an American news-sleuth.

Hirohito is the first modern Emperor of the island kingdom, the first to emerge from the impenetrable seclusion which has surrounded every Japanese Emperor for many centuries.

Japan has considered seclusion so sacred that, although the present Emperor's father, Yoshihito, was insane for many years, not a Japanese newspaper dared to mention the fact.

It had been the custom in Tokio to stop all traffic when the Emperor passed through its busy streets. Emperor Hirohito stopped all that saying: "What foolishness to stop thousands of people for one person."

They talk in America about President Roosevelt breaking precedents. Well, Hirohito shattered a few himself. In 1921 he made a grand tour of Europe—the first Japanese Crown Prince to go abroad. It was said he was much impressed by the relative democracy of Western princes and by the parliamentary system.

But he didn't spend all his time just visiting government buildings, monuments and the art museums. He went to the theatres (impossible at home !), the department stores (shops), swam in public, and even rode in the subways (tubes) in both London and Paris. He had the time of his life. He also got a new outlook on the world around him.

The great adventure of the trip occurred in Paris when he dressed in plain clothes, and slipped away for half a day. Exactly what he did that afternoon, no one will ever know; but there is a story illustrative of his sense of humor.

According to this story, he bought tickets for his companions, and as he entered the subway he handed the tickets all in a bunch to the French woman at the gate. The woman was indignant and spluttered a hot stream of French. She bawled the dickens out of the Imperial Son of Heaven. Hirohito, on his part, smiled and turning to one of his aids he said:

"Come here quick. Your grandmother is singing."

By the time he got back to Tokio, officials were busy selecting a bride for him. Being a modern, he caused them to choose a Princess of his own liking. It was a love-match, unusual among members of royalty, European or Asian.

Hirohito ascended the throne in 1926. He is now 39 years old, and is full of energy. He has the quality of patience—great patience. He showed that quality when he kept praying and begging the Gods to give him a male heir to the throne. Four times the Gods turned him down, and made it a girl. But the fifth time—it was a boy.

The Japanese Imperial House is perhaps the richest ruling house on earth. The Imperial House is richer than the American Morgan in privy treasure, as distinguished from its realm.

It privately owns and operates the millions of acres of forestry land in Japan, and does all the reforestation. It owns enormous blocks of shares in almost every big Japanese corporation and business enterprise such as the Bank of Japan, the Nippon-Yusen Kaisha steamship line and the Imperial Hotel in Tokio.

The whole central business district of Tokio, as well as the vast acres of the palace grounds, are owned by the Imperial Household, and it pays no tax.

In view of the necessity for the extension of agriculture in Japan, the imperial family, decades ago, decided to sell or otherwise turn over to private or public ownership a considerable part of the imperial estates. Accordingly,

in 1921 and in 1929 several thousand acres of hereditary estates were disposed of in this fashion. And in 1930, the imperial palace at Nogoya was presented to the municipality as a museum.

Nevertheless, the royal family still monopolizes a large hereditary estate. In spite of the intense pressure in Japan for agricultural lands, a huge acreage still remains in the hands of the Imperial House.

The theory is that the imperial fortune represents the finest reserve of the nation. It is always available in time of great catastrophe or supreme national crisis.

The first donor to earthquake, fire, flood or famine sufferers is the imperial family. It also contributes regularly to the Japanese Salvation Army, Red Cross, Buddhist charities and other similar institutions. It has contributed to help prosecute each of Japan's great wars.

King George of England gets a salary of 2 million and 50 thousands dollars a year. The actual civil list of Emperor Hirohito is about 1 million and 350 thousand dollars per year—just to keep the wolf from the door. That does not give him as big an annual income from his imperial jobs as Henry Ford gets from his motor industry; but on the other hand, Hirohito never has to wonder when Roosevelts and their fellow-Democrats will take it away from him.

Since the beginning of the China campaign, Hirohito has been practising economy. According to a recent report,

> "Public functions, such as the large banquet on his birthday, are cancelled. At official parties, hot *sake* (rice wine) is served nowadays instead of imported liquors and wines. Strawy home-made cigarettes replace foreign brands. The Imperial messengers have been reduced to only 1 instead of 2 automobiles [A great privation indeed !] Imperial gifts now bear silver instead of gold crests, and gold articles from the Palace were turned over to the Bank of Japan"

No Japanese calls the ruler of his country Mikado, which means Honorable Gate or Gate of Heaven. Only foreigners now make use of this poetical title, Mikado. The present Emperor's name, Hirohito, is rarely ever mentioned in Japan. When he came to the throne, he chose the designation for his reign as Showa—Radiant Peace. After his death he will be known to history as Showa.

When Commodore Mathew C. Perry went to Japan in 1853, Japan was under a military dictatorship known as the Shogunate. It was during this Shogunate regime in the 17th century that Japan, afraid of European aggression, adopted the policy of isolation. It not only excluded all foreigners from Japan, but prohibited all Japanese from going to any foreign country. No foreigners could get in and no Japanese could get out. From that time on Japan was shut up for over 200 years. During those 2 centuries the Japanese remained in as complete an isolation and seclusion from the rest of the world, as though they lived upon another planet. Finally, this isolation was put an end to by the American Commodore Perry.

One of the striking features of the history of all races and all nations is the inability of men to foresee the consequences of their actions.

A young Yankee named Eli Whitney invented the cotton gin, while he was a tutor on a Georgia plantation. It was a useful invention; he was proud of it, and justly so. It demonstrated the inefficiency of slave labor. But did he know that he made the American Civil War inevitable ? Certainly not.

And there was Perry. He forced the hermit nation of Japan to open its doors, its ports to the ships of the world and the ideas of the world, including the newest devices in machinery and armament. There was not a glimmer in his mind, or in the mind of the American President who sent him, that he was giving birth to a world power.

After the United States had forced its first treaty upon Japan, the terms of which were humiliating to the Japanese, the way was opened for other nations to follow suit. Coming like chickens to the feed, 19 nations including England, Russia, France, Holland and Prussia signed similar treaties and constituted in Japan—as in China—the Treaty Powers. Tariff control, extraterritoriality, the most favoured nation clause and all the other mechanisms of Western imperialism were applied to Japan, and the Japanese were placed in a state of subservience to the West.

The Japanese who was directly responsible for the rise of Japan as a modern power was the grandfather of the present Emperor. At the time Grandfather Mutsohito was born in the second quarter of the last century, Japan was backward. It was where England was, before the days of the Norman Conquest. So one can say today, without exaggeration, that Japan has progressed—in the sense "progress" is understood in the Occident—as much in less than a hundred years as France, England and Germany have in ten centuries.

During his reign Mutshohito, the architect of modern Japan, completely changed the whole political, social and economic systems of Japan. No such stupendous revolution had ever occurred in any other nation in a similar length of time. Japan now stands side by side,

for good or evil, with the foremost world powers.

It was Emperor Mutsohito who granted his people a constitution in 1889. This constitution was not wrung from the Emperor by the people, but was a voluntary gift of the imperial grace. Consequently, the Emperor retained for himself and his heirs the right to initiate amendments and changes. While the people were granted safeguards to protect their life, liberty, property and the freedom of religious worship, the powers of the Emperor were unimpaired and even strengthened. Thus, on the whole, the constitution is rigid, and no amendment has yet been made. In organizing its modern government, Japan used some of the features of Western parliamentary system. Yet Japan was not engaged in wholesale copying of Western forms. In reforming its government, Japan frankly accepted Western suggestions. More than that, Japan worked them over and applied them in terms of its own civilization and own needs. The result is that the government of Japan is not exactly like that of the United States, England, or France. It is Japanese. It has its roots deep in Japanese soil—in Japanse character and institutions, and social traditions.

Article IV of the Japanese constitution declares that, "The Emperor is the head of the Empire, combining in Himself the rights of sovereignty." He has the right to convoke, open, close and prorogue the Parliament, officially known as the Imperial Diet. He issues ordinances and determines the organization of the various branches of the administration, the salaries, appointments and dismissals of all civil and military officials. He is the supreme commander of the army and navy. He declares war, makes peace, and concludes treaties, confers titles of nobility, and issues pardons or commutes sentences.

In other words, the Emperor's prerogatives are so numerous and extensive that few, if any, attributes of sovereignty are omitted from the list. The important fact to remember, however, is not so much that the Emperor is virtually the State, as that the Emperor never acts except on the advice of others. Under the present system of Japanese government, the Emperor is not expected to manifest a will of his own, except in so far as he may persuade his advisers to alter whatever advice they had originally contemplated. The real control lies in the hands of a "shadow" government. Who then actually rules Japan? To find the real rulers of Japan one must search beyond the Emperor.

Today Emperor Hirohito, worshipped as a God by millions of his subjects, does not make decisions of government policies; neither does the Parliament, elected by universal manhood suffrage since 1927, have any appreciable influence on national policies.

Contrary to the Western idea of a Cabinet government, the Japanese Premier and his Cabinet ministers even if supported by the Parliament, only partly decides the policies of the government.

The Cabinet, made up of the heads of 12 executive departments, is not responsible to the Parliament but to the Emperor.

Again, the established convention is that the Cabinet must include an Admiral and a General holding the portfolios of army and navy. This procedure gives to the naval and military cliques effective power to block a new Cabinet. Moreover, the ministers of war and navy can appeal over the heads of the Parliament directly to the Emperor.

More powerful than the Cabinet and closer to the Emperor is the Privy Council made up of 26 elderly men chosen for life from the military and professional classes of Japan.

Besides the Cabinet and the Privy Council who may advise the Emperor on any subject, another group established by law stands at the side of the Emperor as his intimate advisers. This group is composed of the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, the Imperial Household ministers and the Lord Chamberlain.

Finally and above all others there is the "genro" or elder statesman. This institution rests upon custom alone, and the old liberal Prince Saionji is the last of this group. He is the highest and most powerful of the present advisers of the Emperor.

To sum up this part of the discussion on the Japanese government, there is one fact which stands out clearly. For all his legal omnipotence, Emperor Hirohito is not expected to take an active part in politics. His exalted position might be damaged by personal involvement in controversial issues. Although his official business includes almost every kind of governmental activity from the opening of the Parliament, promulgation of laws and ordinances, the declaration of war and the singing of treaties, Hirohito never acts alone. He arrives at conclusions after conferences with advisers at the palace, and as a rule merely sanctions policies already formulated by organs of the State. He never gives interviews and never speaks over the radio. He is too sacred even to have his picture appear either on Japanese currencies or postage stamps.

Since the historic visit of Perry, Japan has bent every effort to be a strong nation. And

there is no gain-saying the fact that every step in the advancement and consolidation of Japan, as a political unit, has come as a result of war. The war with China in 1884 had the abolition of the humiliating extraterritorial rights. The war with Russia in 1904 gave to Japan Korea and a standing among the Western powers. The Great War of 1914 made Japan one of the five world powers. Japan is again at war. Will Japan emerge out of this conflict enhanced in power and prestige, or will it go down in defeat covered with shame and ignominy? I am no prophet; future alone can tell.

Some think that the average Japanese is temperamentally peace-loving. That may or may not be so. But the fact remains that the leaders of Japan do love their military establishment. They think Japan's unique security in Asia was won by it. They are sure its future advancement will depend on it. The West has taught Japan to prize it, as though it were a deity, for safety from the all-encroaching white. And as long as the West continues to practice racial discrimination against the Orientals and as long as the Westerners continue to respect nothing but force, Japan will not be easily persuaded to overthrow its military caste.

Hirohito has the reputation of being a liberal. He gets up at dawn, keeps a diary, and neither drinks nor smokes. He is shortsighted. He wears horn-rimmed glasses, of course. He would hardly be a Japanese if he didn't wear glasses.

The Emperor is tender-hearted, according to Japanese newspapers. His soldiers may be bumping off Chinese by thousands, but Hirohito, the Japanese press points out, carries bread in his pockets to feed the palace ducks.

His best known vice appears to be writing poetry. In 1938 he wrote this little poem:

" Peaceful
is morning in the shrine garden:
World conditions, it is hoped,
will also be
peaceful."

It is believed that Emperor Hirohito was opposed to the present war against China, and this verse was taken as an expression of that disapproval. But the war dragged on, and early in 1940, threatened to involve Japan in a clash with the United States, he mused again in this two-line poem:

" At the beginning of the New Year
we pray that
East and West will live together and prosper."

May the prayer of the Son of Heaven be heard.

State University of Iowa,
Iowa City, U. S. A.



A YEAR OF WAR

By Major D. Graham Pole

The war, begun just about a year ago, has passed through various phases. While all was quiet on the Western front, with the French and Germans facing each other in their Maginot and Siegfried lines, it was characterised by the Americans as a 'phoney' war. Having seen Denmark, Norway, Holland, Belgium and France, go under in Hitler's *blitzkrieg* it is no longer spoken of as 'phoney.' In the battle of France the French gave way and, with their splendid fleet and air force and most of their army still intact, ignominiously surrendered to Hitler. Then the Germans were promised a similar *blitzkrieg* against Great Britain. But even with the largest air force in the world Hitler finds this island a hard nut to crack. A fortnight ago he was to dictate peace from Buckingham Palace but his calculations are not so accurate this time, as the Royal Standard was still floating over the Palace when I passed there the other day and London still carries on in spite of Hitler's threats. The battle of Britain is certainly being waged, but at what a cost to the attackers! There is certainly no *blitzkrieg*—no lightning war. Now, instead of talking of a lightning war on Britain, the German inspired press talks of the blockade of Britain. But what has Hitler been doing for the past year but trying to blockade us? And with what result? Our ports are still open: our ships still sail: and our stocks of food are much greater than a year ago. Our fleet is greatly increased and our merchant navy much larger than at the beginning of the war. We have, in addition, received added strength by the ships of Norway, Denmark, Holland, Belgium and France that are now in this country or on the high seas for our benefit.

Until Hitler came up against this island he and Goering persuaded the German people that their Air Force was invincible. In spite of the false reports they feel it necessary to give out, chiefly for home consumption, of their 'victories' in England, the large percentage of their bombers and fighters that never return to their base must give them pause. Our losses are in comparison very small and in addition many of our pilots are saved and many of our damaged planes salvaged. We are not merely acting on the defensive however. Night after night and day after day our 'planes are over Germany and frequently over Italy destroying their munition dumbs, their oil storage depots and their air bases and munition works. The Ruhr in Germany must soon look like a devastated area and in many places in Germany war work has been hindered, damaged and often brought to a stop. As the days draw in and the nights lengthen the Royal Air Force will take an even greater toll of Germany and Italy's vital war centres—and this in spite of Goering's boasts that no enemy 'plane would ever be able to bomb Germany.

In the past, while Hitler was preparing feverishly for years to build up munitions, guns and 'planes for war, we went on in our usual leisurely fashion so that we were comparatively unprepared for war. At long last, with almost superhuman efforts on the part of our munition workers, Mr. Churchill was able to announce in the House of Commons that our new production already largely exceeds that of the enemy. We have not yet reached the peak of our production and we have hardly begun to get the benefit of America's efforts on our behalf. It may take time before we reach parity with Germany but when we have reached that point we shall go on steadily and rapidly to outstrip him in numbers as we already have done in design and handling. Then, whether it be 1941 or 1942, we shall not be content to sit still in this island on the defensive. We shall again have a British Expeditionary Force, equipped as never before, and with the powerful aid of the Navy and Royal Air Force will drive the Nazi hordes back from France, Belgium, Holland, Denmark and Norway into Germany—and free the world from a tyranny the like of which mankind has never before experienced.

Mr. Churchill's review in the House of Commons before the adjournment of the "dark, wide field" of the war at the end of its first year was of intense interest from many points of view, quite apart from the fact that he has established himself not only as the Prime Minister *par excellence* for the war-time job, but that he stands uniquely as a polished orator in days when oratory is practically a forgotten art. He began by comparing this war with the last war which many of us took part in fondly believing that it was, as we were assured, a war to

end war. This war, as Mr. Churchill pointed out, is only a continuation of the last. What he did not point out was that, although the fighting forces won the last war, the politicians lost for them the peace and the land fit for heroes that they were promised. In the first twelve months of the last war the British casualties amounted to 365,000—an average of just a thousand a day. In this war the British killed, wounded, prisoners and missing do not exceed 92,000 and this figure not only includes a large proportion of men alive as prisoners of war, but it also includes civilians. We are all in this island in the front line of the war as we are very forcibly reminded by our air raid sirens—even as I write—and the dropping of bombs, both high explosive and incendiary, on civilian homes that have absolutely no military value whatever as I have seen near my own home in the country. The difference in the kind of war comparing this with the Great War is also very striking. Then, as the Prime Minister pointed out, millions of men fought by hurling enormous masses of steel at one another with the consequent appalling slaughter. Now it is all different. "It is a conflict of strategy, of organisation, of technical apparatus, of science, mechanics and morale."

Although the slaughter has been "but a fraction," Mr. Churchill showed that the consequences to the belligerents had been even more deadly. Great countries with powerful armies had been dashed out of coherent existence in a few weeks. The French Republic and the renowned French Army had been beaten into complete and total submission with less than the casualties which they had suffered in any of half-a-dozen of the battles of 1914-18. The entire body—it might almost seem at times the soul—of France had succumbed to physical effects incomparably less terrible than those which were sustained with fortitude and undaunted will power twenty five years ago. Although, up to the present the loss of life had been mercifully diminished, the decisions reached in the course of the struggle were even more profound upon the fate of nations than anything that has ever happened since barbaric times. "Moves are made upon the scientific and strategic boards, advantages are gained by mechanical means, as a result of which scores of millions of men become incapable of further resistance, or judge themselves incapable of further resistance, and a fearful game of chess proceeds from check to mate by which the unhappy players seem to be inexorably bound."

The Prime Minister opined that there was every reason to believe that this new kind of war is "well suited to the genius and resources of the British nation and the British Empire" and that, once we are properly equipped and started it will be "more favourable to us than the sombre mass slaughters of the Somme and Passchendaele."

Another of Mr. Churchill's telling phrases was that "our offensive springs are being slowly compressed" in preparation for the offensive campaigns of 1941 and 1942. The road to victory, he said, might not be so long as we expect, but he was careful to add that we have no right to count upon this. He did not complain about Hitler's proclamation of a strict blockade of the British Islands. The Kaiser did similarly in the last war. The Prime Minister made it clear, however, that it was our intention to maintain and enforce a strict blockade not only of Germany but also of Italy, France and all other countries that had fallen under German power. He reminded the House that when Mr. Hoover's plan was proposed for feeding France, Belgium and Holland the German radio broadcast on 27 June that Germany had already taken steps to ensure this end. When Germany invaded Norway there was in that country food supplies sufficient to last for a year. The other countries also had ample stocks. Much of this we know has been removed to Germany during the last few months. The harvest has just begun to be gathered, so for some time to come there should be little chance of scarcity. Indeed the only agency that can create famine in any part of Europe now or during the coming winter is Germany herself if she refuses to distribute the supplies she holds.

Mr. Churchill then pointed out another aspect of this food problem. "Guns rather than butter" has been the German slogan. Many of the most valuable foods are essential to the manufacture of vital war material. Fats are used to make explosives. Potatoes are used to make the alcohol for motor spirit. The plastic materials now so largely used in the construction of aircraft are made of milk.

> "If the Germans used these commodities to help them to bomb our women and children, rather than to feed the populations that produce them, we may be sure that imported foods would go the same way, directly or indirectly, or be employed to relieve the enemy of the responsibilities he has so wantonly assumed."

Meanwhile, the Prime Minister promised that we could and would arrange in advance for the speedy entry of food into any of the conquered countries when that country had been wholly cleared of German forces and had genuinely regained its freedom. We would encourage the building up of reserves of food all over the world so that there will always be held

up before the eyes of the peoples of Europe—including the German and Austrian people—the certainty that the shattering of the Nazi power would bring to them all immediate food, freedom and peace.

Mr. Churchill's catalogue of the grim "cataract of disaster" in the last three months was as serious as it was impressive,

"The trustful Dutch overwhelmed : their beloved and respected Sovereign driven into exile : the peaceful city of Rotterdam the scene of a massacre as hideous and brutal as anything in the Thirty Years' War : Belgium invaded and beaten down : our own fine Expeditionary Force, which King Leopold had called to his rescue, cut off and almost captured, escaping as it seemed only by a miracle and with the loss of all its equipment : our Ally France out : Italy in against us : all France in the power of the enemy, all its arsenals and vast masses of military material converted or convertible to the enemy's use : a puppet Government set up at Vichy which may at any moment be forced to become our foe : the whole Western seaboard of Europe from the North Cape to the Spanish frontier in German hands; all the ports, all the airfields on this immense front employed against us as potential springboards of invasion.

"The German air power, numerically so far outstripping ours, has been brought so close to our Island that what we used to dread greatly has come to pass and the hostile bombers not only reach our shores in a few minutes and from many directions, but can be escorted by their fighting aircraft."

But as Mr. Churchill pointed out, we still stand erect, "sure of ourselves, masters of our fate and with the conviction of final victory burning unquenchable in our hearts. Few would have believed we could survive; none would have believed that we should today not only feel stronger but should actually be stronger than we have ever been before."

In spite of the vaunted German blockade we have "ferried across the Atlantic" an immense mass of munitions of all kinds, cannon, rifles, machine-guns, cartridges and shell, all safely landed without the loss of a gun or a round.

Since war began we have destroyed over thirteen hundred enemy 'planes on and around the coasts of Britain—the majority of these since the beginning of the large-scale raiding on June 18. As against this we have lost less than three hundred 'planes—most of them since June 18.

In the month of August alone we have destroyed over a thousand enemy 'planes in and around Great Britain. But of course whereas the German 'planes involve the loss of their airmen, our crews often come down on our own shores or waters and are saved to fight in another machine. No country, not even Germany, can afford to lose airmen at the rate she is losing them and her great numerical superiority in machines will avail her nothing if she has not the trained pilots to fly them. But although Germany has still numerical superiority, our new production now largely exceeds theirs and we are only now beginning to get the American and Canadian production. After a year of war our bomber and fighter strength is greater than it has ever been.

The sands are running out for Hitler's threatened invasion of this island. In another month it will be too late to attempt it this year. But before it could be attempted Germany would have to obtain control both of the sea and of the air and she is very far from achieving either of these aims.

Not the least important point in the Prime Minister's speech was the announcement of our close association with the United States in our agreeing that the interests of the United States and the British Empire both required that the United States should have facilities for the naval and air defence of the Western Hemisphere against a Nazi power. The decision to place such defence facilities in Newfoundland and the West Indies on long lease at the disposal of the United States was a spontaneous offer "without being asked or offered any inducement. . . for their greater security against the unmeasured dangers of the future." In all this we are in very close harmony with the Government of Canada. Undoubtedly, as the Prime Minister said, this process means that these two great organisations of English-speaking democracies, the British Commonwealth of Nations and the United States of America will have to be "somewhat mixed up together" in some of their affairs for mutual and general advantage. Mr. Churchill said that he could not stop this movement if he wished : no one could stop it.

"Like the Mississippi it just keeps rolling along. Let it roll. Let it roll on full flood, inexorable, irresistible, benignant, to broader lands and beter days."

Hardly less important than that statement by the Prime Minister was the announcement of the creation of a Joint Defence Board by the United States and Canada as a permanent body. Within a day or two we learned that this Joint Defence Board had already started work.

Hitler is certainly doing one good thing, albeit unwittingly. He is slowly but surely leading us away from local national consciousness in the direction of world consciousness. He is making us realise that, although born in lands far apart and often without apparent ties, we are all parts one of another; that we cannot see or allow one nation to suffer without its having a reaction on ourselves. The League of Nations,

on which we built such hopes at the conclusion of the last war, failed because of the selfishness of its component parts. The nations of which it was composed thought first of their own national interests and relegated world interests —the interests of the whole instead of only a part—to a very secondary place.

Here we are in good heart. Daylight bombing and night bombing, with hours some time spent in underground shelters instead of in our beds, have sapped none of the determination and courage of our people. It is impossible to know where a bomb may fall. The German 'planes, for their own safety, usually fly so high that often they cannot be seen and from great heights drop their bombs to fall where they may—often in open fields, but without any chance of hitting any particular target except by the sheerest accident. The result is that often working-class dwellings are hit as there are more of them than of the other kinds of buildings and women and children only too frequently are the victims of this war in which the front line runs through all our homes. Our airmen, on the other hand, are under strict orders to bomb their target and only their target, and to their credit they do this with marvellous daring and courage. If they find it impossible to reach the target with reasonable certainty they must return with their bombs, as on more than one occasion single 'planes have done. It is not pleasant. One longs for days of peace. But we know that there can be no stable peace in the world until Hitlerism, and all the evil that is wrought in its name, is stamped out and destroyed. Then will come, we may hope, that New World that many of us have dreamed of, the birth throes of which we are even now living through in this most wonderful although uncomfortable period of the world's history.

[Received by Air Mail in Calcutta on October 17, 1940.]
London, 1st September, 1940.

INDIA'S FREEDOM

By Major D. GRAHAM POLE

Chairman of the British Committee on Indian and Burman Affairs

The debate in Parliament on the Viceroy's recent statement still further emphasised India's right to frame her own constitution and work out her own salvation so that she may take her place as a nation as free and independent as Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Ireland—or even Great Britain herself.

Mr. Amery, the Secretary of State for India, deserves all the support that can be given him as he is sincere in his desire to help India. But, as he said in his opening speech, thinking no doubt of the mountain-climbing exploits at which he is an expert,

> "To keep one's balance steadily along a knife-edge of ice in the high Alps is a much easier task than threading one's way, without stumbling or offence, through the intricate, pitfall-strewn maze of the present Indian situation."

Mr. Amery is an admirer of India and her past. Witness his declaration that

> "India is a self-contained and distinctive region of the world. There is the fact that India can boast of an ancient civilisation and of a long history common to all her peoples, of which all Indians are equally proud. Is there any Indian who is not proud to be called an Indian? Is there any Indian, of any community, who has not felt a thrill of pride in the thought that he is a fellow-countryman of a man like Rabindranath Tagore, who was so uniquely honoured by Oxford University the other day?"

That is a new note coming from Whitehall—a recognition of India's past greatness and contribution to the world that many of us here have tried to bring home to the people of this country for the past thirty years or more. It is twenty-four years ago—in 1916—that I was amongst the first to join the Home Rule for India League in India and very soon afterwards, with the late George Lansbury, started the Home Rule for India League in London, of which he was the first Chairman and I the first General Secretary. At that time we were frowned on not only by people in this country but also by many Indians who since then have become some of the most active workers for India's freedom. And now we have it from the mouth of the Secretary of State himself that

> "The Congress leaders are men animated and inspired by an ardent national patriotism. They have built up a remarkable political organisation, by far the

most efficient political machine in India, of which they are justly proud."

I gather from cables that have arrived in this country from India that the Congress Working Committee have rejected both the Viceroy's offer and Mr. Amery's speech as a basis for working together for India's future. As an old and constant worker for India I can only regret this as I believe it to be a genuine endeavour to try to meet India's just aspirations and claims. "The responsibility for securing a speedy as well as a satisfactory result," as Mr. Amery said, now "rests upon Indians themselves." How many, "I wonder, have ever studied or read the Commonwealth of India Bill that was introduced into the House of Commons by the late George Lansbury, to see how far it would meet their views as to the Constitution suitable for India? That there are difficulties in India no one would deny and the Secretary of State is naturally bombarded with these difficulties. His outlook, however, is different from that of many of his predecessors in that office.

"It is our business to try to understand India's outlook and deal with it, not from the point of view of a superior dealing with an inferior, but as an equal dealing with equal."

It was not, Mr. Amery said, a question of imposing the will of this country upon the will of India.

"It is far more a question of reconciling conflicting wills in India. At present that conflict of wills is still unresolved and still very serious. We must not underestimate the seriousness of those difficulties, or believe that they can be brushed aside by treating India as if it were a homogeneous country like this, and as if those great elements, elements running into tens of millions, can be regarded as those continually fluctuating minorities with which we are accustomed to deal in this country. They are stubborn facts that have to be fitted somehow into the composite mosaic of India's future Constitution. At the same time I believe sincerely that there is enough of a wider patriotism and of statesmanship in India to resolve these differences and these difficulties. It is to that statesmanship in India that we have to look in these matters. We can contribute our share of statesmanship, goodwill and understanding. I am well disposed to believe that India will also contribute her share and that, out of our joint efforts there may emerge something of which Britons and Indians alike can be proud for generations to come, and which may make its contribution, not only to the permanent strength and prosperity of our own British Commonwealth, but also, by its example, to the regeneration of a distressed world."

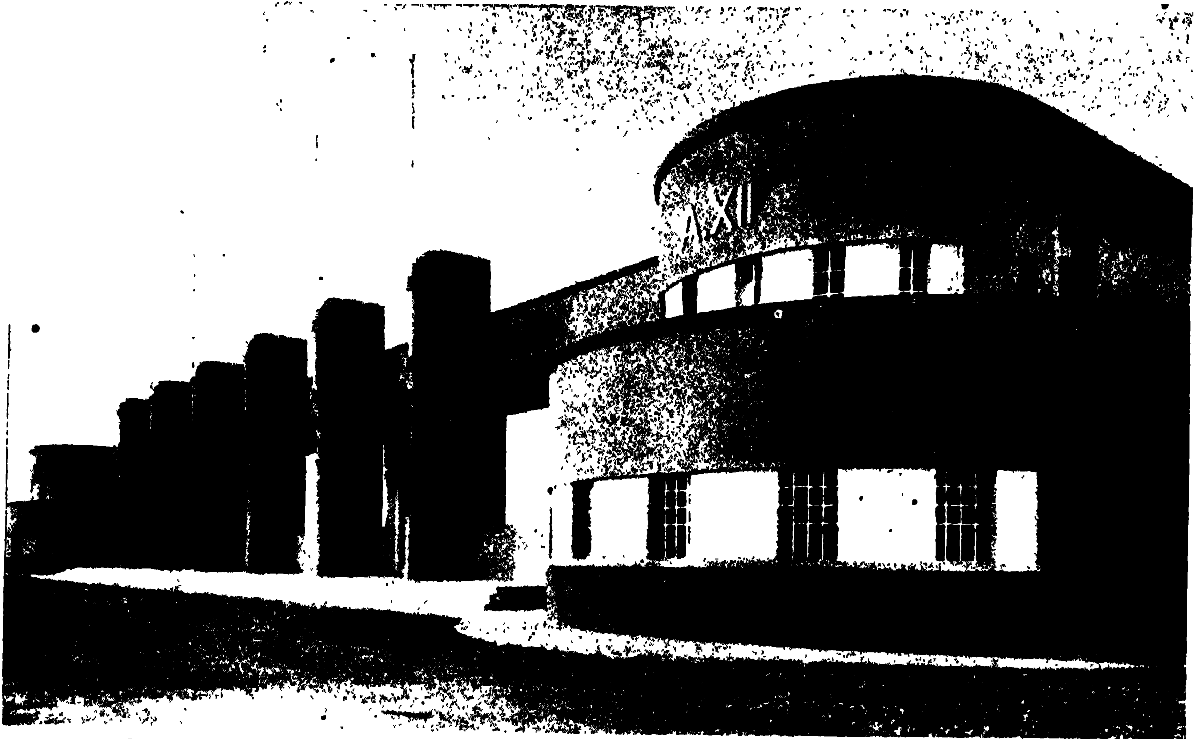
As I said before, I believe Mr. Amery is genuinely anxious to see India with her own Constitution framed by herself—free as Great Britain herself—and I believe the Viceroy and the Secretary of State would do everything in their power to bring about this consummation devoutly to be desired. Ten years ago I urged in the House of Commons that Indians should be asked to frame their own Constitution but, in this country, the time was not ripe for such a solution. We got instead a Round Table Conference. But the present proposal, in Mr. Amery's words again

"clearly does not mean that this body will be a mere Round Table Conference or Commission whose views may or may not be taken into serious consideration. Its object is to start a new Indian Constitution in the same spirit as that in which the Constitution of the Dominions was done. In each case it was agreement among the various elements in the Dominion that created and brought about the main framework of a Constitution . Our endeavour is to apply the same method which has been followed in the case of the other Dominions. In those cases the Constitution came before this House for discussion and was given the constitutional ratification which this House is entitled to give."

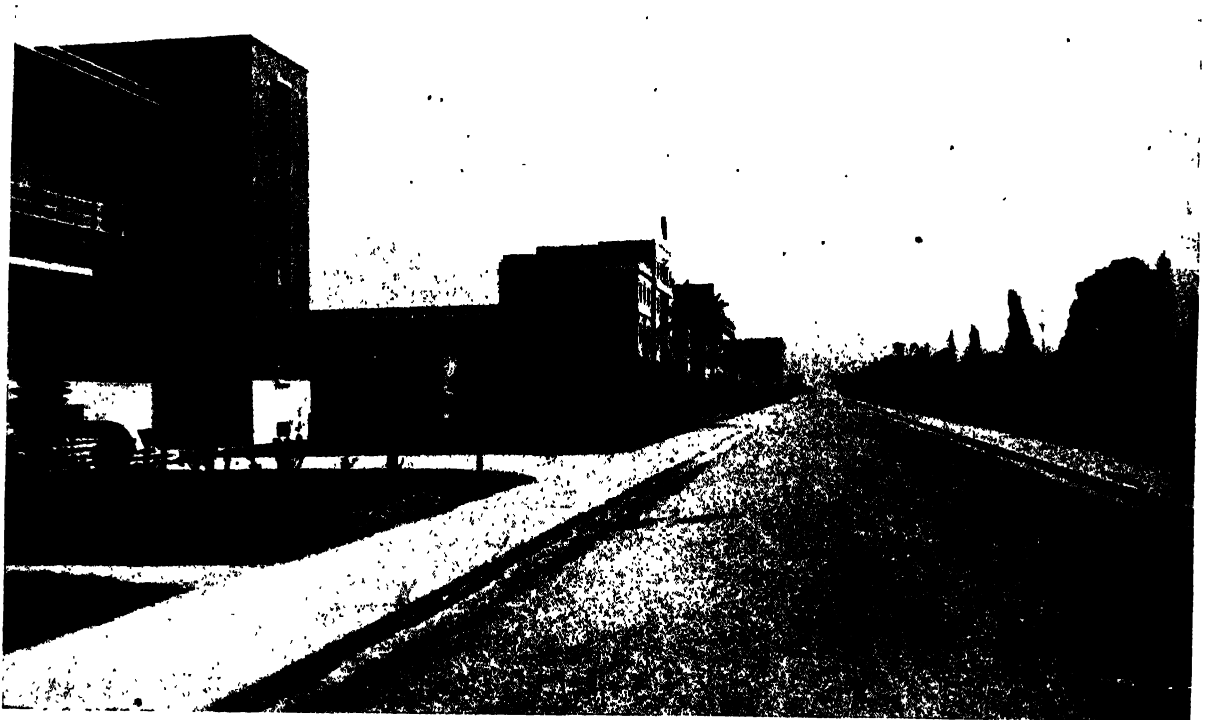
I can again only hope, as one who has worked and written and spared neither time nor money in the hope that one day such a speech would be made in the House of Commons by the Secretary of State for India, that on second thoughts the Viceroy's offer will not be lightly turned down and that India may grasp the hand of friendship and equality now so freely extended to her with what I know is genuine good will. How it would have rejoiced the heart of Annie Besant, George Lansbury and others who loved and worked for India, but who are no longer with us, to see the fulfilment of their hearts' desire—India, a nation, free and equal among the great nations of the world.

London, 1st September, 1940.





The new Stadium at Sabaudia



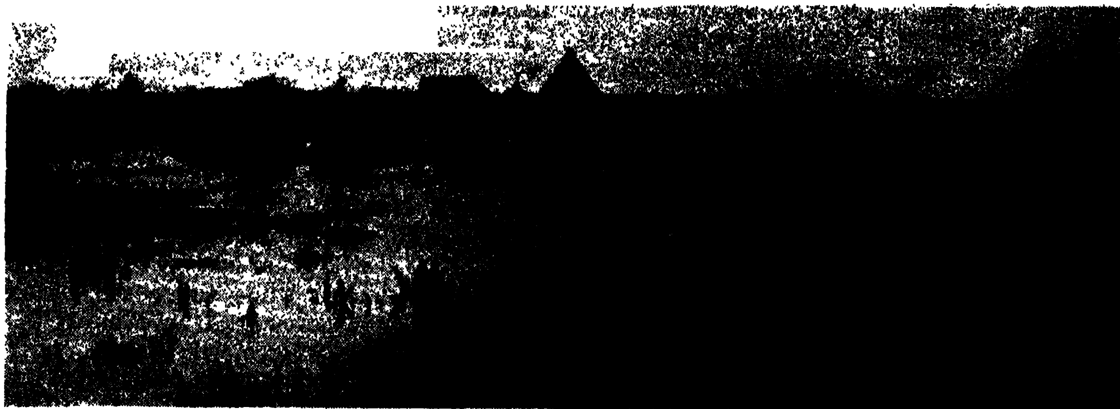
The main thoroughfare of Guidonia, another new town in the reclaimed area near Rome



A view of the Church and Central Square of a new Sardinian town in the reclaimed zone



Happy peasants of a reclaimed zone in Central Italy



The marshy lands of the Pontine Ager before the Reclamation (Fig. 1).

AGRICULTURE AND NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION

Indian Problems and Italian Experiments

By MONINDRA MOHAN MOULIK, D.SC. POL. (Rome)

INDIAN agriculture, viewed in the light of agricultural progress in England, Germany, France and the United States during the last hundred years, is in a rather stagnant condition. The traditional drawbacks of Indian agriculture have not been removed, namely, the crushing indebtedness of the peasants, fragmentation of holdings, lack of agrarian finance, and so on. Intensive cultivation on a large scale and the employment of modern technical methods of farming are yet unknown in this country. There has been recently some progress achieved in the matter of irrigation, and the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research has been doing very useful work for modernizing Indian agriculture. Still no agricultural planning or a definite agrarian policy suited to the particular economic social and demographic conditions of this country has so far been formulated by the central authorities. On the one hand, the pressure of increasing population in India is affecting the standard of living of the people in a way which is far from beneficial, and on the other hand, there is no serious attempt at regulating the production of food crops and other industrial or export crops. The Co-operative Credit movement has failed in many parts of the country to fulfil its purpose, but no other mentionable plan for agrarian finance has yet been put into practice. India is an agricultural country *par excellence*. On account of the preponderating dependence of her people on agriculture, India cannot be indifferent to these vital questions relating to agriculture—questions of life and death for millions of people. The publication of the Floud Commission Report has recently focussed much attention of the experts as well as laymen on these all-important questions. It is not my purpose here to analyse the said Report and its recommendations, but to discuss briefly the experiments in agrarian reform in a country whose dependence on agriculture is very great indeed and which has agricultural problems similar to our own. More than half the population of Italy depend for their daily bread on agriculture and allied occupations. The system known as *Latifondio* is not much different in its economic and social aspects from our Zemindary system. Agrarian credit had been a thorny problem in Italy for a long time. During the last two decades agrarian reform considered as the basis of national reconstruction has been organized and executed under the initiative, and in some cases under the supervision, of the State. In an analysis of these experiments, known by the comprehensive name of *Bonifica Integrale,* some parallels may be found with our own conditions and some solutions may suggest themselves for their claim to application to Indian problems. It is with this end in view that a general survey of Italian agriculture as transformed by the *bonifica* project will be offered in the following lines.[1]

1. Cf. M. Moulik : *Italian Economy and Culture* (Calcutta, 1940). Pp. 76-94.

The project of integral or total reclamation of agricultural land in Italy, commonly known as *Bonifica Integrale* in technical language, has attracted the attention of economists and legistors all over the world during the last two decades. The *Bonifica Integrale* is a very comprehensive plan; it does not deal merely with the reclamation of marshy lands, removal of malaria, and the augmentation of agricultural production, but it also embraces demographic questions, hygienic problems, and above all, it aims at the building up of a stout and vigorous peasant community which had been in gradual disintegration in Italy since the Risorgimento. The variety of these economic and social problems tackled by the scheme has given it the adjective " integrale " or total.

The importance of agriculture in Italian economic life will be realized from the fact that more than half of the population of the country is employed by agriculture and the crafts dependent on or related to it. If one considers the number of people employed (excluding the women who devote themselves to domestic cares), 55 inhabitants out of 100 exercised their activities in agriculture before the war (1918), whereas the percentage of the agricultural population is 40 per cent in France, 35 per cent in Germany, and 12 per cent in the United Kingdom. The proportion of the industrial population, however, which is about 28 per cent in Italy, rises in France to 32 per cent, 40 per cent in Germany, and 44 per cent in England, while the commercial population is respectively 8 per cent, 14 per cent, 12 per cent and 23 per cent. These few figures bear witness to the much greater relative importance of agriculture in Italy over all other forms of economic activity, as compared with other European States. But Italian agriculture for centuries has had to contend with problems connected with marshes, malaria, fragmentation of holdings, lack of facilities for agrarian credit, lack of co-ordination between private activities and State enterprise and so on. This chronic backwardness in the field of agricultural enterprise kept Italy for centuries a poor country and rendered her industrialization a comparatively slow process. Already the high density of population exerted an overwhelming pressure on the inadequate resources of the country. For nearly a century Italians emigrated in hundreds of thousands to the United States, to Africa, to Egypt and various other parts of the world in serch of labour and living —a situation which at one time became a serious national problem and gave rise to a movement commonly known as *irredentismo* (movement for the physical and cultural redemption of Italian immigrants in foreign lands).

After the restoration of Italian independence, the new and inexperienced Parliament was confronted with so many different problems that it could hardly devote its best attention to the economic regeneration of the country. Progress was hampered by parliamentary quibbles and inaction. Italy's economic development thus became desultory and devoid of any systematic planning on the national basis. The North was more industrialized while the South remained predominantly agricultural. Many public utility companies were in the hands of foreign capitalists and entrepreneurs, and vast public works projects were often undertaken by the British, French or German interests.[2] The budget could hardly be balanced, trade was languishing and the lire was quoted very low in foreign exchange markets. Practically nothing could be done to relieve the peasant of his indebtedness, provide him with necessary capital and credit, fight malaria, to adopt practical measures for the reclamation of marsh lands. Unemployment and emigration were growing rapidly which, on more occasions than one, challenged the new fabric of the Italian State. This is one side of the picture. On the other hand, socialist propaganda was spreading discontent among the working classes and syndicalist movement was gaining ground in the country. Italy at the end of the last century presented a dismal picture of her economic life—a challenge to her leaders and legislators, and a veritable despair for her people. Industrial strikes alternated with agrarian strikes; they had been very frequent before the war ever since 1901, abating slightly with the peasants' organization of the years 1902-03, but in 1904 the number of agrarian strikes (210) was almost five times as great as in 1903, and the number of strikers (94,816) more than four times as great, pointing to an alarming revival of agrarian agitation, which flung the country into a new state of crisis. There were varying periods; but during the war at least strikes enormously decreased in number, and the working classes co-operated very effectively in direct and indirect war efforts. In 1919, the number of strikes suddenly increased again : in agriculture they jumped from 10 in 1918 to 208 in 1919, with 505, 129 strikers, and to 189 in 1920 with 1,045,733 strikers. This movement began to be on the wane in 1921, mainly as a result of the action of the Fascist

2. See G. Volpe : *L'Italia in Cammino* (Milan, 1931). Pp. 195-203. See also F. Nitti : *Il Capitale Straniero in Italia* (Bari, 1915).



A tractor in operation on the reclaimed land (Fig 5)

squadrons This agitated period, of course, enormously increased the prevailing tendency of the post-war times—the tendency to abandon the land and to overcrowd the cities, to which the workers felt attracted by the restless spirit of adventure, of faction and of civil war, which seemed to travail the country in those years[3]

It is evident, therefore that the new regime found Italian agriculture in a deplorable state of stagnation, deprived of encouragement and leadership Century-old problems awaited solution, if the people had to eke out a bare subsistence from the natural resources of the country In 1922, Italy was not a super-industrialized State She was, and is destined to remain, rather a "mixed-economy" country For developing Italian economy on healthy and normal lines, it was essential to maintain a balance between agriculture and industry, between rural and urban interests, since her economic structure had to conform to the geological and climatic characteristics of the land

3 Cf L. Einaudi *La Condotta Economica e gli Effetti Sociali della Guerra Italiana* (Bari 1933) and V Porri · *L'Evoluzione Economica Italiana dell 'Ultimo Cinquantennio* (Turin. 1926)

Italy covers an area of 310,120 square kilometers, of which only one-fifth (63,323 sq km) consists of plains, more than half of the remaining four-fifths being accounted for by hilly lands (124,133 sq km), and the remainder (122 664 sq km) by the mountain ranges, often of notable elevation With its 42 740,600 inhabitants (30th April 1936) the density of the population stood at 137 8 per square kilometer[4] This figure compares with that of other countries as follows[5]

Great Britain	195 8	Poland	85
Germany	140 6	U S A	16
France	76	Canada	1·1*
Spain	47 6	Argentine	4·3
		Brazil	5 2

Apart from the high density of population and the relative paucity of arable land, the climate conditions of Italy are generally favourable for an abundant agricultural production Intensive cultivation was hardly existing in pre-war Italy Under these circumstances, the importance of agricultural reform was fully

4 *Annuario Statistico Italiano*, 1939

5 *International Year Book for Agricultural Statistics, Rome*, 1933-34

realized. But at the same time the importance of a healthy balance between the rural and urban classes was also realized, which the Corporative system has, in recent time, sought to strengthen, intensify and perpetuate.

This balance on which the entire system of social harmony in the new regime was based, was sought to be achieved through an elaborate scheme of all-round reform of agricultural activities, called *Bonifica Integrale.* Bonifica means the improvement of countryside in all its aspects. Professor Serpieri has defined *bonfica integrale* as "co-ordinate execution of all the works required to adapt the land and the water on it to such intensive forms of production as will ensure work and higher social standards to a dense rural population." The zeal with which this policy was pursued by the new regime as soon as it came to power is described by Professor Volpe in the following manner :[6]

"The intensificaion of agricultural production was tackled with energy and success, specially grain-growing, the *battaglia del grano,* the improvement of rural conditions, the *bonifica integrale,* such as the reclamation of the malarial lands which were uncultivated and almost unpopulated and which had been a thorn in the flesh of the peninsula for centuries. Sardinia, Sicily, Calabria, Puglie, Lazio, Maremma, the lower Po and the Alto Adige were all included in the schemes for land reclamation. . . . Vast territories were regained and populated and the *Opera Nazionale dei Combattenti* realized what had been the great hope of the soldiers during the war : the possession of the land. All this was part of the principle of "ruralization" of Italy which was one of the chief points in the fascist programme as the means to greater independence in regard to the importation of foodstuffs resulting in greater political liberty in relation to the outside world. It produced more equilibrium between classes and between urban and rural interests, between industry and agriculture, and created a reaction against urbanization and a campaign against the lowering birth-rate, resulting in greater care for the moral and physical health of the race represented by the peasants."

As has been pointed out above, land problems were not new in Italy. Nor was land reclamation. What was new in the programme of land reclamation at the hands of the Corparative State was its "integral" character.[7] The integral character of land reclamation has been defined by a writer in the following comprehensive manner :

"From the agrarian standpoint, land reclamation becomes integral when extended to cover all the works required to attain the desired purpose. It is no longer a question of carrying out this or that work by itself and for itself—be it drainage, or irrigation, or protection against malaria, or re-afforestation, etc.—but of considering organically, and in their technical, agrarian, and economic aspects, the aggregate of all works and measures required in the several sectors—be they land settlement, social measures, re-conditioning of mountain-land, the control of water courses, drainage, irrigation, aqueducts, the breaking-up of new lands, the re-conditioning and improvement of the soil, experimental work, road-making, the erection of villages, buildings, power-stations, the laying of electric lines, etc., for the purpose of preserving—where they already exist but are threatened by physical conditions—but much more frequently for the purpose of introducing the productive systems likely to ensure the most advantageous results with due regard to the physical conditions of each zone and to national interests.

"From the economic standpoint, integral land reclamation consists in co-ordinating all existing resources —labour, land, water, and other capital—in the most profitable manner. Economically, the integral character of land reclamation enterprise is linked up with that of its agrarian system, which, by securing the purposes of reclamation, ensures the effective use not only of all available resources but also of all the works carried. Thus the increased income obtained from the land will provide for the amortization of at least a good percentage of the costs incurred. It thus becomes possible to carry out a great reclamation programme."[8]

This integral character of land reclamation derives its ideology and technique of organization from the general principles of Corporativism and totalitarianism in the field of economic activities. Social peace and class collaboration have found legal expression in agriculture as in the other spheres of national economy, as established by the Corporative system. All categories of employers of agricultural labour are included in the employers' syndicates : together with land-owners, properly so-called, are also the owners of small holdings and lessees, the actual cultivators of farm lands; while in the workers' syndicates are included labourers and day-workers on the one hand, farm-managers and metayers on the other. As for the agricultural experts, they are included in the syndicates for professional men, and they accomplish a very useful and beneficial work; moreover, employers, workers and experts co-operate willingly in all matters of national economic importance. A perfect co-ordination is thus vouchsafed; over-lapping and wastages are strictly eliminated. It ensures the most advantageous agricultural use of labour, land, water and national savings. A special stress is, therefore, laid on the part that private enterprise and private ownership, which encourage savings, are called upon to play in agricultural production. Integral land reclamation is a project which is conducted not entirely by the State but to the execution of which private works, both compulsory and optional,

6. G. Volpe : *History of the Fascist Movement* (Rome, 1934). Pp. 130-51.

7. Giacomo Acerbo : *Le Riforme Agrarie del Dopoguerra* (Florence, 1931).

8. Cesare Longobardi *Land Reclamation in Italy* (London, 1936).

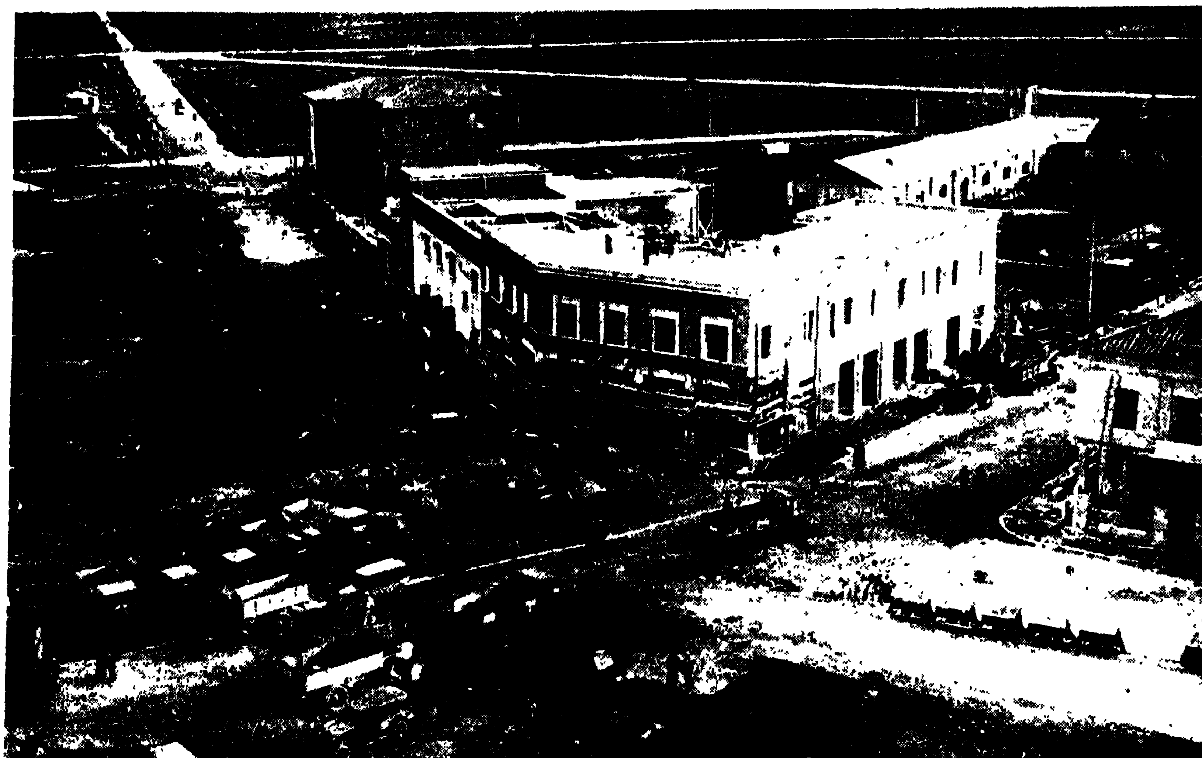


The digging of a canal for the drainage of paludal water (Fig. 3)

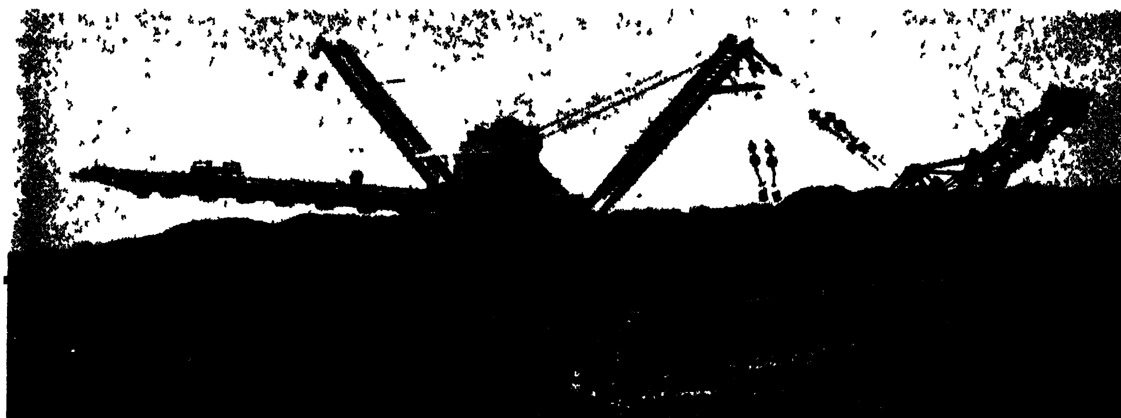
Draining out of water from the marshes (Fig. 2)



Littoria, a new city in the reclaimed Pontine Ager under construction (Fig. 7)



The town of Littoria when completed. Hotel Littoria is in the foreground (Fig. 8)



Levelling of land and mixing of soil (Fig 4)

make a substantial contribution. Sometimes the State assists the individuals and sometimes is assisted by them in turn In the Corporative system, private and public interests are interlocked. If there is lack of co-operation between the different bodies, private as well as public, brought under the co-ordinating authority of the State, the entire scheme would cease to work

The Corporative character of the system of concessions, under which the execution of government works is generally entrusted to a Consortium of land-owners, would clearly explain this point of view These Consortia are not co-operative associations formed exclusively for the protection of private interests, but associations of a public character, vested with social functions to which the government delegate certain of its powers Should the land-owner fail to fulfil the duties incumbent on him, the law threatens him with expropriation

Integral land reclamation may be divided generally into two parts, namely, protective reclamation and constructive reclamation The first category of operations refers to lands already cultivated more or less intensively, but exposed to damages caused by imperfect drainage or inadequate irrigational facilities The second type of operations is directed to lands heretofore under extensive methods of utilization or generally unproductive such as permanent marshes, unpopulated lands infested with malaria and land devoid of any organized rural life. The Act of 1928 on *Bonifica Integrale* lays down *in extenso* the provisions according to which this vast and nationwide scheme is being put to practice. This Act which was passed on the 24th of December, 1928, marks the final phase of legislative evolution in regard to land improvements in Italy. Among the pre-war Italian legislations of *bonifica*, mention may be made of the Baccarini Act of 1882, which guided the reclamation of works until the advent of fascist measures The Baccarini Act and all measures previously enacted failed, however, to tackle the fundamental problems of Italian rural life and to take an organic view of its requirements. They also failed to remove the disparity between the North and the South, between the industrial and agrarian Italy

Between 1925 and 1928 several laws were passed regarding irrigation, agrarian credit, public works and Governmental contributions to the cost of agricultural improvements. The Act of 1928 embraced the entire field of existing legislation on *bonifica*, co-ordinated the various measures in the interest of national economy as a whole and made several outstanding provisions which constitute the special features of the Act The State as well as the land-owners are bound by this law to make financial contributions in specified proportions towards the execution of the land reclamation scheme. It is not possible to enter into the details of the financial as well as the organizational plans laid down in this Act in the brief space available here, but it should be realized that this Act is the spinal column of integral land reclamation Whatever the subsequent technical developments of the legislative framework provided by the Act, the Act itself always represent the guiding spirit as well as the abiding ideal of Italian integral land reclamation.

Brief reference may, however, be made in this connection to some of the new provisions of the said Act In the first place, the Act lays down that integral land reclamation is carried out in the public interest by means of (*a*) land-reclamation works, and (*b*) land-improvement

works. The former have the following characteristics :

(1) They are carried out under a general plan of co-ordinated activities.
(2) They present marked hygienic, demographic, social and economic advantages.
(3) They are carried out in land reclamation circumscriptions; that is, on territories classified and delimited by the Government :
(*a*) in which exist lakes, ponds, swamps and marshes; or
(*b*) consisting of mountain-lands in which hydrogeological and forestry conditions are unsatisfactory; or
(*c*) consisting of lands which, for serious physical and social reasons, are utilized for extensive farming and on which the productive regime could be radically modified if the aforesaid unsatisfactory conditions were removed.

The land-improvement works are those carried out :

(*a*) on behalf of one or more farms, and
(*b*) independently of a general land-reclamation plan.

In the second place, the Act has provided for the reform of the Consortium, which may be regarded more or less as an executive organ for the effecting of land-improvements. Consortia for regulating land drainage and irrigation have existed in Italy since ancient times. The Consortium has now taken a new aspect, and has become the organ through which the State vests its authority in certain citizens for the purposes of the execution of private and public works. It is not a mere executor of public works as government concessionaire, but is the organ for carrying out the whole integral land reclamation, both in its public and private phases an organ cooperating with the Government to secure the complete character of the reclamation, assisting and guiding the land-owners, but at the same time controlling, and if necessary replacing, them.

The new Act deals with distinct types of Consortia :

(*a*) Consortia which are public Corporations,
(*b*) Consortia which are private Corporations.

The very nature of the Consortia and the fundamental importance of the rights and duties vested in them entail the intervention of the Government and of bodies delegated by it. These interventions apply to both types of Consortia, but more specially to those dealing with land reclamation works. The financial regime under which the land reclamation works are carried out may be defined on the basis of contributions made by the State towards the different works. The cost of some of the works for which the Government is responsible is met in full by the Treasury in view of their special character namely, re-afforestation, replanting deteriorated woods, the consolidation and hydro-agrarian re-conditioning of slopes and banks, and in some respects the regulation of low-land water courses; not more than 60% of the cost of power, transformation boxes and fixed and movable lines for the transmission of electric power for farm uses of the whole or a large part of the circumscription is met by the Treasury; for all other works the quota may rise in certain regions to 76% of the cost, and to 87·5% in the Southern and assimilable regions. The financing of private and public land-reclamation works is dealt with by the new law as a whole, so as to ascertain the economic advantages conferred on the owners and to make sure that total outlay will be adequately compensated by the higher income they will secure from the land. This indeed is the necessary corollary to the compulsory character of the work.

Among the executive organs carrying out and controlling land reclamation works mention may be made of the Under-Secretariat for Integral Land Reclamation. In 1929 the Ministry of National Economy was transferred to the Ministry of Corporations and was replaced by the Ministry of Agriculture and Forests. The Under-Secretariat is under the immediate control of the Ministry of Agriculture and Forests. The Under-Secretary is advised by a General Directorate consisting of six divisions. The Under-Secretariat can avail itself of the services of two public Corporations, presided over by the Under-Secretary himself, that is, the National Association of Land Reclamation Consortia and the National Secretariat for Mountain Lands; and it has the co-operation of two other bodies, which in view of their prevalently political duties are placed directly under the Head of the Government, but whose activities are co-ordinated with those of the Under-Secretariat, that is, the National Foundation for Ex-Service Men (*Opera Nazionale Combattenti*), and the Commissariat for Internal Migrations and Land Settlement. Regarding the control of malaria the Under-Secretariat acts in close co-operation with the Ministry of the Interior in its section of the General Directorate of Health. In order to understand fully the working of the Land Reclamation schemes it is essential to study the functions of these public organizations.

The plan of agrarian finance in the new regime is as much elaborate as complex. Various measures have been adopted in order to facilitate the financing of land reclamation projects. In the case of works whose cost is met in part by the land-owners, the Government recovers the quota due from them in the form of annuities



The sowing (Fig 6)

payable for not less than five and not more than fifty years, covering both capital and interest, the charge being apportioned among them in accordance with rules. Most public reclamation works are not, however, carried out by the Government, but by concessionaires who, with few exceptions, are the land reclamation Consortia. The concession is made for successive lots. There are several ways of making concessions, for example, flat concessions (*concessioni a forfait*), concessions by measurement, and concessions on the basis of actual expenditure (*concessioni a consuntivo*). In the first two cases, overhead expenses (plans, management, supervision and administration, provisional financing costs) are repaid to the concessionaire on a percentage of costs basis, provided in the contract; in the latter case, they are repaid in full, subject to the approval of the liquidating Commission.

These methods of financing proved inadequate in course of time, and steps were taken to centralize the financing operations in the hands of the Association of Consortia which, acting through a special Committee on which the financing institutes and banks willing to assist these operations are represented, regulates the applications for provisional and final financial aid presented by the Consortia or other concessionaires, distributing them among the several financial institutes and banks in accordance with their character and possibilities, and on the basis of a general agreement stipulated with them, giving its assistance until the operations are completed.

The Institutes represented on the aforesaid Committee are the following:

(1) The National Fascist Institute for Social Provident Measures.
(2) National Insurance Institute
(3) Credit Institute of Italian Savings Banks.
(4) National Association of Italian Savings Banks.
(5) Credit Consortium for Public Works.
(6) Land-credit branch of the Savings Banks of the Lombardy Province.
(7) Land-credit Institute of the Venetias.
(8) Federal Institute of Venetias' Savings Banks.
(9) Land-credit branch of the Bank of Naples.
(10) Italian Land-credit Institute.
(11) Land-credit branch of the Monte dei Paschi.
(12) Land-credit branch of the Bank of Sicily.
(13) Institute of St. Paul of Turin.
(14) Land-credit branch of the Savings Banks of Bologna.
(15) Sardinian Land Institute
(16) National Society for the Development of Land Reclamation.

The following table would give an idea of the land reclamation expenditure undertaken in Italy since 1870:[9]

Expenditure on	In Million Lires 1870-1921	1922-1937
Government works	1,782·7	6,078·0
Private works subsidized by Government	Nil	2,556·2
Total	1,782·7	8,634·2

The *bonifica* scheme is intimately connected with the demographic policy of present-day Italy. The reclamation of the lands in all parts of the peninsula and the islands has certainly helped in a large measure the redemption of a part of the population left for centuries at the mercy of the cruel forces of nature, living in insanitary hovels infested with mosquitoes, breathing unhealthy air and suffering from the consequences of chronic malnutrition. These people have been saved from gradual extermina-

9. *Annuario Statistico Italiano*, 1937. (Central Institute of Statistics, Rome). Pp. 95.

tion and have been rendered useful members of the community. The reclaimed areas have thrown open such vast territories of hitherto abandoned land that they have facilitated the execution of a healthy and balanced scheme of internal migrations. Giacomo Acerbo, the leading "bonifica" economist, a former Minister of



The tower of the Municipal House at Sabaudia, another new town on sea in the reclaimed zone. The mountain in the background is the famous Circeo

Agriculture, and President of the International Institute of Agriculture, Rome, describes the benefits of such migrations in the following manner :[10]

"If carefully considered, not only the policy of agrarian development, but demographic policy, the restriction of emigration, and, more particularly, the assiduous work of restoring moral values and the simple ancestral virtues of which the race is proud, really owe their inspiration and progress to the new rural conception. and have the fresh and revivifying breath of the fields about them. Far from the sceptical and tumultuous cities, the weary and exhausted spirit of our day seeks the country for serenity and repose, and, beholding vast horizons, peaceful furrows, and the fertile and tranquil interchange of seasons, regains serenity and unsophisticated kindness, and accepts the simple but eternal laws of life and duty."

The writer had the opportunity, during his long sojourn in Italy, of visiting these reclaimed areas on various occasions in Northern, Southern and Central Italy, particularly in the Agro Pontino and the Agro Romano on account of their proximity to Rome where the writer generally stayed. It was an experience to see busy cities springing up from desolate marshes, happy peasant communities coming to life again in those lone paludal tracts which was the abode of mosquitoes. Whether in the mountain-slopes or sea-side salty and sandy lands or the vast plains of the Agro Pontino that have been reclaimed during the last few years, one came across sturdy peasant boys and girls who were once doomed either to starvation or emigration, and that traditional love of the soil which finds expression in the new slogan of Italian peasants : "*La terra, tu sei buona*" (O Earth, thou art good). Actual prosperity was not there but they certainly had at that time hope of the future and confidence in the security and stability of their new homes. The *bonifica*, after all, considered from the point of view of its social and national idealism, would have taken a long time to bear the desired results even if the terrible calamity of war had not been brought on the poor people by those responsible for it but the determination of the people to redeem the abandoned lands and with the lands the race, may be regarded as one of the most outstanding achievements of modern Italy in national reconstruction. The illustrations accompanying this article will show the different stages through which the land reclamation works have been carried out in the Agro Pontino. There are many parallels between the problems of rural Bengal and rural Italy of those days and the Government of Bengal might, with suitable modifications, experiment with some of their methods.

10. Article on "Agriculture under the Fascist Regime" in *What is Fascism and Why* (London, 1931) edited by Tomaso Sillani. Pp. 71.



INDIA AND A NEW CIVILISATION

By Dr. RAJANI KANTA DAS

Introductory

One of the greatest events of history is the close contact of Hindu, Muslim and Western civilisations in India. Far in the dim past came the Indo-Aryan culture, which mingling with Dravidian and other indigenous culture, developed into what is known today as Hindu civilisation. In the middle ages came into India the Muslim civilisation which had arisen in Arabia and combined in itself the ancient civilisation of Egypt, Assyria, Persia, Babylonia, Chaldes and Media and which has since then established itself in the country. Still later on came Western civilisation which had likewise grown out of Greek and Roman civilisations as well as German, French Spanish, British and other European cultures and which has established its political, industrial and educational systems in India within the past two centuries. Out of the fusion of these three great civilisations, there has been growing in India a new civilisation which may be properly called Indian civilisation. The origin, growth, nature and function of this new civilisation as well as the various problems, through the solution of which these divergent civilisations may be more thoroughly co-ordinated and integrated into a new civilisation for the welfare of the people of India as well as of the world at large, forms the subject-matter of this study.

I. Rise of Indian Civilisation

As noted before, the impact of Hindu, Muslim and Western civilisations are responsible for the gradual fusion of their cultural ideals. What is more significant is the fact that while the Hindu civilisation has grown in the country itself for ages and revived itself within the past century and a half, the other two cultures, though foreign in origin, have been brought and established in India by the adherents of those civilisations. Muslim civilisation, for instance, has been brought and established in India by the Muslim conquerors and immigrants and now counts among its adherents about one-fourth of the national population. Western civilisation, equally foreign in origin, has also been brought and installed, specially as far as political, industrial and educational institutions are concerned, by the British, who are perhaps the best exponents of, and the greatest contributors to, Western civilisation.

Impact of Cultures

The most important cultural achievement in India is Hindu civilisation. It is the civilisation which has been achieved by a group of peoples through prolonged experience for ages. Although with the rise of the Muslim and Western civilisations, it had lost its former power and influence, it has revived itself since the beginning of the last century and has become again a dynamic cultural ideal in the country.

Hindu civilisation is essentially religious in its nature. Rising from the early stage of human history, when man was still quite helpless in his struggle against nature and depended for his success in life upon the assistance of some superior power, religion became deeply embedded into Hindu culture. But the greatness of Hindu mind lies not in its religiousness but in its quest of the ultimate reality and in the discovery of some universal truths for the benefit of not only themselves but also of the mankind in general. These truths have been expressed in their science and philosophy, religion and ethics, art and literature, and social systems.

One of the greatest cultural achievements in the world is Muslim civilisation. Muslim civilisation is founded upon Mahommedanism, which like Hinduism, is not only a religion, but also a mode of life. Although based upon Judaism and Christianity for the conception of the fatherhood of God and brotherhood of man, it has been mostly drawn from Arabic culture and transformed into a great religion under its illustrious prophet, Mahommed, and his teachings or recitals, which became known as the Koran. As a civilisation, it is a combination of several cultural achievements, both ancient and medieval, but owing to the basic origin from the Arabic culture and the teachings of the Prophet it has maintained its individuality and unity.

Among the important contributions of the Muslims to India mention must be made of the following :—(1) strong government and administration, which were gradually established with the settlement of the Muslims in India, specially under the Moghul period; (2) internal

and external security, achieved through introduction of gun-powder and artillery, the improvement of fortifications and the rebuilding of the navy and the establishment of foreign relations; (3) national unity which was brought about by the uniformity of administration in most of the *Subbas* or provinces including the use of Persian as court language, common method of keeping records and the use of the same terminology as well as the transfer of the officers from one province to another; (4) introduction of industrial arts, *e.g.*, tanning of leath making of cutlery, weaving of silk and shawl. manufacture of paper, etc; and (5) introduction of fine arts *e.g.*, dancing, music, clothing and cooking, which were mostly uniform in character throughout the country.

Western civilisation is the most virile, dynamic and progressive civilisation in the modern times. It has not only spread over America, Australia and Africa but has also great influence over Eastern civilisations. Of the older countries, no one is more closely associated with Western civilisation than India. India has not only come in contact with Western civilisation but most of her modern institutions such as government, jurisprudence, industry and education, have been introduced and established by the British on Western models.

The contributions of Western civilisation to India might be classified under two general headings, namely;—First, the political, industrial and educational institutions, which have been actually established by the British, such as (a) representative government, (2) efficient administration, (3) progressive jurisprudence, (4) modern industrialism, and (5) functional education. Secondly, the social values and social attitudes which have resulted from British rule as well as from close contact with the West such as (1) peace and order (2) national unity, (3) social justice, (4) personal liberty, (5) scientific attitude, and (6) art, literature and philosophy.

FUSION OF CULTURES

The fusion of these cultural achievements have been taking place through the process of amalgamation and assimilation through the Vedic and specially Buddhistic and neo-Hindu periods. The pervading thought of the Indo-Aryan culture is that a unifying spiritual reality underlies this visible world, and the true philosophy of life consists in the search after this unity in the midst of all diversities. This dominant conception of Hindu civilisation has developed a great spirit of toleration. While attempting to preserve their own cultural ideals they respected other cultures, and often absorbed them into their own cultural system. This spirit of toleration has helped them to absorb all the indigenous cultural ideals and also to assimilate all the subsequent cultures brought by the invaders and conquerors upto the tenth century A.D. Thus the different races and tribes of the early periods, such as the Greeks, the Persians, the Scythians, and the Turks, were subsequently assimilated into the great mass of the Hindu population.

The Muslim civilisation brought into India an altogether new cultural ideal, with its absolute and uncompromising monotheism, but there soon grew a tendency even to fuse some of the cultural ideals with those of the Hindu civilisation. Attempts were made by some of the Muslim emperors, especially by Akbar, since the end of the 16th century, to give the Hindus the same position in the State as the Muslims as well as by some religious teachers to unite the Hindus and the Muslims under one religion. Moreover, under British rule, uniform government introduced the same legal codes, political institutions and industrial systems all over the country and helped in the integration of the Hindu and the Muslim cultures into some common interests.

The most important factor in the development of this new civilisation in India is however the Renaissance movement, or the regeneration of national life, of the early 19th century, not only in Art and literature but also in social, political and economic activities in general. Attempts have been made to adapt the new cultural achievements to new social institutions and new thoughts and ideals in the national consciousness. Moreover, some of the aims, aspirations and ideals of the people have been integrated into new cultural ideals. Although the Renaissance movement itself has gained immense strength, it has been followed by several social movements with special reference to religion, reform, education, industry and government. All these movements are more or less conscious, continuous and organised activities with a view to eradicating some outstanding social evils or reforming some old institutions or even to realising some new social ideals and social values.

The earliest social movements in India relate to religion, the most important of which are the Brahmo-Samaj, the Arya-Samaj and the Ramakrishna Mission. All of them are the direct results of the contact with Christianity and Western civilisation and have exercised great influence upon the national life of India.

Reform movements have much more tangible results than the religious movements. The lead in social reform movements was given also by the Brahmo-Samaj, which has done much in bringing before the public the evils of child marriage, caste and untouchability, enforced widowhood and the *purdah* system. Most of these movements are now carried on by separate and independent organisations. Child marriage has been restricted by national legislation, Hindu widow marriage has been legalised and provision has also been made by Baroda State for divorce among Hindus. Movements, for the emancipation of women have been undertaken by women themselves.

The most important movement for the elevation of the people to a high cultural level is that of education. Among the landmarks of the educational movement the most important are the following:—(1) the introduction of Western learning with English as the recognised medium, in the "thirties" of the last century; (2) the establishment of universities at Calcutta, Bombay and Madras in the "fifties," and at other towns later on; (3) the enactment of primary educational Acts by 8 different provinces since 1918, granting local governments option for imparting compulsory primary education; and (4) introduction of vernacular language for primary, secondary and even higher education in different provinces. As a result of the educational movement, there has grown up in the country a large number of educated people in different branches of learning, such as art, science, and philosophy, as well as in different learned professions such as law, medicine and engineering. Their intellectual activities have been expressed in different scientific organisations and associations of history, economics, science, medicine, chemistry and law, and have helped the growth of a new social consciousness in India.

The industrial systems are still among the links which unite the inhabitants of a country into one or more groups. The greatest movements in the industrial organisation of the country are (1) the gradual commercialisation of agriculture; (2) the revival of indigenous industries including arts and crafts by the Swadeshi and the Khadi movements as well as by Government subsidies; (3) the rise of organised industry, which employed about five million workers by 1937; (4) the rise of indigenous capital and enterprise, which has been taking an increasingly important part in national industry and finance. Organised industry has been followed by the rise of labour legislation and of the trade union movement.

The last but not the least important social movement is that in connection with Government as represented by the Indian National Congress, the Indian Muslim League, and the Indian Liberal Federation. The Indian National Congress has, since 1885, exercised a great influence in the development of the spirit of national unity as indicated by its success in the election of 1937 under the new Constitution, when the Congress captured seven out of eleven provincial Governments. As a result of the national movement in India as well as of the adoption of more liberal policy by England, the Constitution of India has been made more liberal by the Government of India Acts of 1919 and 1935. By the Act of 1935, the British Provinces have been granted autonomy and provisions have also been made, though temporarily postponed for the duration of the War, for the federation of Indian States with British Provinces under a Federal Government. Moreover, India has also been promised Dominion Status after the War, which, as reconstituted by the Statute of Westminster of 1926, is nothing short of independence except in name.

As a result of these various historical events, there have grown up in India a new social consciousness and a new national will, which are being expressed in the working for universal compulsory education, social justice and equality, agricultural and industrial development, welfare of the masses, abolition of caste and untouchability, and the achievement of self-government, all of which are among the important elements of this new civilisation.

II. Cultural Reconstruction

The rise of this new civilisation has raised the question of its reconstruction. While some of the social movements are themselves selective and reconstructive, the new civilisation requires a much more careful study with a view to guiding it in the desired direction so that it may become a potent moral and spiritual force for the benefit of Indian people in particular and of the whole humanity in general.

Nature and Function

This new civilisation may appropriately be called the Indian civilisation in contrast to the existing civilisation, whether Hindu or Muslim, inasmuch as none of them represents the whole country or population or existing cultural achievements. The new civilisation on the other hand represents the whole territory and population as well as her whole cultural wealth, whether Hindu, Muslim or Western.

The newness of this civilisation arises from the following facts :—(1) it is the synthesis of all the existing civilisations in India; (2) it intends to apply all the achievements of art, science, and philosophy to the solution of its social, political and industrial problems rather than blindly follow her old traditional customs, laws and institutions; (3) it is based upon the positive background of all social, political and industrial activities rather than upon the mystic and spiritual background of religion; (4) it proposes to build up an industrial and urban rather than agricultural and rural civilisation; and (5) it is concerned with the masses rather than merely with the classes as its subject-matter.

The need of a common civilisation arises from the fact that none of the existing civilisations has or can become a common or comprehensive civilisation for the whole population of India. This new civilisation offers an opportunity to relegate religion to the private and sacred domain of individual conscience and group conviction instead of making it a national institution. Moreover, it facilitates the integration of the best features of the existing civilisations as well as the elimination of those institutions which have been found by experience to be social evils. Finally, the very idea of its newness has a psychological effect. Human energy lies dormant, and it is only aspiration and awakening that can inspire a people to move forward, to achieve something for themselves and for humanity. Nothing can better inspire the younger generations of India into new activities of life than the ideals of realising new values in life and upbuilding a new civilisation.

India is at a crossroad in her cultural development. After centuries of servitude, India is on the way to regain her national self-government, and to reorganise her social, political and economic activities and institutions for the realisation of new values of life, for which she needs a comprehensive policy and elaborate programme. The solution of the problem of establishing harmony among various conflicting groups lies in the co-ordination of their cultural ideals for the purpose of achieving some common but higher values, aims, and ideals, which only a new civilisation can offer.

The new civilisation in India has taken its rise at the world's critical moment. Western civilisation has become vitiated by the overgrowth of materialism and mechanism and has been followed by some of its worst evils in some countries such as racism, and dictatorship. Barbarism, terrorism and cruelty have been organised on scientific methods. The freedom of thought, speech and action have been supressed and individuality which has been one of the basic elements of Western civilisation has been brought under the control of some dominating groups. Western civilisation is thus passing through a very critical moment of its life and the whole humanity is calling for moral and spiritual regeneration.

No country is in a better position than India to supply the urgent needs of the humanity and to build up a moral and spiritual civilisation for the benefit of herself and for the humanity in general. It is not meant to be said that India has already a ready-made moral and spiritual civilisation which she can give to the world. All that is claimed is that like her vast natural resources which have remained unutilised for productive purposes, as the present speaker has shown, there also lie dormant enormous moral and spiritual forces, which once gave rise to several religious and ethical systems, and which can even now be utilised by India for upbuilding a moral and spiritual civilisation for the benefit of her own people as well as of the mankind in general. It is for such a civilisation that humanity looks upon India.

Favourable Backgrounds

For the development of the new civilisation. India offers very favourable backgrounds in geographical unity, ethnic similarity and cultural diversity.

The territorial extensity of the country affords the growth of a very large population, both the physical energies and mental faculties of which are essential for building a great and complicated civilisation, specially in modern times. While the natural barriers at the frontiers separate India from the rest of the world and thus afford the growth of a distinct and particular culture, the geographical uniformity within the country itself assures the development of uniformity in cultural ideal. The fairly rich supply of mineral, vegetable and animal resources indicate the possibility of her industrial greatness and national prosperity, and topographical variations and climatic fluctuations form the basis for the development of diversity in mental traits and cultural ideals.

Like any other national group, Indian people has also been derived from a variety of racial stock, such as the Proto-Australoids, the Dravidians, the Indo-Aryans and the Mongolians. To these must be added different sub-races who came to India during the historical times either as conquerors or immigrants. From the 6th century B. C. to the 6th century A.D., Persians,

Macedonians, Scythians, Parthians, and White Huns have invaded Northern India. In the midst of these diversities, there exists however some homogeneity among the peoples of India, either due to the effects of the environment or the inter-mixture of blood. "Beneath the manifold diversity" says Sir Herbert Risley, "of physical and social type, language, custom and religion, which strikes the observer in India, there can still be discerned a certain underlying uniformity of life from the Himalayas to the Cape Comorin. There is in fact an Indian character, a general Indian personality which we cannot resolve into its component elements."

Cultural contributions of these civilisations have already been described. It is necessary only to recapitulate and emphasise some of the cardinal points of these contributions, which form the immediate social background of this new civilisation.

The Hindus conceived the cosmic energy of which this universe is an expression, as an eternal, infinite, supreme spiritual being, and attempted to realise it in terms of truth, good and beauty. This conception is of great significance even in modern times, when struggle for existence, rivalry and competitions and materialism and agnosticism, predominate all social, political and economic activities, and man has scarcely any time to come to himself and to realise his inner self in its moral and spiritual aspects.

The second cardinal point of this new civilisation is the brotherhood of men or the moral and spiritual unity of all human beings, which though perceived by the Hindus and preached by the Christians, was for the first time practised by the Muslims. There was no time in human history when the need of this message of Islam was so urgently needed as at present. In spite of the scientific truth to the contrary, "racism," "Aryanism," and "Nordicism" have become prevailing doctrines in some countries and have also expressed in such slogans as "yellow peril," "rising tide of colour" and "White Australia." It is time to re-establish the essential unity of mankind not only in science, but also in social attitude, national law and international relations.

The third point of this new civilisation is the conception of democracy or the common man as the centre of all social activities as developed in the West. Unlike Greek, Roman, Hindu and other ancient civilisations, Western civilisation especially as developed during the past two centuries, has realised the importance of the common man in social progress and preached the doctrine of liberty, equality and fraternity and advocated the establishment of equal right and privilege for all people. Nowhere is there a greater necessity for the appearance of the common man in the centre of social activities than in India where by far the majority of the peoples are diseased, ill-fed, ill-clothed and illiterate and where they are penalised by rigorous social custom, such as the caste and untouchability.

Fundamental Principles

The reconstructive process of this new civilisation involves several principles, which may be classified under the following headings, namely (1) the individual and society; (2) development of individuality; (3) organisation of the group; and (4) progressive social order.

The new civilisation of India is based on two cardinal principles. First, the fullest and richest expression of the individual for the benefit of himself as well as of society in general, for which the individual should be given full opportunity not only for the exercise of rights and enjoyment of privileges, but also for the discharge of duty for which he must be educated and trained. Secondly, the reorganisation of society on a new basis, where not only the classes but also the masses can "live, breathe and have their being" and where the rights and privileges of humanity become accessible to the whole population irrespective of race, caste and creed.

The starting point in this new civilisation is however the development of individuality or the organisation of the conscious elements of a person into an entity. It is the development of the entire individual, including both his similarities and dissimilarities, which assures the continuity of social process on the one hand and offers the possibility of variation, innovation and progress on the other.

Between the individual and society stands the group. A group represents, however, not the persons composing it, but their psychological contents arising from actions and reactions of their inner selves as well as between them and their environments and differing from mental contents of each person composing the group. The group is the connecting link between the individual and society. It is in fact the group with which the individual comes in direct contact.

The most important requirement for the development of this new civilisation is the establishment of a progressive social order. This new civilisation should be based on the positive background of science, both natural and social,

and should aim at the realisation, of such higher value of life as are dictated by religion in the broadcast sense of this term.

The essential elements of this new civilisation should be the following :—(1) *nationality*, as distinct from nationalist *i.e.*, a geographical unit as its base rather than race or religion in view of the fact that India is a conglomeration of races and religions; (2) *solidarity*, which depends upon the unity, cohesion, and co-ordination of these divergent and diversified cultural elements of different civilisations in order to make it a strong and solid entity and to give it a new personality; (3) *rationality* or an objective attitude towards life instead of emotion and sentiments in the solution of its problems; with the gradual mastery of man over himself and his environments, social development has been based more and more on scientific lines; (4) *industrialism*, or the application of science, technology and business principles, to all productive processes such as manufacturing, mining, forestry, fishing, agriculture, even household; and (5) *democracy*, which alone can assure the full development of an individual and continued development of society; (6) *toleration* or respect for the differences, both racial and social, among others; and (7) *social progress* or the evolution of society in some desired direction.

Some of the criteria for the evaluation of social progress are health, wealth, education and morality. Social progress must indicate, first, the improvement of racial stock and general health, as indicated by the increasing longevity and freedom from diseases; secondly, increasing social wealth and national dividend and specially increasing welfare among the masses through more equitable distribution of wealth; thirdly, increasing desire for knowledge as indicated by greater pursuit of intellectual life; fourthly, increasing opportunities for the self-expression, and finally, increasing desire on the part of people for a selfless service to their fellow beings.*

* Sir Sayajirao Gaekwar Prize Lectures delivered on the 7th and 8th October, 1940.

PROF. C. F. ANDREWS' EARLY DAYS IN DELHI

By GOBIND BEHARI LAL

International News Service Science Editor, New York

As ONE of the late Prof. C. F. Andrews' first students at St. Stephen's Mission College, Delhi, I have some still vivid memories of him. He was the Englishman, as Har Dayal was the Indian, who made the name of this college known in all India and even in foreign countries. What a strange sequence that Mr. Andrews died in India shortly after he had mourned the death of Har Dayal in the United States. It is a story of the East and the West; that is, of their mutual interactions and blendings. Andrews started life as a British patriot, Dayal as an Indian nationalist; in the end, they seemed to have converged towards the same broad Humanism, the mother of a future possibility when all people in the world would be just "world citizens."

All India knows that Prof. Andrews, in 1906 or so, came from England to assume the principalship of St. Stephen's College, but after great effort he contrived to have that position accorded to Prof. Susil Kumar Rudra, a high-caste Hindu convert to Christianity who had served the college for twenty-and-odd years. For the first time an Indian Christian became the head of the Mission College, established and controlled by a group of Englishmen in London and Cambridge, primarily interested in the promotion of Christianity among the Indians. The particular form of Christianity inculcated by them was British Protestantism. At St. Stephen's College a definite "feudal system" prevailed.

The first place was that of British Missionaries, "Padre Sahebs"—the Principal and his colleagues the professors, graduates of Cambridge University, mostly in "theology"—who looked picturesque and impressive in their clerical robes, black in winter, white in summer. Next to these good monks, for they were all celibates —a fact calculated to impress the laymen with their "superior morality"—ranked the Indian Christian professors, like Mr. Rudra and Mr. Martin. The third estate belonged to the heathen professors, Hindu and Moslem members of the Faculty who taught Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian, Philisophy, Mathematics.

Rev. Mr. George Hibbertware, the principal, when I entered the college, was a tall, lanky,

shy, nervous, somewhat asthenic looking Englishman who had graduated with high honours in mathematics, had scientific interests and some leaning towards "Christian socialism". He carried out experiments in telepathy, and became interested even in Yoga after he had seen a dramatic Yogic performance by a wandering swami. He seemed to admire Ruskin's writings, particularly those criticising the current British economic system.

The great national awakening had started in India; even Delhi, remote from Calcutta, held public meetings for "swadeshi-ism." Mr. Syud Hyder Riza, a senior student of the college, more than once startled Principal Hibbertware by his appearance in the guise of "a Moghul prince," excitedly talking about "India for the Indians." He even started a "mashaira," "Urdu poetry" society, in the main hall of St. Stephen's College. Several of the Indian professors, Christians and pagans, were Bengalis—including Mr. Rudra. They, unmistakably, leaned towards the new movement of which Bengal was the most conspicuous source. The barriers that had existed between the Christian converts and the rest of the Indians were melting away. One felt that at the college.

Such was the changing scene when Hibbertware decided to return to England, and C. F. Andrews arrived in Delhi. The students had heard much about Prof. Andrews' scholarship in the classic languages, Latin and Greek. He was markedly a "literary man." From the very beginning he placed before his students the goal of "perfect English." He inculcated in us a feeling for the best English prose and poetry. "English must be written and spoken by the ear," he said. Of course, it had to be a cultured Englishman's ear. Robert Louis Stevenson's prose style, Tennyson's verse, he held up as masterly models. For ideas, he praised Wordsworth's sonnets. But the greatest treasury of perfect English was the Bible, he told us. He taught us English literature as well as Christian theology, for everyone had to attend the "Bible Class."

One afternoon, a student asked him: "How can you reconcile the teachings of the Bible with the concepts of modern science?"

Prof. Andrews was taken aback, but gave a very adroit reply: "Sir Gabriel Stokes, who is one of England's most distinguished scientists, also, is a devout Christian. He prays daily, attends the Church regularly."

It was better for him to talk of the Bible as wonderful literature than as a source book of sound knowledge about the world. In fact, in those days, Prof. Andrews' yardstick of ability seemed to be proficiency in English. He praised Prof. Rudra for speaking and writing faultless English. He expressed his surprise at not finding any errors of grammar or idiom in Romesh Chandra Dutt's books, *Early British Rule in India* and *India in the Victorian Age*, which he had borrowed from the library of my classmates and cousins, Lalas Mul Chand, Mahabir Chand and Prabhu Dayal of Delhi.

Prof. Andrews had brought from England a cultured conservative mind. But he was no routineer by nature. He had come out to India to expand the empire of Christ as understood by the pious British Protestants. But he found an unexpected situation, the awakening of Indian nationalism with all its far-reaching implications. He did not lose his temper. He was not checkmated or even partly frustrated. He decided to enter the fold of nationalism itself and, in some measure, determine its course. From his point of view it would be most desirable to keep Indian nationalism free of such elements as these; militarism, anti-Christian, anti-foreign tendencies and so on. On the positive side, nationalism itself might be made a vehicle of Christianizing India, "in spirit" if not in outer forms.

In Gandhi-ism all this has been pretty nearly fulfilled. The mysterious hand of history was shaping things in India to suit Mr. Andrews. Nationalism in some of its most fervid forms, even before Gandhiji's ascendency, had copied much from the Missionaries. After all, our "swamis" are patterned after the "padre sahebs." Prof. Andrews very quickly understood that medieval Hindu and Moslem culture was in many ways similar to the medieval Christian culture of Europe.

Although Prof. Andrews never seemed to have mastered a single language of India, Urdu, Bengali, Marathi, he started the exploration of the Indian mind through its most influential literature soon after coming to Delhi. I recall his inviting to the college venerable Delhi scholars of Urdu and Persian, later on, he read translations of the songs of Kabir and other saints and reformers.

He was apparently fascinated by certain resemblances between Italy and Greece of ancient and medieval epochs and India.

Once I found him quite excited about Joseph Mazzini's book, *The Duties of Man*, because of its religious tone. But that was before Aurobindo Ghose rose on the firmament of India, as the "Indian Mazzini."

Har Dayal used to say that the modern spirit was the product of "The Three R.s of—

revolution (politico-economic), reformation (socio-religious) and renaissance (of learning)."

Prof. Andrews, in those days when I was among his students, had every sympathy with the "social reformers," who aimed at purging Hinduism of caste system and other medievalisms. But did not seem to like the iconoclastic zeal of a Luther or Cromwell in the domain of Indian politics. In this field, he preferred the softer methods of the "renaissance."

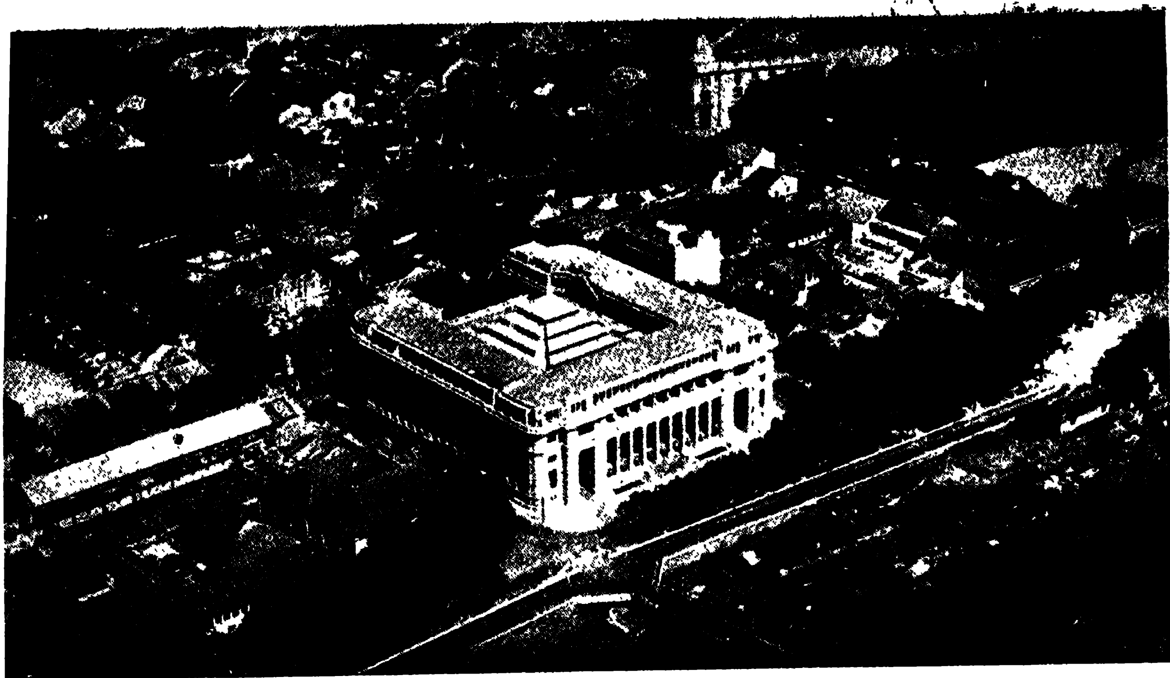
He was good enough to lend me a book which was *The Life of Erasmus* by an English historian, I believe, Froude. The purport of the book was that Erasmus had criticised the Catholic Church for the abuses which had accumulated in it, but had never left the Church, never attempted to overthrow it. Unwittingly, however, he had prepared the way for Luther the iconoclast. Said the biographer of Erasmus something like this: "Erasmus had laid an egg and thought it was of a hen; Luther hatched it and brought forth a game cock."

My comment to Prof. Andrews, which seemed to please him, was this: "Our moderate politicians have been laying an egg, but it is going to be hatched as a game cock—unless some thing is done soon." Two other books interested him. They were both by Mr. H. G. Wells, whose name we had not even heard in those days. *A Modern Utopia* and *The New Machiavalli* appealed to Mr. Andrews' disposition towards being the great amateur of a new politics, in the field of Indo-British relationships.

In the first three to five years at St. Stephen's College Prof. Andrews had prepared himself for his future influential career in India. He developed a binocular vision; through comparative studies of the histories and literatures, and socio-political controversies, of Europe and India. That was to become one of his greatest assets. He shook off many of the outward trappings of a British Protestant churchman; but he retained a monkish saintliness and a language deeply saturated with religious idealism.

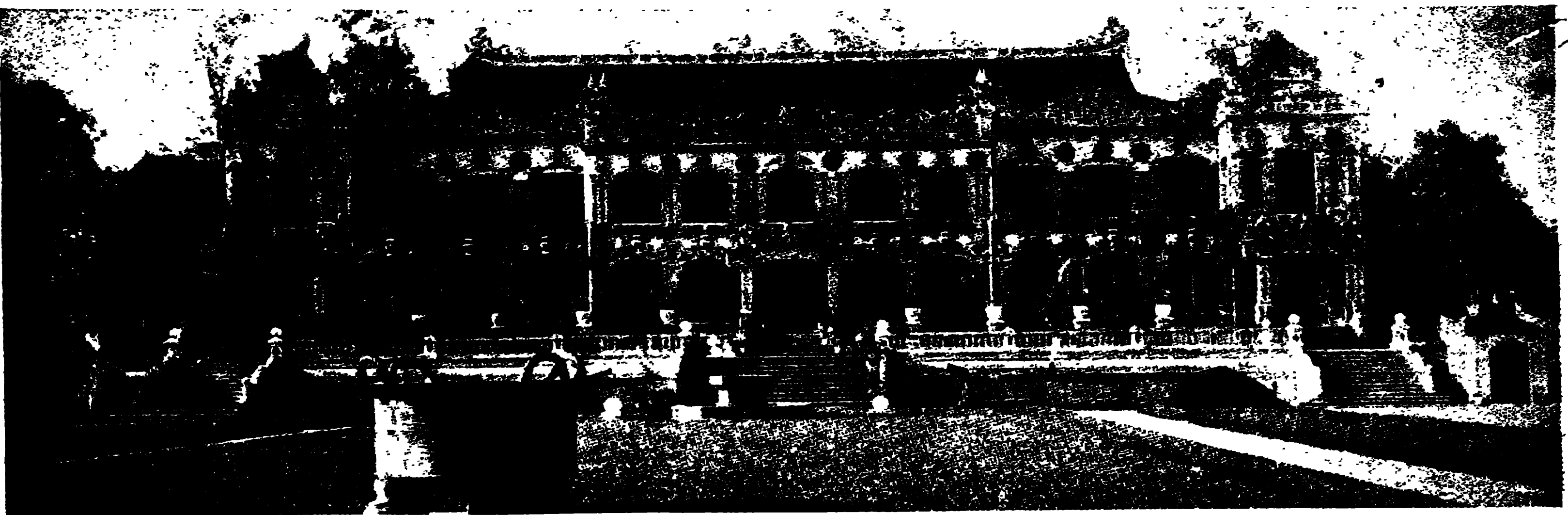
Even if, in this age of scientific scepticism and rationalism, he felt some doubts about the religious outlook, he knew as a statesman, as a man of action, that "moralism," raised to the verge of Godliness was a powerful weapon especially in India. St. Francis of Assissi, Italy's great saint of the early days of the Renaissance, by his service of the poor, added very greatly to the popularity and prestige of the Catholic Church which was then falling to pieces. Prof. C. F. Andrews, from the very beginning of his career in India, comported himself in a way that raised the prestige of, not only the "Missionaries," but of Englishmen generally. After all, through his unique art of an educator, he made himself an instrument in the shaping of India's and Britain's, destiny. Some of his students, thus, learned from him, not merely the use of English, but also psychological subtlety and insight which make it possible for one to become influential even in a foreign country. Prof. Andrews became a genuine humanist, under the interaction of his own English culture and that of India which he sought from high and low, young and old.





The banking quarters of Saigon in Indo-China

The bathing pool in the royal palace, Hue, Annam



The royal palace at Hue, Annam



A river embankment. Indo-China

THE HANDLOOM IN ORISSA

By GRAMA-SILPI

ALL ARE agreed that not all the 50,000 looms in Orissa have work and the number of such is increasing. This is undoubtedly distressing and has agitated the minds of a few who take interest in rural welfare or are in touch with the village weavers. Some amongst these men pin their faith in marketing as the one and the only step in reviving the hand-loom industry in the province. They want that Government should undertake marketing. These men, I venture to suggest, have not studied the problem in all its aspects. Production of khadi amounted last year to less than a lac of rupees. The looms almost wholly used mill yarn. From the import of yarn, it appears that cloth worth two crores of rupees was manufactured in Orissa. A good portion of it must have been sold. Who sold the goods? Private enterprise. So private organisation or organisations do exist which handle yearly textile worth two crores of rupees. And it is as well to remember that this is not all, cloth is also imported into the province. Now, in the face of it, what purpose is a Government marketing organisation to fulfil? Is it to be an object lesson of efficiency to private organisations? If so, I fear, it will perhaps fail. Successful business is an instinct which can hardly be created or instilled into one. Therefore, an organisational enterprise against individual effort stands little chance of success. It is well-known that there is a much larger trade in the so-called Bihar purdahs by private individualistic enterprise than the turnover in them of the Government marketing organisation. A business must be run by a businessman. A successful business implies a successful businessman behind it. Is it likely that a Government sale organisation will attract a really successful businessman? Such a possibility is most remote, for a real businessman would undoubtedly earn more in a private enterprise. What will then be the purpose of a maketing organisation run by the State? Government departments the world over are notorious for what is known as the red-tape. Their method of work and that in the business world are not identical. The former is entirely unsuited to business. Therefore, Government organisation in business should be, if anything, avoided. Then, is it the idea that the state organisation should supplant private business? As a rival it will not stand. If it is to replace private enterprise, is it realised what enormous working capital will be needed by such an organisation when the annual turnover is of two crores of rupees? Is the province prepared to find the money? What then is an organisation with a petty sum of half a lac or a lac of rupees going to achieve? I fear, nothing. True, a few provinces have such organisations; but if their figures are studied it will be seen that their business in rare cases exceeds two lacs of rupees. Yet one can well imagine what enormous capital must be invested in large provinces like the U. P., Bihar and the Punjab in the hand-loom industry when a small province like Orissa produces annually two crores worth of material. Has it also been realised that an organisation that markets goods must undertake to finance production? Will the state in Orissa be ever able to find the fund for the purpose? There will be point if co-operative marketing were advocated to eliminate middlemen, to teach weavers the advantage of working in groups sinking individual interests for the good of the whole. But that is not the position, apart from the fact that co-operative marketing has not, so far, shewn promise of success in Orissa. On the contrary, past experience is bitter and true co-operation in any of its aspects hardly exists in the province.

The Congress Government of Orissa had undertaken to market khadi as a State organisation. The question therefore naturally arises why should there be a marketing organisation for khadi. This is a pertinent query. The answer is—because khadi is a special commodity, new to the market, and has therefore to be 'pushed.' When a new article is brought into the market, it is always ushered in with blasts of trumpets, and its introduction becomes the special care of the organisation responsible for it. Similarly khadi requires special attention. It was introduced to the market not by a business concern but as a new economy by a political body. As such, a marketing organisation was needed and the All India Spinners' Association was born. Khadi is a rival of the textile industry of the power loom and therefore the existing textile business will not touch it even

with a pair of tongs. The private marketing organisation has run the concern with a great deal of success so far. But the potentialities of the industry are so great that it deserves unstinted state aid. For it solves to a great extent the problem of unemployment which is recognised as a direct charge of a state. The Government of Orissa, therefore, rightly and with justice, undertook marketing of khadi. An alternative of equal value would be to give financial aid to the private marketing organisation, that is, the A. I. S. A.

There is one point which is usually disregarded in the indignation expressed over the exploitation of the weavers by the existing financing and marketing concerns. Firstly, the weaver is not always exploited. The man who supplies him the yarn hardly ever keeps more than a ten per cent for his labour; similarly with the sale of finished goods. Often weavers have refused to form co-operative concerns for supply of yarn for they gained no marked advantage thereby. His difficulty is marketing; but that is due to causes other than any inherent in marketing as such. He cannot produce his goods at competitive prices, and his designs and patterns are fast getting out of date. Secondly, marketing is a specialised service. A class has been evolved by acquiring knowledge and experience which is an asset to the industry and a necessary link between the producer and the buyer. A craftsman is a poor businessman. He needs an agent to supply him yarn and take the responsibility of sale. This service is given him by a class of middlemen. Their number is large and there appears no reason why this class should be eliminated from the industry. Abuses should certainly be prevented, but as a class its disappearance will not be to the interest of the industry. It must also be remembered that a co-operative marketing organisation will also require a staff and there is no reason to believe that the expenditure on its account will be lower than a legitimate amount of profit that a middleman would earn.

To revive the handloom industry assistance has to be given in two directions. The designs and patterns of the handloom product have become static. There is no life in them. The monotony of age has crept in. It seems as if the creative instinct of the weaver has dried up. The consumer too apears to have ceased to provide the stimulus to his instinct, there is no demand for new patterns, new colours, new designs. People so used to the old now look for something new which they get in the mill made goods. The new, unfortunately, is not art in most cases. In fact, it is vitiating the artistic sense of the people and, as such, is a menace. Nevertheless, to the average buyer the newness is its attraction. It is at this point that aid to the handloom industry must come. New designs, patterns, colour schemes must be introduced retaining the basic foundation of the old which are too beautiful to be discarded outright. A great advantage of a decentralized village industry is that it can cater to individualistic demand. Individual taste, requirement of both the producer and consumer can have full play under its conditions. The handloom industry is ideally placed in this respect. The advantage should be fostered. Textile designing should be a special feature of state aid to the industry. The second point to which attention should be directed is in raising the prices of the mill product to the level of the prices at which the handloom goods sell. The yarn comes from the mill, and the weaver with even a bare minimum as wages cannot place his product in the market for the same price at which the corresponding article made at the mill sells. Unless, therefore, textile designing regains life and prices are brought to the same level the handloom industry is doomed.

Amongst other suggestions one that commands certain number of adherents is that the scope of handloom and the power-loom should be defined so that each will have its own sphere. This solution will cramp both the industries. Opinion is that the coarser cloth should be left to the handloom. Those who have seen the fine texture of the handloom products of some parts of Bengal, Madras and Orissa will have no hesitation in totally rejecting any suggestion of this type of delineation. For skill, the handloom weaver is certainly not inferior to his mechanical rival; if anything, he is superior in particular type of weaving. It will similarly be unfair to limit the handloom to the restricted field of a luxury trade. There will be no justification for such contraction of its field. In fact, any arbitrary delineation of field will operate harshly perhaps on both parties.

Fortunately, on one point there is perfect unanimity, that handloom as an industry must be preserved. But it is clear that as it now stands, dependent on the mills for its raw material, its extinction is only a matter of time. At best, it can only survive on the insignificant scale of a luxury trade. If it has to be saved, that is, retained as a major industry, the mill industry must be penalised; there is no other way. Even then the handloom will always suffer for certain inevitable drawbacks of a far-flung decentralized industry in an un-

tramelled competition against a highly centralized organisation. These handicaps may prove too severe in the long run. Therefore, if the object is to preserve and further develop the handloom industry other ways must be found which will prove more effective.

It is here that hand-spinning comes into the picture. Let not the handloom industry depend on its rival for its raw material. One of the greatest advantage that an industry can seek is to find its raw material locally. This is possible in the handloom industry. Let yarn be spun all over the country. The art is simple. It is easy to acquire the skill. There is plenty of leisure for the average man and woman. It will also produce an additional income. The handloom industry will then have no difficulty in obtaining its raw material, nor will any great organisational enterprise be required to make it available to the industry. Thus one of the greatest drawbacks of decentralized industry will be easily solved. Incidentally, the industry will give rise to another subsidiary industry much greater than itself. In 1930, the A. I. S. A. in Orissa gave employment to only 200 weavers whereas 6,000 spinners supplied the yarn. Throughout India, in 1938, the A. I. S. A. employed 18,632 weavers, but the number of spinners in that year was 2,81,880. The weavers earned nearly 12 lacs of rupees as wages, but the sum on account of the spinners amounted to over 21 lacs. The spinners have to use a part of their own yarn. So a good portion of the product of the loom will automatically find a ready market. In addition, every loom will find a local market close by. Such local sales amounted to 17·6 per cent of the total production in 1938 when for the first time attention was directed to popularise sale in the area of production. Local sales registered a rise of 90 per cent over the preceding year. When the required skill and efficiency in spinning is acquired, the handloom product with these two marked advantages will be easily able to hold its own against the mill product and, perhaps, in time, oust its rival completely from the market. The latter contingency need not be viewed with alarm. Between the two, the handloom and hand-spinning will provide employment to an infinitely larger number of people than the power-loom can ever hope to achieve. And it is employment that the country needs and not labour-saving devices.

A prejudice exists among the weavers against handspun yarn. Highly skilled weavers are averse to this yarn. Their objection is that the yarn is coarse, uneven and not strong. The prejudice is based on the early efforts of introducing spinning. The yarn, then, had the defects mentioned. Great progress has been made since and khadi now extorts the greatest surprise and admiration from erstwhile scoffers by its quality and texture. Nationalist India is fond of recapitulating with pride the days of the Dacca muslin, yarns of which would pass through a slender finger ring. That too was khadi, the yarn was hand-spun. Is there any reason to suppose that the old skill cannot be recaptured? Already yarn of 60 S is not very uncommon. All the beautiful, much admired designs and patterns of the old Orissa textiles have been reproduced in khadi. But prejudices die hard and great ignorance about khadi still prevails. It is true that yarn of the finer counts are not easily available, nor abundantly; but it is only a matter of time. Every industry has to struggle in the first few years before it gets established even with the best of goodwill from all quarters. Unfortunately, khadi was not only denied this advantage, but it still has to struggle uphill against great odds. Practical experience, however, has left no doubt that, given regular employment, a weaver is too glad to weave khadi. The problem with majority of weavers is to find bread and it is only a few who are squeamish. Some of the latter say that their looms will not take hand-spun yarn because they are attuned to finer counts. The obvious retort to that is to ask them to change certain parts of their looms. Man cannot be a slave to his machine. But greater the skill acquired in spinning the quicker the prejudice will die. It has also to be remembered that the demand for finer cloth is very limited and therefore need not cause perturbation when planning the revival of a great industry. The mass of consumers use the coarse cloth of 16 to 20 S.

Some say that by confining all activities to khadi succour is being denied to the majority of weavers. But this criticism is of little value. The total sales in 1938-39 under the Madras marketing organisation of the Madras Government was below a lac of rupees. Obviously that organisation could not have provided work to any appreciable number of weavers. The sales of a similar organisation of Bombay was Rs. 1,17,000. The Bihar sales amounted to Rs. 1,32,066. The extent of employment of weavers depends on the volume of business and not on its complexion, and a State marketing organisation will not necessarily remove to any great extent unemployment amongst weavers. The market of khadi is not so limited as some imagine. The net sales in 1938 rose to Rs. 54,98,620 from Rs. 45,32,729 in 1937.

Another complaint, born more of ignorance than prejudice, is that khadi does not last long. This may have had some force in the early days of khadi when spinning was in its infancy. That stage is now past at most places, though beginners will always turn out poor material as spinning progresses, *i.e.*, moves into new areas. But great improvement has been found under tests held by the central organisation of the A. I. S. A. of samples from provinces in the tensile strength of yarn. Durability rests on this strength and uniformity. Uniformity has reached the maximum of 100 and the majority lies in the eighties and nineties. In tensile strength, the highest point reached is eighties in Madras and fifties, sixties and seventies are very common. Efforts are constantly being made to improve the quality of yarn in all its aspects and marked results have been achieved. Also, the experience of khadi wearers of the present day definitely is that the hand-spun and hand-woven material lasts as long as any mill-made cloth, or cloth made by the hand-loom with mill yarn. In fact, it lasts longer. The scoffer, however, should be careful in making his purchase when he should avoid the spurious and buy only from the A. I. S. A. stores or from certified agents.

Khadi is an uneconomic proposition, why should it be fostered? This is often heard amongst the educated in economics. To them the reply is that there is a practical aspect of every problem and theories must be based on facts as we find them. This is the only rational view that should count. What we find in India of the present day is mass unemployment. How is it to be relieved? Some say, industrialise the country. Though industrialisation has been in India for the last 40 years it has made negligible effect on employment. Take the textile industry which today supplies 65 per cent of the demand of the country. India has a very high place amongst the greatest cotton manufacturing countries of the world. In 1938 the mills' production amounted to 4,090 million yarns, yet the industry gave employment to only 4,38,000 hands. Though it is very difficult to precisely estimate the handloom production, and authoritative source placed it at 1,600 million yards in 1938. Employment here was confined only to the weavers, the mills supplied the yarn. Now turn to khadi. In 1938 the total production of khadi was only 12½ million yards, but the industry gave employment not only to 18,632 weavers and 6,747 other artisans including ginners, carders, dyers and printers but also to 2 lacs and 82 thousand of spinners. Based on a calculation of the All India Village Industries Association we shall need 33 lacs of people if we supplied all our requirement by mill production, while we would employ 800 lacs if our supply were to come in the shape of khadi. The Association further says that the capital required by the mills would then be Rs. 300 crores, but on the cottage industries basis the amount needed would be only 72 crores. This is the practical aspect of the economics of khadi. We have to find employment and food for our millions of starved and half-starved men and women. Here is a way of obtaining this. Should we or should we not grasp it? One who feels for his countrymen will have no hesitation in making the choice.

The price of khadi is undoubtedly high, but with increasing efficiency in production it will surely fall. The average price per yard of the mill-made cloth in 1929 was 3·81 annas while it was 2·48 annas in 1936-37. The consumer has to pay a price for the development of the industries of his country. Mostly the payments are indirect and escape notice. Nevertheless he pays. In the case of khadi it is a direct payment. Once this is realised, the objection to khadi on the score of price will lose value. Again, after all, what is an average man's budget provision for clothing? If each one of us will calculate what additional amount we have to pay for using khadi we shall soon find that it is not a sum that we cannot afford by adjustments elsewhere. It has to be remembered that every pie of it is giving food to a hungry mouth.

There are no cotton mills in Orissa. Therefore, by advocating khadi we are not acting prejudicially against another industry of the province. This is not a narrow parochial view. Why should not each province be self-supporting in its essential requirements when conditions existing within the country favours their production? This should be the aim of every province in India. As a matter of fact this is one of the fundamental problems of India as a whole and perhaps of the world. There should be planning and control of production the world over. Orissa is in a favourable position in the matter of textile. She has no cotton mill industry, whereas the handloom industry is large, skilled, efficient and has a future. Undoubtedly the mill industry is cutting across the path of the handloom industry. Therefore the latter needs protection. In giving protection there need be no false qualms of conscience. It should be adequate and effective.

It is about time that thoughtful people in Utkal turned their attention to the possibilities of the khadi industry. What is required is a

dispassionate study of the subject. All prejudices must be shed. True, it began as an emblem of a political party, but that should not condemn it if it has merit. Besides, it has long ceased to be solely identified with the Congress. Other organisations, both political and non-political, advocate khadi. Men and women with no interest in politics use it. Lately Government of India allowed their contribution to the Orissa Government to be utilised in marketing khadi. Hand-spun and hand-woven material is held in esteem in practically all countries of the world, not excluding the country of the British.

AEROPLANES IN ANCIENT INDIA: A FANCY OR FACT?

By T. V. SUBRAHMANYAM, B.A.

CHAUCER says that "the word should be cousin to the deed". Sir Walter Raleigh remarks that "in a wider sense the word is always cousin to the deed" and that "man's imagination is limited by the horizon of his experience." If these statements are universally true and are applicable to all writings of all ages and all countries, then there is reason to believe that there were aeroplanes and flying chariots in ancient India.

In many ancient Sanskrit works of India there are plenty of references to Vimanas or flying chariots.

In the Ramayana, the Rakshasa king of Lanka (Ceylon), Ravana is said to have possessed a beautiful *vimana* by name Pushpaka. It is in this *vimana* that he carried away Sita, when on the way, he had to encounter in the sky with the mighty vulture, Jatayu. It is in the same vehicle that Sri Rama returned from Ceylon to Ayodhya (Oudh) after slaying Ravana in a battle. It is said that the Pushpaka *vimana* carried back not only Sri Rama and his wife but the whole of the Vanara army. Think of its carrying capacity!

In the Mahabharata there are frequent references to hordes of aeroplanes clouding the sky and watching the battles and fights below on the terra firma. There are no records, however, to show that these aeroplanes were employed for raiding or bombarding: they were simply pleasure-cruisers of the air.

In the same work there is an interesting anecdote of a Gandharva (superman) carrying away as captives all the Duryodhanaites (Hundred Princes) in his *vimana*. On his way through air the captives cried out for refuge and hearing their cries, Arjuna, the famous archer, is said to have stopped the course of the *vimana* with a single arrow. The beauty with regard to this *vimana* is that with the hit of the arrow it did not fall to the ground, as modern ones do, but only ceased to proceed further.

In the Bhagavata also there are many descriptions of *vimanas* and flying chariots. All are known for their great speed and carrying capacity; but nothing is there to show what the nature of the force employed to propel them was and the details of their construction.

Since there are neither historical records nor archaeological remnants to show whether such aeroplanes actually existed in India or not, and since the world, requiring *facts and figures*, reject and not believe what they cannot prove, the above references will be considered by most of us only as the creation of poetic imagination and not as reality.

The statement that 'man's imagination is limited by the horizon of his experience' therefore, cannot be applied word for word to all writings—especially to the imaginary works of poets, who, as Shakespeare says, can 'give to airy nothing a local habitation and a name'.

Those who believe in the theory of reincarnation and the cyclical deluges, those who believe that man carries with him faint remembrances or experiences of his past generations and those who believe in the rotation of civilization and scientific advancement a climax at one time and deterioration at another—can agree with the above statement in its entirety; for, in the course of the millennium there is nothing man has not experienced or imagined. But to the 'moderns' who spurn philosophy as idle and measure life in a short span with a birth at one end and death at another, the statement if reversed to read as 'man's experience is limited by the horizon of his imagination' will appear more realistic.

SCHEDULED CASTE REPRESENTATION IN THE BENGAL ASSEMBLY

BY JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA

THE Communal Decision, miscalled the Communal Award of the late Mr. Ramsay MacDonald was published on the 18th of August 1932. Very soon after began Mr. Gandhi's epic fast, and the Award was modified by the Poona Pact, with regard to the representation of the Depressed or the Backward castes. Under it the representation of the Depressed classes or castes was increased from 10 to 30 in Bengal; but it was to be through joint-electorates, with reservation for them.

Writing in *The Modern Review* for April 1932, we said :

"Another effect of giving separate representation to the entire group of Depressed Classes will be to help certain castes to get almost a monopoly of representation to the exclusion of other castes. Our meaning will be clear from the following table showing the respective number of Namasudras, and other Depressed Classes in the districts named below :

	Total Hindus	Total Depressed Classes	Namasudras	Other Depressed Classes
Dacca	1,069	447	257	190
Faridpore	816	495	411	84
Bakarganj	754	373	330	43
Khulna	727	481	228	256
Jessore	656	358	179	179

"Thus, Namasudras, being the most numerous single caste in the above five districts, are either in absolute majority over the other depressed classes, or in sufficiently large majority to prevent the return of other depressed caste members to the legislature, if separate electorates be conceded to the depressed classes. It is perhaps for this reason that the Namasudra representative in the Bengal Franchise Committee, the Namasudra witnesses before the Lothian Committee and most Namasudra associations have pressed for separate representation, as opposed to reserved seats in the local legislature.

"What we have stated above about the Namasudras may be true of other castes in other areas.

* * * *

"We shall now deal with the suggestion of reserving seats for depressed classes. This reservation, we presume, will be proportional to the numerical strength of the respective castes. Suppose the strength of the Council is increased to 500 with 50 million people. Every 1 lac will have a seat. Even then the smaller castes like the Koiris will have to wait for 40 years before they can take their turn in the Legislative Council. Sometimes, when the turn for a particular caste comes, the electorate will be forced to make a selection of some half-educated man in preference to really qualified men; *e.g.*, out of the 2 Garos who are literate in English in preference to the Missionary who educated them. The Bauris are 3 lacs strong, and as such entitled to 3 representatives. The electorate will have to make choice out of 104 literates in English, of whom perhaps half are minors. If it is suggested that seats be reserved for the depressed classes porportional to their aggregate total strength, *i.e.*, in the proportion of 11½ out of 46, there is no virtue or merit in the suggestion, excepting that of depriving to a certain extent the highly educated caste Hindus from getting into the legislature as representative of the depressed classes. Those castes among the depressed classes, who are either most numerous or most educated, will monopolise the representation in the legislature to the exclusion of the minor and more backward castes."

Although there is theoretical difference between reserved seats and separate representation, the practical effect in Bengal is almost nil, because of the primary elections or selections of a panel of four scheduled caste men being confined to them. Unfortunately for the country our above anticipations have come true; out of the 8 seats reserved in the above five districts, where the Namasudras are in a majority over the other depressed classes, 6 if not 7 (as we are not sure about the caste of one of the members, but who is reported to be a Namasudra) seats are captured by them. It is only in Khulna the Namasudras share the honour with a Pod or Paundra-Kshatriya.

According to the Scheduled castes Order issued under the Government of India Act 1935, 76 castes are included in the Schedule for Bengal. Excluding the Chittagong Hill Tracts where the present Reforms do not work, the strength of all the Scheduled Castes in Bengal is 9,124,925 according to the 1931 Census. The individual strength of some of these scheduled castes varies from 19 Hos, 28 Kans, 44 Dhenuar, 203 Bhinjia, 876 Halalkhors to nearly 7 lakh Pods, 15 lakh Rajbanshies, and 21 lakh Namasudras. There are 11 Scheduled castes which number less than 1,000 each; and the total of these eleven castes come up to 3,185 only. We wonder why the Naiyas and Kichaks, numbering respectively 3 and 2 males each have been left out of the Schedule, although they were included among the untouchables in the Census Report, perhaps as no female Kichaks or Naiyas were found anywhere else, these castes (which according to some were manufactured in the

Census Office) were left out on mature consideration.

Although there are 76 castes in the Bengal Schedule, only 14 of them produced candidates at the primary elections held in 1937. Seven Scheduled castes, each with a strength of more than a lakh, did not or could not produce any candidates. Thirty seats, as stated before, are reserved for the depressed or the Scheduled castes. For every seat, four Scheduled castes candidates are to be elected to the panel through the primary elections. The following castes produced the number of candidates noted against their names in the primary elections :

Name of Caste	No. of Candidates
Bagdi	3
Dhoba	5
Dosadh	1
Jalia Kaibartta	3
Jhalo Malo	7
Kastha	1
Muchi	4
Namasudra	44
Patiya	1
Patni	1
Pod	13
Rajbangshi	22
Santal	1
Sunri	22
14	128

Of these 128 candidates, 28 withdrew their candidature, and the nomination papers of as many as 12 were rejected, with the result that 23 seats out of the 30 reserved for the Scheduled castes, were filled up without any contest. Thus the caste Hindus could not get any opportunity of voicing their opinion in the final election of these 23 gentlemen.

There were contests for the remaining 7 seats, 36 candidates contested the primary elections—of these 4 forfeited their deposits. The percentage of votes polled to the number of Scheduled caste electors in these primary contests varied from 20·32 to 36·2; and the average was 27·03. The provincial average of votes polled at the final elections was 40·5 per cent. Thus the percentage of the Scheduled caste electorate which voted at the primary elections was rather low—was it due to apathy on the part of the electors, a Sunri voter, for example, not caring to vote for a Pod candidate, or lack of personality in the candidates ?

Women electors are not expected to vote in the same strength as men. In the final elections, only 5·2 per cent of women electors voted as against the general percentage of 40·5; or roughly one woman voted out of every eight. In the primary elections, only 0·6 per cent of women electors voted as against the average percentage of 27·03; or roughly one woman voted out of every 45. The number of Scheduled caste women electors in the contested constituencies was 18,947; of these 114 only excercised their franchise.

In 6 constituencies for the 7 seats (1 being a 2-membered constituency), there were contests. In 5 cases, the gentlemen who topped the polls at the primary elections, were finally elected at the general election. The caste Hindus either did not, or could not interfere with the first choice of the Scheduled castes. Of the two other cases, in one, one who was *second* at the primary election was finally elected at the general election—he did not poll at the final election even the number of votes he polled at the primary, we do not know the exact reasons of the fall of his popularity, but that the caste Hindus had nothing to do with it is self-evident; in the other one who was *fourth* at the primary was finally elected (this was the 2-membered constituency) —and the caste Hindus may be said to have had a hand in his final election.

Thus so far as the results of the First General Election under the new Constitution are concerned, only in *one* case out of *thirty*, the caste Hindus may be said to have any hand in the final election of the Scheduled caste candidates.

Of the thirty Scheduled caste M.L.A.s in Bengal as many as 10 or 11 are Namasudras; 3 or 4 are Pods and 7 or 8 are Rajbangshies. These three castes cannot claim more than 14 seats out of the 30 reserved for the Scheduled castes on their total population strength. The total population of the Scheduled castes in Bengal is 91 lakhs, out of which Namasudras are 21 lakhs, Rajbanshies 15 lakhs and Pods 7 lakhs.

Out of the 76 Scheduled castes, 14 produced candidates; and 6 or 7 castes were finally elected. The actual number is immaterial; as was anticipated many castes cannot produce proper candidates; and amongst those who can or do produce candidates, some castes being in a hopeless minority, can never hope to be successful. In our humble opinion the time has come when the question of the representation of the different depressed castes, as well as the question of reservation of seats for the Scheduled castes as a whole should be re-examined.

SOME EUROPEAN ADVENTURERS IN SIND

By A. B. ADVANI, M.A., LL.B.

Across the pages of the history of Sind with its hordes of Arab, Moghul, Afghan and Hindu personalities who figure therein, flit occasionally the names of Niccolao Manucci, Charles Masson, James Howell, Hest and other Europeans whose names are obliterated by the dust of time. Like faded leaves of old forgotten books and records, they lie unknown and forgotten in the limbo of the past, except perhaps by some curious student of Sind history, poring over musty and moth-eaten files and documents in some neglected archives, the repositories of much valuable information about the past.

Though in Northern as well as Southern India, the European adventurers crowded round the flag of the Moghul Emperor, or Tipoo Sultan, or Maharaja Runjeetsingh, yet very few of them drifted to the unhappy valley of the Indus. Perhaps Sind offered few temptations to these soldiers of fortune. This paper deals with some of those European adventurers, who either passed through Sind, or remained here for a while and then pushed forward to "fresh fields and pastures new."

No doubt there must have been European adventurers in Sind before Niccolao Manucci with whom this paper starts, but the information about them is so scanty and unreliable that we do not consider it proper to mention them. Perhaps a patient and long research work in the Portuguese and Dutch archives will throw some light on the adventurers of those nations who came to Sind in the distant past.

Niccolao Manucci

Manucci's *Storia Do Mogor* in four volumes, is a mine of information and gives a detailed account of this Italian adventurer's life. Manucci was born in 1639 and at the age of fourteen having "a passionate desire to see the world, but as my father would not allow me to leave Venice, my native place, I resolved to quit it in some way or another."[1] In 1633 he secretly boarded a ship bound for Smyrna and attaching himself to Viscount Bellomont, an English nobleman, then on his way to Persia and India, he followed him through Asia Minor, Persia and finally India, meeting with several adventures on the way. Both Bellomont and Manucci remained at Surat for about four months from January to April 1656 and then left for the Imperial Court at Delhi. On the way, at Hodal, Bellomont died and Manucci was left all alone to shift for himself as best as he could. But he was a youth of considerable resource and with the help of a Frenchman Clodio Malier and Dara Shikoh's secretary Wazir Khan, he soon found employment as an artilleryman in the service of Prince Dara. At this time, at the Moghul court, any foreigner who could handle or boast of knowing a gun, at once found favour in the royal eyes, there being a craze for employing Europeans in the Moghul army. Manucci's salary was fixed at Rs. 80 per month and he was given a dress of honour and a horse. Soon after Shah Jahan fell ill and his four sons made preparations to seize the throne. It is outside the scope of this article to deal with the wars and intrigues which took place after Shah Jahan's sickness. After sustaining a severe defeated at Dharmat, Dara fled to Agra and thence to Lahore, relentlessly pursued by Aurangzeb. Till Dara's death in 1659, Manucci followed his varying fortunes, refusing to transfer his allegiance and services to Aurangzeb. From Lahore to Multan and then to the mid-river island-fort of Bukhur, Dara fled accompanied by Manucci. When Dara and his followers arrived opposite the fortress of Bukhur, word was received that Bahadur Khan, Aurangzeb's general, had arrived quite near. Dara sent some 2,000 selected men, Pathans, Sayyuds, Moghuls, Rajputs, including some twenty-two Europeans of different nationalities to Bukhur to hold out against Aurangzeb's army. Manucci writes :

> "When I knew of this order : I presented myself before Dara, and urgently besought him to take me along with him...... I renewed my application with protestations and entreaties added to tears, indications of the grief I felt at our separation, asking him to leave all the rest behind him and take me along with him..... I was overcome with tears and sighs at this parting, and, seeing the downcast state in which I was quitting the presence, he called me back. He then made me Captain of the Europeans, and ordered them to give me 5,000 rupees to divide among my men, and doubled my pay."

1. *A Pepys of Mogul India,* being an abridged edition of the *Storia Do Mogor* of Niccolao Manucci, translated by William Irvine, p. 1 and *ff.*

Dara set out for the port of Sindri in the south-east of Sind and from there he sailed for Gujerat. The siege of Bukhur now began in earnest. The island of Bukhur, we learn, was 975 paces long and 553 broad. In the middle was a tower overlooking both the banks of the river. On the east lay Sukhur, on the west Rohri and towards the north there was the small island of Khawja Khizr. In the fortress there was plenty of artillery and munitions of war, besides a considerable quantity of gold and silver and precious stones. In haste, Dara had also left behind some ladies who had accompanied him, and his two grandsons. The attack began with two batteries mounted with cannon doing great damage. But Dara's artillerymen stoutly replied and under cover of their own artillery sallied forth, rushing into the enemy's trenches, killing and destroying all whom they found there. The enemy found it impossible to overcome by force of arms such gallant foes. So they shot arrows in the fortress with letters attached to them in which the European artillerymen were invited to abandon the service of Dara. One night one of the arrows hit Manucci on the shoulder while he was sitting in his bastion. He took the arrow to the commandant of the fort who rewarded him for his fidelity. The siege went on and the besieged garrison were in sore straits. Food became so scarce that Manucci bought two calves for six hundred rupees, paid thirteen rupees for one chicken. An ounce of butter cost one rupee. Aurangzeb's governor, Khalilullah Khan, made further overtures to the Bukhur garrison who got so enraged that it was decided to teach him a lesson. A letter was written to Khalilullah Khan by Primavera, the commandant of the Bukhur garrison that the desired agreement would be entered into if Khalilullah Khan himself came down from Lahore. Overjoyed at this outward weakening of the Bukhur force, Khalilullah Khan hurried down to Bukhur and sent a very civil letter to Primavera. This brave and loyal soldier ordered Manucci to load a cannon up to the very muzzle with horns, old shoes and such other rubbish. A letter was written to Khalilullah Khan to the following effect :

"I hold few words with you, for I am greatly amazed at you, and I hope to supply your want, having been all your life a pimp and used to shoe-beatings from women. Herewith what you deserve, I offer you a present proportioned to your merits."

When it seemed that Khalilullah Khan must be reading the letter in his camp, Manucci was told to fire the cannon, covering the enemy's tent with the charge it contained. For forty days more after this incident the siege went on. In the meantime Dara had been defeated and captured and was being taken up the river as a prisoner. Realizing that in all probability, the reduced garrison would come to a miserable end, Dara was pursuaded to write to Primavera :

"Unfortunate in the one for whom you fought, I now request and require you to deliver up the place."

This was a sad end and Primavera wept at seeing the letter. After getting an assurance for the safety of the garrison from Aurangzeb's army, the fort was surrendered. After fifteen days the Bukhur garrison embarked in some boats and voyaged up the river to Multan. Thus Manucci passed out of Sind. As we are not concerned with his further adventures, we will pass on to the next European adventurer.

Charles Masson

At the time (1826) when nothing or very little was known about Sind there appears on the scene, a dynamic personality in the shape of Charles Masson, the noted traveller, geographer, archaeologist and numismatist. Before Masson, no doubt Mr. Smith, Pottinger and others had come to Sind, voyaged up the classic river, the Indus, but they had not gone beyond Hyderabad. To Masson then, we are indebted for a detailed account of Sind's social, economical and political aspects. He was a small man, not very sociable and with his grey eyes, red beard and the hair of his head close cut, he might easily have been mistaken for a German.[2] Masson let out that he was an American gentleman, belonging to the state of Kentucky, and that he had been absent for several years from his country.[3] But was he really an American, who filled with wanderlust, wandered through Sind, the Punjab, Afghanistan and Persia, always in native dress, gathering much curious lore, mainly archaeological and numismatical, and illuminating the history of these countries from the mists of oblivion? Sir Thomas Holdich tells us[4] that Masson dressed in Afghan clothes, in the role of Afghan traveller, but more or less ignorant of the Afghan language, wandered through Sind, Baluchistan, Afghanistan and other countries, "living with the people, partaking of their hospitality, studying their ways, joining their pursuits, discussing their politics,......"

"He lived a strange life in those days. No one since his time has rubbed shoulders with Afghan and Baluch, intimately associating himself with all their

2. Grey : *European Adventurers in Northern India*, pp. 188 and 208.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 179.
4. Holdich : *Gates of India*, p. 345, et. seq.

simple and savage ways.... Absolutely penniless, yet meeting with a rough hospitality and real kindness now and then, and ever absorbing with a most marvellous power of digestion all that was useful in the way of information...... It was quite as often with the lowest of the gang as with the leaders that he found himself most intimately associated....

"Nothing seems to have come amiss to his inquiring mind. Archæology, numismatics, botany, geology, and history....it was all new, and an inexhaustible opportunity lay before him. He certainly made good use of it.... The route (which he crossed and re-crossed) is described with surprising exactitude, and it has only lately been possible to verify step by step the road he travelled. He could hardly have carried about volumes of notes with him."

So much for the eulogism of Sir Thomas Holdich.

It has recently been proved that this extraordinary person was formerly a private in the 3rd troop 1st Brigade of the Bengal Artillery, his real name being James Lewis. He served with his troop at the siege of Bharatpur and shortly after deserted and went to the Punjab[5] We have only to read about the condition of the soldiers employed in the service of the East India Company at this time, to realize why Private James Lewis alias Charles Masson deserted. At this period, military service in India was a life engagement and a man deserting from the Company's service was just like an escaped convict from any penal settlement. The pay of the Company's soldier was about 14 annas a day, to which was added rations and a free issue of two drams of rum per day. The soldiers were permitted a considerable amount of freedom off duty, and to make what female connexions they chose, without the ceremony of marriage unless they married Europeans or Eurasians. Flogging for slightest offences was common, 800 lashes being a favourite number. The humiliating part of this punishment to the English soldiers was that this punishment was given in the presence of the native sepoys, who themselves after 1820, were exempted from it. There were besides public executions. Life in the barracks was hard and dismal. There were no canteens, no recreation rooms. The barracks were filthy and there being no *punkhas* which came into use after the Indian Mutiny, the poor Tommy had nothing to do but to curse his lot. The soldiers sought the *bazars* for the company of the lowest of female kind, and and drowned their sorrows in alcoholic drinks of the strongest and deadliest variety. And a soldier could get gloriously drunk on four annas. The mortality from climatic conditions, hard life, disease and drink was appalling.[6] No wonder an educated person like Masson deserted and disguising himself as an Afghan traveller took to the unbeaten tracks, in Sind, Baluchistan, Afghanistan and other countries. Masson's personal narrative starts in 1826 with these words :

"In the autumn of 1826, having traversed the Rajput States and the arid wastes of Bikaner, I entered the desert frontiers of Bahawalpur."[7]

We will now follow him and his adventures as narrated by himself in his book, *Narrative of Various Journeys in Balochistan, etc.*

In the beginning of 1829, Masson joined a caravan from Candhar and proceeded towards Shikarpur. He was badly in need of clothes, his old *postin* having become so full of rents, that every day for about three hours he was occupied in repairing it with variously coloured threads. The patched-up garment presented a most singular and ludicrous sight. Besides, due to a toilsome trek of several marches, his shoes had got so worn out that they were fairly falling from his feet.[8] After halting at Rojan a border town between Kalat and Sind, Masson reached Jagan where Kasim Shah, the governor of Shikarpur, happening to be there, met him and spoke nicely with him. From this place Masson left the *Kafila* and travelled alone, going quietly from village to village, being well-treated by the villagers. After two or three days he reached Shikarpur where he stayed for two or three days, keenly observing this city, renowned for its wealth and Hindu bankers. He writes :

"As a city Shikarpur is indifferently constructed. The bazar is extensive, with the principal parts rudely covered, so as to exclude or moderate the heat, which is extremely powerful. As usual in Indian cities, there is the inconvenience of narrow streets; nor is too much attention paid to cleanliness. It would seem, indeed, that filth and wealth are inseparable."

From Shikarpur, Masson went to Sukhur passing his first night in a mosque. The *mulla* brought him a supper of bread and *dhal* which Masson enjoyed heartily. Then he crossed the river Indus in a boat refusing to pay the passage fee of one *pais* on the plea of being a Haji, and went to Rohri about which he says:

"The houses (of Rohri) have an antique and venerable appearance in the distance. The interior of the town is comparatively mean, and the bazar, while well-enough supplied with provisions, is very rudely composed."

5. *Punjab Records*, Book No. 102, Letter No. 65, dated 24th September, 1835, and quoted by Grey in *European Adventurers in Northern India*, pp. 194-195.

6. Grey, *op. cit.*, pp. 211 and *ff.*

7. Masson : *Narrative of Various Journeys in Baluchistan*, Vol. 1, p. 1.

8. *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 361 and *et. seq.*

From Rohri, Masson went to Khairpur by foot. At that time Khairpur was ruled by Mir Sohrab Khan, whose residence was in the very centre of the bazar, occupying a large space and surrounded by castellated walls. Masson considered Khairpur to be a filthy place.

"Looking at the stagnant marches around it, and the extreme heat, (it) need not be wondered at. The same causes, however, impart a beautiful verdure to its groves of mangoe, mimosa, and other trees. The water drunk by the inhabitants has alike a bad repute; but the Mir has a small well within his wall, so much esteemed, that his relatives at Haidarabad are frequently supplied from it."

After remaining for a month at Khairpur, enjoying the simple hospitality of one Mulla Hafiz who was in charge of a mosque, Masson again took to the road, going back to Rohri, and after inquiring about the road he had to traverse and remembering the names of the villages he would meet on the way, he proceeded, frequently losing his way but invariably well received by the poor villagers. After some five or six days he reached the village of Matteli and as usual repaired to the mosque for rest and refreshments. The *pesh kidma*, or servitor obligingly lit up an excellent fire and brought him and two other travellers, "plenty of bread and *sagh* or vegetables boiled with *roghan*, and seasoned, the vegetables being spinach or *meti* (*fenugreek*)." The two other travellers disdaining to eat such poor stuff, Masson sat down and made a good meal of it. From Matteli, to Pitah Shuher, Mirpur and then while inquiring for a small village about 8 miles distant, Masson came across a man who rudely asked him if he was a robber, to whom Masson humorously replied that he himself was one. What followed next is best narrated by Masson himself :

"A female standing by, invited me to her house, and when there told me to sit down while she prepared some bread and broiled fish for me. She was the handsomest woman I had seen in Sind, and very smartly attired. The women of Sind dress gaily, in bodices worked over with variously coloured silks in many patterns, into which they frequently insert pieces of looking glass. My pretty hostess wore a red silk bodice, tastefully decorated in this manner, which set off her fine form to a great advantage. So agreeable a companion detained me the greater part of the day, although I was not conversant enough with the country dialect to hold much profitable conversation, yet I understood that she had desires unaccomplished and that she languished to become a mother. I moved on to another village."

Thus from village, to village Masson went on, blessing those credulous people, who took him to be saint, with much solemnity and giving a witty or sharp reply if any one put awkward questions to him, till he passed out of Sind into Bahawalpur territory. Masson's journey to Lahore in 1829, was beset with very dangerous experiences. We learn that once on the way he was stripped off all his clothes by a band of wandering robbers who would not even allow him to sit by their fire. Next morning a passing Moghul soldier saved his life by giving him some food and a ragged cloak. He covered at one time, by easy stages, a distance of 369 miles from Fazilpur to Lahore, possessing only two rupees, of this *great* sum, we learn with almost envy, that Masson still had eight annas left in his pocket on his arrival at Lahore. Alas for the good old days, when travelling was so inexpensive and people so generous and hospitable ! At Lahore General Jean Francois Allard who was then in Maharaja Runjeetsingh's employment, promised him military service. Masson politely declined the offer and quietly left Lahore for Sind. He reached Rohri safely and then after going to Khairpur, staying as guest of Fateh Mahomed Ghori the minister of the Khairpur Mir, he intended to go down to Hyderabad. Being informed that the direct route from Khairpur to Hyderabad was most dangerous at that point where the frontiers of the two territories unite, he went to Shikarpur, from where accompanied by a friendly Afghan, he proceeded towards Larkana, which was then governed by Nawab Wali Mahomed Laghari. At a distance of 12 miles from Larkana, he got into a boat which was going down to Hyderabad and sailing past Sehwan, he reached Kotri from which place he visited Hyderabad. At Hyderabad he resided in the house of one Mirza Kurban Ali who was in the service of Mir Nasir Khan. "So cheap was subsistence," writes Masson, "that I did not expend more than three rupees, or about five shillings monthly." The fort of Hyderabad impressed him, about which he recorded :

"At the southern extremity of the town is the fort, a large irregular building, with lofty walls and towers conforming to the outlines of the scraped eminence on which they stand. It is built of kiln-burnt bricks, and, with its various lines of loop-holes, has a singular and interesting appearance."

The people of Hyderabad bragged too much to please Masson. If he inquired as to the revenue and military force, he was told exaggerated account of a crore of rupees and a lakh of *banduks* with Baloches to use them. Says Masson :

"I never saw anything in the shape of troop save the few mounted attendants who accompanied the Amirs on their hunting excursions."

Masson remained at Hyderabad for about four months. The cold season was nearly over and Masson had been afoot for about four years.

He therefore decided upon going to Karachi and thence make his way to Persia. He took to the Indus and sailed down to Thatta which he found in decay, yet having abundant vestiges of former glory as evidenced by a multitude of tombs on the Makli hills. He writes:

> "The town has seriously suffered during the last fifteen years, when its cotton fabrics gave way before the superior British manufactures. It yet makes *lun'gis*, and shawls of mixed silk and cotton which are esteemed."

From Thatta Masson walked to Karachi, encumbered with a sword which accident had thrown in his way at Hyderabad.

> "I had seldom travelled with a weapon, and think the solitary traveller is much better without one. In this journey, on several occasions I was obliged to put my hand on my sword, when, without it I might probably have passed without so much notice."

Reaching Karachi, Masson was thrilled with the sight of the sea, which he had not seen for so many years. There was considerable trade in Karachi and the town was "surrounded with dilapidated mud walls, provided with towers, on which a few crazy guns are mounted." Masson along with several historians and geographers consider Karachi as Alexander's Haven, the place which sheltered for some time the fleet of Nearchus in 326 B. C. From Karachi. Masson went to Muscat in an Arab country boat. After knocking about for few months at Bushire, Baghdad and Aleppo, at the request of European officials at Basra and a handsome donation of funds from Sir John Campbell, the then English resident in Persia, who were all interested in his wanderings and antiquarian and archaeological possibilities of Afghanistan, Masson was induced to return to Afghanistan and do systematic and organized work.[9] He took his passage in an Arab junk destined for Karachi and arrived at that place at night-time some where in April 1831.[10] The next morning as the boat entered the harbour, the Baloch soldiers stationed at the Manhora fort, fired some muskets over the party and ordered them to stop. A party of soldiers came on board their vessel. They had been informed that a *Feringhee* (Masson) on board this Arab boat intended to get down at Karachi. The leader of these soldiers recognized Masson but informed him that the governor of Karachi, Hassan Khan by name, had received orders from the Hyderabad Mirs, not to permit any European to land at Karachi. Masson also learnt that two European gentlemen were at that time, at one of the mouths of the Indus, anxious to proceed to Lahore by the river route, but were not being permitted to do so.[11] Masson protested that the Mirs' orders had a reference to ships of war and not to individuals, but all in vain. A party of three soldiers was left on board the vessel to guard Masson and to prevent his landing on shore. Masson who had poetic leanings has written some verses about this incident in his book, *Legends of the Afghan Country in Verse*, which I give below:

On Being Refused Permission to Land in Sindh

Although events seem adverse,
Chase sorrow from thy breast.
If not exactly as 'twas wished,
Perchance 'tis for the best.

Against the will of Heaven
Forbear unjust reproach;
If not allowed to land in Sindh,
Why do so in Beloche.

If the peril should be greater,
The glory will be more;
And e'en should fortune fail thee,
'T were folly to deplore.

So frail is human nature,
So feeble human sight,
Our measures oft are thwarted
But to put our motions right.

Then with pious resignation
Submit to Heaven's will;
The power erst has saved thee,
Implored, will save thee still.

No matter what thy danger,
Or whither ye may stray;
If the grace of God attend thee,
And cheer thee on thy way.

Steer, steer then for Ormarah,
And re-assure thy breast;
And be assured what Heaven ordains
Is ever for the best.[12]

Writing of such trite verses was no doubt amusing, but it did not solve the problem. The three soldiers placed on guard over Masson proved so uncivil that Masson ordered the crew of the Arab vessel, not to give them anything to eat. This had the desired effect of causing two of the soldiers to hail a fishing boat and going back to Manhora. The third soldier proving tolerably respectful was supplied his wants. Seeing Masson's medicine chest he

9. Grey, *op. cit.*, p. 188.
10. Masson, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 6 and *ff.*

11. These two European gentlemen were Lt. Alexander Burnes and Ensign J. D. Leckie, who were carrying a present of horses and an ornamental carriage to Maharaja Runjeetsingh. Cf. Advani: *His Majesty's Horses*, Vol. II, part 1, pp. 1-8, *Journal of the Sind Historical Society*.

12. Reproduced in *Calcutta Review*, Vol. XI, pp. 227-228.

insisted on having some medicine though he had no need of it. Masson administered a large dose of some strong purgative to him "which producing very sensible effects he was also glad to hail a fishing boat to rejoin his companions." This repulse at Karachi was disconcerting to Masson as it upset his all previously formed arrangements. Masson therefore decided to go to Makran and from there proceed to Kalat and other countries in the North. This proved to be a blessing in disguise, for when in Kalat, where and in the vicinity of which place he resided for seven months, he made several friends who ten years later, when he had the misfortune of becoming a prisoner there, were instrumental in saving him from destruction. From the inhospitable shores of Karachi, Masson went to Sonmeani and there some months later he learnt that when the Mirs were told of Masson's arrival at Karachi they had written to the governor of Karachi to facilitate the journey of Masson and to allow him to incur no expense on the way. The Mirs also rebuked the governor of Karachi for not permitting a defenceless and unassuming stranger to land, whom chance or necessity had brought to their territories.

We next hear of Masson, a few months later, in company of some merchants, entering Sind from Larkana side. It is easy to follow his tracks from the following itinerary:

Dera Ghaibi—Amil Got Ghai—Feridabad Got Hussen Khan- Bugh—Khodabad Babur-di-Got -Jui--Chinni—Trenni—Bubak -Baloch Got--Sehwan.

Masson had heard something curious about the village of Trenni, namely that the village of Trenni had an ignoble repute of dog-stealing. By his stay in the village he was able to verify for himself the truth of this strange rumour. One of the merchants in whose party he was travelling, had picked up on the road a very large dog. The merchant always expressed his fear that the dog would be lost at Trenni. All precautions were taken, regular watch was kept but in the morning there was no dog. At Sehwan Masson stayed in a *fakir's takia* overlooking the Aral canal and near the fort. The officers of Diwan Sangat who was the farmer of revenues at Sehwan on being informed of the arrival of Masson's party, came to ascertain the number of individuals so that provisions and foodstuff might be supplied to them according to the custom of Diwan Sangat. The party received a fair allowance of rice, flour, roghan and sugar. Masson found the fort of Sehwan in a dilapidated condition though the entrances were still well marked, writes Masson:

"Quantities of burnt grain, as wheat and gram are discovered in some parts. On examination of these, I found they were intermixed with fragments of bone and of cocoanut shells, ample proofs that they denoted spots of cremation. This fact also explains why coins, trinkets, and other trifles should be met with so frequently, they being merely deposits with the dead, as far as the coins are concerned, and the trinkets were attached to the corpse when consumed. I did not see any of the coins found, but understand that they are invariably Mahomedan, especially coins of the Caliphs."

Masson also visited the shrine of Lal Shah Baz and noted that the Mirs of Sind offered costly donations at the shrine and sometimes repaired to Sehwan to implore the good offices of Lal Shah Baz. From Sehwan Masson returned to Baloch Got and the party soon passed out of Sind to the West in the land of the Brohis.

There is very little left to record of Masson's rambles in Sind. We next hear of him in 1838, when he accompanied Sir Henry Fane, the Commander-in-Chief of the British armies in India. Sir Henry Fane was passing through Sind on his way to Bombay for embarkation to England. After seeing Sir Henry Fane off at one of the mouths of the Indus, Masson returned to Thatta for the purpose of seeing Sir Henry Pottinger, the then British Resident in Sind, and forwarding through him to England the manuscript of his book, from which we have quoted so freely.[13] What became of Masson after this date is beyond the scope of this article.

Robert Dick

Robert Dick, we learn from the book of Grey's *European Adventurers in Northern India*[14] was the illegitimate son of Major-General Sir Robert Dick, of the 42 Highlanders, a distinguished officer, who had served in the Peninsula, at Waterloo, and was killed at the Battle of Sobraon. Robert Dick started his military life in the Gwalior forces, then in the Skinner's Horse, from where in 1831 he drifted to Shah Shujah-ul-Mulk's army. He however did not agree with Shah Shujah. Inducing some 300 native sepoys to follow him, set out to seek service elsewhere and succeeded in finding it with the Mirs of Hyderabad. The Punjab Records mention that in Sind Mr. Dick was placed in charge of five guns and received Rs. 900 on account of his salary. He was also presented with a gold pendant and two silk flags, highly ornamented with gold and silver embroidery. He was also to have no officer appointed over him, and neither the Amir nor his officers were to interfere with him. When Mr. Dick had left

13. Masson, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 496.
14. Grey: *European Adventurers in Northern India*, pp. 311-313.

Shah Shujah's service, he had quietly[15] taken not only the salary of 300 sepoys but also the pay of the other half of the battalion. A Subedar of this unpaid half of the battalion traced him to Kotri and demanded a share of the money with which Mr. Dick had calmly walked off. The Subedar, Behari Lal by name, and Mr. Dick had many wordy battles and spoke about one another with a great deal of freedom, but nothing seems to have come out of it.

In 1835, Mr. Dick died of fever and excessive drinking.[16] It is not mentioned where he died.

Hest

Dr. R. H. Kennedy in his *Narrative of the Campaign of the Army of the Indus*, writes that on the 4th February, 1839, at Hyderabad, his friend Major B—came across a Greek commandant of Hyderabad Mirs' artillery, whose name has now been found to be Hest. Major B—and Hest drank a bottle of beer and another of Madeira, after which he confided in Major B— that his salary was Rs. 75 per month. to which stipend he added the pay of some 200 paper men upon his muster roll.[17] Considering that the average pay of an artilleryman was Rs. 6 per month, we find that Hest by showing two hundred non-existent artillerymen on the paysheet, added a not inconsiderable figure of Rs. 1200 to his modest salary of Rs. 75. Beyond this little bit of information nothing is known about Hest. Late Syed Qarm-ud-Din a contemporary of Maharaja Runjeetsingh and the author of *Recollections of Ranjit Singh's Officers* says, " Hest was a colonel in some regiment. It is not known where he fell or was buried. "[18]

Captain John Howell

We first hear of Captain John Howell at the Battle of Meeani on 17th February 1843. Nothing is known about his life prior to that date.

"At the Battle of Meeanie, in February, 1843, an Englishman who had been fighting in the ranks of the forces of the Amirs of Sindh as Commandant of their artillery, was taken prisoner.

"He was brought before the A. Q. M. G., Lieut. MacMurdo, and on being asked from where and whence he came, he replied : 'My name is John Howell; I am a Welshman, and formerly served in the Royal Artillery,[19] and am now in command of the artillery of the Amirs of Sindh.'"[20]

Sir Charles Napier gives slightly further information about this man. The entry in his diary on 8th December, 1844, reads thus :

"Mr. Howell, the man who commanded the Ameer's artillery at Haidarabad and Meeance against us, has been set free. My best has been done to effect this, for his story is doubtless true, namely, that matchlocks were placed to his head to force him to act; he has been two years a prisoner. When taken his conduct pleased me. To give him an opportunity of escaping I said, you are it is understood an American and free to go, though I might keep you as a prisoner of war. General I will not deny my country. I am an Englishman. Then you are a traitor and I must hang you. I hope not General. I am no traitor. Eight matchlocks were put to my head, I hope you will not put me to death. I acted against my will but I will not deny my country to save my life. Well Mr. Howell, I will not hang you, but you are a prisoner.... Poor man, he has been in these countries since he was eleven years of age and can hardly speak English."[21]

John Howell also called Chota Khan and at the Battle of Meeani he felt patriotic and fired his guns over the heads of the soldiers in Napier's force instead of into them.[22]

Sir Charles pitied the man who at the point of the sword, fired his guns at his countrymen and connived at his escape.

Some years after, Lieut. MacMurdo, now the Q. M. G. of Sir Charles Napier's force, was hurrying to North to assist in the first Punjab war. At Bahawalpur he called on the *wazir* of Bahawalpur whom to his great surprise he found to be no other than John Howell in native dress. He was now known as Captain John Howell and was spoken of as soliderly and efficient. He served well as supply officer in the Bahawalpur contigent, sent against the rebels under Dewan Mul Raj at Multan. Howell returned to Bahawalpur soon after and died there in 1865.[23]

Such were these Soldiers of Fortune penetrating the most distant places, after weary and toilsome journeys, suffering untold miseries, often dying far from their native land, leading a most hectic life, and who to repeat the words of Rudyard Kipling,

> Drilled a black man white,
> And made a coward fight.,

15. *Punjab Records*, Book No. 101, Letter No. 27.
16. Grey, *op.* and *loc. cit.*
17. Kennedy : *Narrative of the Campaign of the Army of the Indus*, Vol. I. p. 149.
18. Grey, *op. cit.*, p. 358.
19. Mr. Howell apparently made a mistake in saying that he served in the Royal Artillery, because the British Royal Artillery was stationed in India after the Indian Mutiny.
20. Reproduced from Grey : *European Adventurers*, pp. 355-356.
21. *The Life and Opinions of General Sir Charles Napier*, Vol. III, pp. 188-189.
22. Burton : *Scinde or the Unhappy Valley of the Indus*, Vol. I, pp. 151-153.
23. Grey, *op. cit.*, pp. 356-357.

THE PHONETICS OF THE TAMIL LANGUAGE

By SWAMI VIPULANANDA, B.SC. (London)

Former Professor of Tamil and Dean of the Faculty of Oriental Studies, Annamalai University

The Modern Review for July, 1940, gave the starting-point for the line of inquiry that has resulted in the form of this paper. The note on "A Tamil translation of *Krishnakānta's Will*" raised two questions, one of which was why "Krishnakānta" became "Krishnakāndan" and the other was why the heroine Bhramar(a) was presented under the name of "Pramra." The attempt to answer these questions led on to a number of other questions and finally to a systematic inquiry into the phonetic values of the letters of the Tamil alphabet as well as a comparison of these with the phonetic values of the English alphabet and the formulating of a few suggestions for an improved system of transliteration.

The science of phonetics is by no means new to the Indian languages. It is at least as old as the Vedas. Thol*k*āppiyanār, the ancient Tamil grammarian, who, according to Nachchinārkiniyār and other early commentators, lived before the time of Panini and Veda-Vyasa has, in his treatise on Tamil, devoted a whole chapter to phonetics. Nevertheless, no modern scholar, Indian or European, has attempted any systematic inquiry into the phonetics of the living language of twenty million people, a language with a rich past and a promising future. This paper is by no means exhaustive, it opens up some vistas of thought which may be pursued with pleasure by other students interested in phonetics.

I

The Tamil alphabet consists of thirty-one primal letters, twelve vowels (uyir), eighteen consonants (mei), and one glottal plosive (āy*th*am), which, although a consonant in effect, differs from other consonants in not combining with vowels to form vowel-consonants (uyirmei). The number of vowel-consonants is, of course, 12×18=216. Thus in all, there are two hundred and forty-seven written symbols in the Tamil alphabet. There are no conjunct consonants. The twelve vowels are divided into three groups: five short vowels, five long vowels and two diphthongs. The consonants are also divided into three groups: six plosives (vali), six nasals (meli), and six liquids (idai).

Consonants, when they are initial letters of words, are always followed by vowels, that is to say, only vowels and vowel consonants can be initials. All vowels can be initials. Of consonants, only nine (k, s, th, n, p, m, v, y, jn—the values of these symbols are given elsewhere in this paper) can be initials. The six plosive consonants cannot end words unless they are associated with what is known as the abbreviated "u" final. We shall refer to it as the neutral "u All other consonants with the exception of the nasal "ng" can be finals. The neutral "u" sound plays a very important part in Tamil both in speech and in prosody, we shall discuss more about it later. Thol*k*āppiyanār considers the neutral "u" sound as a separate letter, there is also a neutral "i"; with these two additions, Thol*k*āppiyanār makes the primal sounds thirty-three.

Tamil grammarians have carefully studied the phonetic values of letters and have given full descriptions of the organs of speech and the manner in which particular speech-sounds originate. They have also framed elaborate rules about the succession of letters and have formulated rules of euphony to harmonize the juxtaposition of incompatible sounds.

The international phonetic alphabet testifies to the fact that no alphabet can be perfect. The framers of the Tamil alphabet recognising the impossibility of having separate symbols for each speech-sound have avoided the multiplying of symbols by making one symbol to work for more than one speech-sound. Confusion is avoided by recognising that proximate letters modify the phonetic values of particular symbols. We shall illustrate this point in the course of this discussion.

II

Taking up the vowel-sounds, we note that the long vowel-sound heard in "far," "father" is the 2nd vowel of the Tamil alphabet, the vowel-sound heard in "but," "butter," is the 1st vowel; the 4th vowel is heard in "eat," "ease" and the 3rd in "in," "thin"; the 6th is heard in "cool," "moon" and the 5th in "good," "book." These six are usually trans-

literated by a, ā, i, ī, u, ū, the line above the letter being taken to mean that the letter concerned is to be pronounced long. The Tamil grammarians fix the time-value of the short vowels as one *matra* and of long vowels as two *matras; a matra* being taken as the time for the (unconscious) double operation of the closing and the opening of the eyelids or the making of a "click" sound with the thumb and the middle finger.

Of the remaining six vowels, the 9th and the 12th are the diphthongs represented by "ai" and "au" respectively. These are heard in "my," "cow." The semi-vowels "y," "v" which will be mentioned later as the 11th and the 14th consonants, often replace the "i" and "u," in "ai," "au" making them "ay," "av" respectively. "Aiyan," or "ayyan" (father, teacher), "auvai" or "avvai" (mother, old lady, name of a poetess). These two letters "y" and "v," which in this connection may be called "movable consonants" play another important part in Tamil speech. When a word ending in a vowel is followed by another beginning with a vowel, one of these movable consonants (y, v,) is brought in between the two vowels to prevent hiatus.

For words ending with the 8th vowel represented by "ē," both "y" and "v" can be used as the movable consonant. This suggests to us the fact that the 8th vowel has two distinct sounds: one of which is heard in "earn," "burn," "earth," "nurse" and the other, the English diphthong sound heard in "pay," "say," "make," "take." This sound should be phonetically represented by "ei." No separate symbol is, however, used in Tamil writing, for the two sounds are recognised by the consonants that follow. The sound heard in "earn," "burn" is followed by the movable consonant "v" and also by the consonants 1, 2, 5, 6, 9, 10, 15 and 16. The diphthong sound is followed by the movable consonant "y" and also by the consonants 3, 4, 7, 8, 12, 13, 17 and 18. The short vowel, the 7th represented by "e" behaves in a similar manner. When followed by the first group of consonants given above, it gets the first vowel-sound heard in "above," "about," "again." When followed by the second group of consonants given above, it has the sound heard in "end," "get."

The 10th vowel of the Tamil alphabet is also a diphthong in English. The Tamil 10th vowel is heard in the English words "no," "go." The English pure vowel heard in "dawn," "caught," "tall" is not found in Tamil; neither do we have in Tamil the short vowel-sound heard in "shop," "stop," "shot." The 9th vowel in Tamil is the same as the 10th with a shorter time-value. The 9th and the 10th vowels are represented by "o," and "ō" respectively. It may be noted here that the short "e" and "o" of Tamil are not found in Sanskrit. About ऋ, ऌ, the additional vowel-sounds of Sanskrit, we shall have something to say later. It may also be noted that the English vowel-sound heard in "fat," "cat" is not found in Tamil.

III

Using the international phonetic nomenclature, we can speak of the first ten consonants as, 1 the velar plosive, 2 the velar nasal, 3 the palatal plosive, 4 the palatal nasal, 5 the retroflex plosive, 6 the retroflex nasal, 7 the dental plosive, 8 the dental nasal, 9 the bi-labial plosive and 10 the bi-labial nasal.

So as to avoid giving the press the additional trouble of looking for special phonetic types, we shall, as far as possible, describe the phonetic symbols. Of the ten consonants mentioned above, the nasals may be considered first. The velar nasal is heard as the final sound of the words, "think," "thing." The phonetic symbol for it is "n" with the second stroke slightly lengthened and curved inwards. The palatal nasal is heard in "punch," "ginger." The phonetic symbol for it is "n" with the first stroke slightly lengthened and curved outwards. The retroflex nasal is heard in the words, "under," "earn." The phonetic symbol for it is "n" with the second stroke lengthened and curved outwards. The dental nasal is heard in "anthem" the "n" preceding the "th." The phonetic symbol for it is "n". The bi-labial nasal has the same value as "m" and is represented by it. The transliteration of the dental and bi-labial nasals presents no difficulty. In the case of the other three, "n" can do service for them when they are followed by their respective plosives. But it is a different thing, when these letters are followed by letters other than their plosives. The velar nasal can be represented by "ng," no confusion will result by the use of the digraph, for according to Tamil grammarians, the only consonant that can follow this letter is its own plosive. When the plosive is softened (this softening is dealt with under plosives in the next section), the nasal and the plosive following it will be represented by "ngg" the sound heard in finger (see *Oxford Concise Dictionary*, Note on pronunciation). When the plosive is hard "ngk" will represent the combination. When this letter is reduplicated we have "ngng". The palatal

nasal will be "n" when "ch" or "j" follows it. It is also represented by "n" with a wavy mark above it "ñ." As we are developing in this paper a system of transliteration which avoids diacritic marks, we urge the use of "jn" for the single letter and "njn" for reduplication. The retroflex nasal is "n" when followed by "d." In other situations 'n' (with a diacritic mark; where this is not available the small capital "N").

• Consonants 11 to 16 are the liquids. Of these 11, 12, 13, 14, may be represented by "y," "r," "l," "v," य, र, ल, व, the four semi-vowels of Sanskrit. In Tamil "r" is always preceded by a vowel; "l" is preceded by itself or by a vowel; "r" is never reduplicated and these two consonants can never be preceded by other consonants; they cannot also stand as initial letters of words. Consequently the Sanskrit words मित्र (a friend), नेत्र (the eye), क्रोध (anger), क्लेश (distress), लक्ष्मी (the goddess of wealth), when Tamilised become "miththiran," "neththiram" "kurō*th*am" or "kurōdham," "kilesam," and "ilakkumi."

The "v" when preceded by a vowel and followed by a vowel has the same sound as the English semi-vowel "w" heard in "away," "await." (But writing "w" for "v" will lead to some confusion, for in English "aw" in "saw" represents a single sound although it represents two sounds in "away"). We have already noted that "ay" and "tv" can replace the diphthongs "ai" and "av." Sanskrit ऋ ऌ, are rendered into Tamil as "iru," "ilu."

The 15th consonant is a letter peculiar to Tamil. We may represent it by "zh" (approximate); we shall consider it more fully later on. The 16th is said to be found in Vedic Sanskrit. It is the lateral non-fricative of the retroflex group, and as a lateral non-fricative, belongs to the same class as "l." It is known as the dark "l" in English phonetics and is heard in "rolled," "gold." It may be represented by "l" (with a diacritic mark; where letters with diacritic marks are not available, the small capital "L" may be used).

The 17th and the 18th consonants are also peculiar to Tamil (compared with Sanskrit). As a mute the 17th is the English "t" sound (Greek "tau") heard in "Tom," "hit," "attack" and is different from the retroflex "t" heard in "but," "butter," "mutter." The 17th consonant when mute may be represented by "t" and the 5th by "t" (with a diacritic mark; or by the small capital "T"). As a mute the 17th consonant is the alveolar plosive. In reduplication the double mute sound is often heard "pettār" (parents). But as a rule when the plosive becomes a vowel-consonant, it becomes transformed to the alveolar rolled sound, the "rr" heard in "sorry," "torrid," "burrow." We may conveniently use the digraph "rr" to represent the 17th consonant, when it is a vowel-consonant. No confusion will arise, because the 11th consonant the semi-vowel "r" is never reduplicated, as we have already noted. The 18th consonant is the alveolar nasal; it is heard in "Henry." This letter can never be an initial and cannot be preceded by any other consonant. When reduplicated or preceded by a vowel it has the same sound as the 8th consonant. Phonetically there is nothing wrong in representing it by the same symbol "n," but for etymological reasons a separate symbol is necessary and consequently this letter may be represented by *n* (italics) in the middle of words. In the end of words, the ordinary "n" would stand for the 18th consonant, because the 8th consonant as final is found only in two obsolete words "verin" and "porun."

IV

The five plosive, the velar, the palatal, the retroflex, the dental and the bi-labial, the discussion of which we are taking up now, present some difficulty to the student whose mother-tongue is not Tamil, because their normal values are modified by the position they occupy in the word and by the influence of proximate letters. For each of the five we can distinguish a hard-plosive, a soft-plosive and a fricative sound. What we mention here as "hard" and "soft" plosives are the "voiceless" and "voiced" plosives of English phoneticians. We shall explain the formation of the three types of sounds with reference to the bi-labial plosive. The air stopped within is suddenly released while the lips smartly open; the resulting sound is "p." The air outside is suddenly drawn in, while the lips smartly open; the resulting sound is "b." The lips being slightly open, the air stopped within is slowly released; the resulting sound is the fricative which we shall represent by "*p*" (italics), the usual phonetic symbol is the Greek letter "phi." This sound approximates to the Sanskrit Upadhmaniya sound. In Tamil all three sounds are represented by the same letter, the 9th consonant. This is quite practicable, for the softening into "b" is only optionally heard when the plosive is preceded by its own nasal "m." This is definitely optional, for in the living speech we hear "mp" as often as "mb." The name of the great Tamil poet as heard in Tamil-land may be written as

"Kamban" or "Kampan." In the second case, after the nasal sound the air is released out, in the first case it tends to be drawn in. When the plosive is preceded by a vowel or liquid (y, r, l, zh, *l* in this case) and followed by a vowel, the fricative sound results. This is nátural, because between two vowel-sounds or a liquid and a vowel, the plosion is definitely incomplete.

The observations made above refer to the other plosives also, which we shall now consider one by one. The normal value of the velar plosive is "k." When preceded by its own nasal "ng" this letter optionally becomes softened into "g." When preceded by a vowel or liquid (see above) and followed by a vowel it becomes the fricative "*k*" (italics), the usual phonetic symbol is the Greek letter "chi." This sound is approximately the Sanskrit Jihuamūliya sound. It is heard in the Scotch word "loch." As it approaches the pharyngal fricative, Sanskrit ह, it has also been approximately represented by "h." The symbol we propose to adopt "*k*" (italics) is in a way the best, for the affinity with "k" distinctly shown.

The normal value of the palatal plosive is "ch." When preceded by its own nasal, it becomes optionally softened into "j." When preceded by a vowel or liquid (see above) and followed by a vowel it becomes the fricative "s." The sound of this fricative is heard in "facade." As there are no separate sibilants in Tamil the symbol "s" will serve to represent the fricative. As an initial letter, the palatal plosive is usually heard as the fricative. When reduplicated or preceded by the retroflex and alveolar plosives or nasals it has the normal value "ch." This law applies also to the bi-labial and the velar plosives.

The retroflex plosive when reduplicated is represented by "t" or "T." When preceded by its own nasal it optionally becomes "d" (the normal sound of this English letter is Sanskrit ड). It is not preceded by other plosives, nasals or liquids. When preceded by a vowel and followed by a vowel, it has the fricative sound. In practice it is hard to differentiate this sound from the soft plosive sound and consequently we can use "d" for both.

The normal value of the dental plosive is "th" heard in "thick." It gets this value as an initial and when reduplicated. When preceded by its own nasal it is optionally softened into "dh," ("dh" is the symbol used by the *Oxford Concise Dictionary* to represent the initial sound heard in "they," "then." Sanskrit द . No confusion arises in using "dh" for "द ," because the aspirated sound "ध" — for which this symbol is conventionally used in romanising Sanskrit—is not heard in the Tamil language. We would emphasise here the fact, that we are attempting to evolve a system of transliteration which would help the foreign student unacquainted with Indian languages, but well-acquainted with English speech-sounds to read Tamil written in the Roman script as correctly as possible. This consideration has led us to use "th," "d" for त and ड without any hesitation). This letter is not preceded by other plosives or nasals. When preceded by vowels or the liquids (y, r and zh), it becomes the fricative, for which the phonetic symbol is the Greek letter "theta." This sound is heard in the words "wreath," "truth," "author." We shall represent it by "*th*" (italics).

At this stage, we can answer the questions raised in *The Modern Review* of July, 1940, under "Notes."

(1) The 7th consonant of Tamil is the dental, which we have shown is best represented by "th." "Krishnakanta" will be written in Tamil as "Krushnakānthan," the final "n" being the masculine ending in Tamil. We have already noted that Sanskrit ऋ is written as "iru" in Tamil. Now let us attempt to unravel the psychology of the error. We have noted in our discussion that when the plosive is preceded by its own nasal it tends to soften. This is definitely optional; the writer probably considering it (quite unconsciously) as an unalterable rule, has made त into द and conventionally transliterated it by "d," (the normal sound of this English letter is ड, as we have shown in our discussion). The error is psychological and is also the result of an imperfect system of transliteration. The present writer is thankful to the person who committed this interesting error, for it has lead to the unravelling of a phonetic and psychological problem. (2) As for "Pramra," as there is no "bh" sound in Tamil the 9th consonant has to do service for it. As an initial, this letter has the value "p". Again according to the grammarians, the initial consonant must be followed by a vowel forming a vowel-consonant; in the present case the vowel to be introduced is "i" and the word should be written as "Piramara." The omission of the "a" between "m" and "r" is not justifiable.

VI

Now to resume our discussion, we may observe that the sound of the 15th consonant

should be heard from persons who can pronounce it correctly, for it is not found either in English or Sanskrit. We are told that it is found in the Chinese language. The letter is mispronounced in many districts of Tamil-land. In Tanjore and Trichinopoly, if you call for plantains, the vendor in the railway-station stall will give you the right thing with the correct pronunciation; whereas his brother in Madras City often gives you "Vayaipayam," and his cousins in the southernmost districts and Ceylon present you with "Valaip-palam." The errors of the two extremes (the northern and southern districts) help us to arrive at the correct sound heard in the centre (Tanjore and Trichinopoly). The direction we can give to the outside student who has no opportunity to hear the living speech is to begin with the 16th consonant the dark "l" heard in "rolled," "gold" and end with the 11th consonant "y" The sound "*l*ya" repeated a dozen times rapidly in succession may lead to the correct pronunciation of the 15th consonant. The sound is approximately heard in the middle of the English word "soldier." The 15th consonant may be described as a semi-vowel allied to the palatal-alveolar fricative "sh" and "zh" heard in "fusion." The transliteration, so far used for writing the 15th consonant in Roman script is "l" with two dots below. We may preferably use "zh" which also has been used in some publications.

The glottal plosive (āy*th*am) may be represented by "ḥ" (with a diacritic mark or by the small capital "ʜ") : always comes between a short-vowel and a plosive and is a rarely occurring letter. It is found in "aḥrriṇai" (neuter gender). It approximates the "Visarga" of Sanskrit. In transliteration the English "f" into Tamil, writers have used the digraph combining the glottal and bi-labial plosives "f"= "ḥp."

The neutral "u" (kutrriyal-u*k*aram) to which we made reference in the preliminary remarks deserves a little fuller consideration. All roots in Tamil, nominal as well as verbal, are either monosyllables or disyllables. These may be followed by the neutral "u" which metrically is not counted as a vowel-sound. According to the grammarians the neutral "u" ends words in association with one of the six plosives which should be preceded by a long or a metrically-long vowel-sound. If the succeeding word begins with a vowel, the neutral "u" vanishes and the vowel is added to the plosive forming a vowel-consonant. When the succeeding word has an initial consonant the neutral "u" becomes the ordinary "u." These considerations suggest that the best way of representing this letter is by putting it within brackets thus : "(u)"; ād(u)+azha*k*(u)=ādazhak(u) (the goat is beautiful) : ad(u)+tha=āduthā (give a goat). As a final, the neutral "u" is almost completely slurred. The English words "make," "case," "code," "path," "pope" and "mar" will be written in Tamil as mekk(u), kes(u), kod(u), path(u), popp(u), and marr(u) and will be pronounced almost like the English words except in the case of the first word; for "e" followed by "k" has the value of the vowel-sound in "earn," "earth." Here the vowel-sound needed is the diphthong "ei". In transliterating English into Tamil we may make use of the Tamil neutral "i" representing it by "(i)" and thus we may write "me(i)kk(u)" and approach the correct pronunciation. A fuller development of this and allied topics is left to the future investigator.

VII

We shall now deal with some of the modifications which words undergo in the living speech. We shall only touch the fringe of a vast subject. Bernard Shaw's *Pygmalion* tells us how the phonetician transformed the flower-girl into a duchess. Such an achievement is left to the master-craftsman, but any novice can easily find out the district from which a person hails, his caste and social status by listening to his speech for a few minutes. Many practise the art unconsciously, but the study and application of the science of phonetics would certainly lead to greater efficiency. Colloquial Tamil is very different from book Tamil. The first law that we notice in the living speech is (1) the law of economy. The speaker (we do not mean the platform variety) tends to say the same thing in a less number of syllables than the writer. This is achieved by coalescing words and dropping letters and syllables. "Thevai illai"= "thevala" (not wanting), "niramba"="romba" (full, much), "payal"="paya" (boy), "varunggal"="vangga" (come), "keṭkirār"= "kekkār" (he asks), "irukkirra*th*(u)"= "irukk(u)" (is), "pō*k*a vittu"=pōttu (dropped) are common illustrations of the application of this law. The expression "en" (why) "adā" (you fellow)—used among friends and by superiors to inferiors becomes "enda" (note here that the alveolar nasal has become the retroflex). Brahman fathers will address their young sons "ēnda." In Ceylon the retroflex plosive is turned into the alveolar and we hear the same word as "ēnta." This leads us to another law observable in living speech, the

law of transformation of plosives, which may be stated in three parts as follow : (2) the retroflex becomes the alveolar, (3) the alveolar becomes the dental and (4) the dental becomes the palatal. We shall give an illustration, where all these take place; "pōi vittath(u)" by the law of economy becomes "pōitt(u)*th*(u)" (it is gone). Changing the retroflex into the alveolar, the Tinnevelly man and the Ceylon man would say "poittu*th*(u)." The Muslim trader may change the alveolar into the dental and say "peithth(u)*th*(u). Colloquial speech may further transform the dental into palatal and with other contractions produce "pōchch(u)." Thus "poi vittath(u) becomes "pōchch(u)," by a similar process ā*ki* vitta*th*(u) becomes "āchch(u)." "Vetrrilai"="veththilai" (betel leaf), "satrrē"="saththē" (for a little while), "vitrru"="bithth(u)" (sold), "vaiththa"="vachcha" (had), "therinth(u) viṭṭa*th*(u)="therinchichch(u)" (it is understood) are other common illustrations. (5) The fricative "*k*" is often slurred and elided in the living speech; "alai*k*irrāy"="alairrē" (you are wandering), "pō*k*irrān"="pōrrān" (he goes). After the elision, the preceding vowel gets lengthened, "a*k*aththukkarar"="āththukkārar" (house-owner, meaning husband) is heard among brahman ladies ; "akamudaiyan"="ambdayān" (husband) is heard among others. (6) The softening after the nasal is more observable in the living speech than in the "pandit's world"; "enkirrār*k*al"="enggrāngga" (they say so), "pōi vidungkal"="pōngga" (go away), "vēndum enrrāl"="vēnumna" (if you desire it so). (7) Transformation of the retroflex nasal into the bi-labial nasal occurs, "peṇ pi*ll*ai"="pomp*l*a" (woman), "ān pi*ll*ai"="āmp*l*a" (man). The plosive becoming softened gives "pomb*l*a" and "āmb*l*a." (8) In our discussion we noted some variations in pronunciation of the 15th consonant, here is one more; "izhuththukkond(u)" (drawing) is pronounced by the Madras rickshaw-puller as "izthkind(u)" with a distinct "z" sound.

(9) The neutral "u" which according to the grammarian is heard only associated with plosives at the end of words is found in the living speech associated with nasals and liquids and also as the penultimate letter before a final "m." "Ayyar" (the titular name for a brahman) is heard as "ayyar(u)," "yār" (who ?) is heard as "yār(u)," "nel" (paddy) becomes "nell(u)," "ka*l*" (today) *becomes* "ka*ll*(u)" "peṇ" (bride) becomes "poṇṇ(u)." "Irukkum" (it will be) is heard as "irukk(u)m." (10) The movable consonant "y" often appears before an initial "e" as in "yengyā" for "en aiya" (why sir ?) (11) The initial "v" often becomes "u" in colloquial speech, "vīdu" (house) becomes "ūdu." (12) The vowel "i" becomes "e" as in "nirraya" (full), "nerraya." (13) The diphthong "ai" becomes "ei," as in "vai*k*irrar"="veirrar (he scolds). (14) "e" becomes "o" as in "pen pillai"="pombla" (woman). The present writer strongly commends this line of inquiry to all lovers of Tamil who have the leisure to examine the living speech and explore its beauties and possibilities. He specially commends it to Shri T. K. Chidambaranāth Mudaliyār, who from the Trichinopoly broadcasting station, champions the cause of the living speech.

In conclusion we may sum up the results of this discussion as follows : Tamil language is not strictly phonetic; the various sound-values which a letter gets can, however, be definitely determined by the position of the letter and the influence of proximate letters. The man or woman whose mother-tongue is Tamil learns these values by a natural unconscious process. Foreigners who begin the study of Tamil will be greatly helped, if the different sounds which letters assume be indicated by different symbols, such symbols being chosen not arbitrarily, but by recognising the normal sound-values which such symbols have in the English language. We may also note that if the transliterated Tamil text has to be printed in italics, the italicized symbols "p," "k," "th" and "n" may be shown by the corresponding roman letters or under-lined italics. For purposes of transliteration, that is, for rewriting from the Roman script to the Tamil script, the symbols may be collected as follows : (We shall use 1v for 1st vowel, 2v for 2nd vowel, 1c for 1st consonant, 2c for 2nd consonant etc.) a-1v, ā-2v, ai-9v, au-12v, b-9c (soft), ch-5c, d-5c (soft), dh-7c (soft), e-7v, ē-8v, g-1c (soft), h or H—glottal plosive, i-3v, ī-4v, (i)-neutral "i" j-3c (soft, jn-4c, k-1c, *k*-1c (fricative), l-13c, *l* or L-16c (dark "l"), m-10c, n-8c (not final), n-18c (final), *n*-18c (medial), n or N-6c, n (ch)-4c, n(d)-6g ng-2c, n(j)-4c, njn-4c (reduplicated), o-10v, ō-11v, p-9c, *p*-9c (fricative) r-12c, rr-17c, s-3c (fricative), t-17c (mute), ṭ or T-5c, th-7c, *th*-7c (fricative), u-5v, u-6v, (u)-neutral "u," v-14c, y-11c, zh-15c.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

HAS FRANCE CONTRIBUTED NOTHING OF IMPORTANCE TO HUMANITY?

By BIJAYKUMAR GANGULI, B.A., B.C.S. (*Retired*)

In the August issue of *The Modern Review*, Mr. J. M. Ganguli has expressed his sympathy for FALLEN FRANCE, but having overcome his disinclination to look at her bad side has dilated upon it. He has, in my humble opinion, judged poor France by too high a standard. No human being is perfect, and so can no nation nor any Government be expected to be perfect. The writer of the article, FALL OF FRANCE, goes so far as not to give any credit to France for raising the slogan of 'Liberty. Equality and Fraternity' during the French Revolution, partly because a cry for freedom 'has always come, in one form or the other, from the people oppressed and tryannised over by their rulers,' and partly because France has not since always acted up to the ideal then set up. When self-governing public bodies or the Government do something very wrong, we do vehemently complain in our talks and discussions in our drawing rooms or *baitakkhanas*, but very seldom do we take the trouble or incur the risk of standing up in a body against such wrongs, though a welcome change has been very slowly coming on. So both before and after the French Revolution faint cries of Liberty may have been raised elsewhere, but it was to the credit of the French who in their vast numbers sacrificed themselves for the establishment of the high ideal set up, and it was French Revolution which ushered in democracy in most of the European countries, and later on in other countries. It is most unfair, I think, to disparage the contribution of France on this point.

As long as human nature remains as it is, it is perfectly futile to expect that even a respectable minority of human beings will be able to act up to the high ideal of 'Liberty, Equality and Fraternity,' or for the matter of that, up to the equally high ideal of 'Ahimsa.' The French have, like every nation, their strong as well as weak points. They are a highly intellectual, but at the same time extremely sentimental and so fickle-minded people; they are recklessly brave and so inordinately fond of military glory; and they hate to be considered to be inferior to any other fellow European nation.

These national characteristics explain why they made undreamt-of sacrifices for military glory under Napoleon, why they refused to be left behind by other European nations in acquiring vast territories. But they deserve to be given the credit of treating the subject people more like fellow human beings than other European nations. An Englishman, who visited all the European possessions in Africa long before the Great War, wrote, 'Had I been a native I would have preferred to be under the French than any other European rule.' Post-Revolution Russia, I may say in passing, was so long acting better than France in the matter of bringing other people under subjection, but unfortunately she has recently changed that policy for the worse. European control over other people has surely not, I may add, always been an unmixed evil.

The writer of the article further says, 'If we turn again to the culture and civilization of France little is found to praise and appreciate. . . . Did it prepare the French soil and atmosphere for the birth of a Buddha, a Jesus, a Sankaracharyya, or even a Socrates and an Aristotle?' I find it necessary to point out that Descartes, a Frenchman, is generally held to be the Father of Modern European Philosophy. 'The reform in the ways and methods of human thought, which abolished scholastic subtleties and disputes, and substituted for the authority of Thomas Aquinas and of Aristotle the guidance of sober deduction and scientific experiment' was mainly due to Descartes and the publication in 1637 of Descartes' *Discourse on Method* is held to be the turning point—(see Prof. Mahaffy's *Descartes*, p. 2).

Most of us fall into the error of thinking that intellectual development carries with it moral and spiritual development. The most intelligent persons are not necessarily superior morally or spiritually to those much inferior in intellect. The greatest and the most widespread frauds are now possible and they require always great intelligence. Extraordinary intellectual development without corresponding moral and spiritual development has been leading on the Europeans to their mutual destruction. The West has never been strong in spiritual development as the East, and it is quite unfair to accuse the French only for the defect common to all the western people.

In the estimation of Mr. J. M. Ganguli, the French scientists have been of scarcely any service to humanity as they have not come up to his standard, and this standard will, I am sure, appear to be absurd from the passages quoted below from his article:—'Moreover, have those scientists, after their work in the laboratory, transcended it and risen to a higher level to take a broader, deeper and a synthetic perspective of their work in order to appreciate the supreme purpose behind the manifestation of Nature? And, have they meditated over the ultimate teachings and indications of science and applied them to the advancement of human virtues and lasting happiness?" For the edification of his readers he should have given a list of the scientists in the whole world who have come up to his standard.

It is a great pity that the immense debt of gratitude that humanity owes to the French Scientists, to mention only two names, Louis Pasteur, the father of Immunology and the saviour of the silk industry, and Pierre Curie, the discoverer of Radium in collaboration with his Polish wife, has been totally ignored.

Civilizations have flourished, decayed and disappeared. Similar changes have overtaken nations too. It is very likely that the French are in the process of decay. Too much absinthe drinking and sexual indulgence may have been hastening the decay. But that is no reason why we should belittle their past achievements.

SOME THOUGHTS ON THE VILLAGE LIFE IN GUJARAT

By PRUTHURAY J. MAJMUNDAR, B.A., LL.B.

Society is an organic growth and while the rate of progress might vary among different countries none can deny that India is rapidly changing. The Indian villages, too, are not immune from this effect. The motor buses, railways and such other modern conveyances have brought villages in closer contact with urban life. The cinema, radios, phonographs, etc., have changed their vision. The spread of education has brought new ideas about life and religion. A general political awakening in the country brought about by the Satyagraha movement has made them think about their rights and privileges.

The village problem has engaged the attention of all concerned. The keen interest taken by H. E. the Viceroy is encouraging the Doubting Thomases to join the rural uplift movement wholeheartedly. The formation of the All-India Village Industries Association under the active guidance of Mahatma Gandhi has given a further impetus to this movement. The grant of one crore of rupees by H. H. the late Sir Sayajirao Gaekwar and of an equal sum by H. H. Pratapsinh Gaekwar for rural uplift work is also a striking proof of the genuine sympathies felt for the afflicted peasantry. Under these circumstances it would be necessary to bear in mind all the aspects of the village life and its tendencies.

The ordinary villager of today is not the same simple credulous and God-fearing villager of the past. The economic depression combined with the vagaries of nature such as the failure of monsoon frosts and floods have shaken the very foundation of the village economic structure. Today the villager is overburdened with debts. Everywhere there is a tendency to evade the Shahukar's dues. The latter resorts to law courts with the result that the villager's lands, houses and cattle are auctioned away. The Shahukar who, some years before, was a nonentity becomes a big landlord. Litigation and crimes increase. Poverty reigns supreme, love flies out at the windows, family ties are shattered to pieces, God is forgotten and the principles of morality are left to the books themselves. The proverbial village hospitality would perhaps remain a thing of the past. The bread problem has assumed a serious turn and the struggle for existence is becoming more and more acute.

Most of the houses in villages give a miserable appearance. The walls of houses are made mostly of clay and sometimes of dry cotton plants. The roofs are thatched with palm-tree leaves, or locally made clay tiles. The corrugated iron sheets are used by those who can afford to do so. All the houses are of course not like those described above. The boom that followed the last Great War enriched many villagers and they used the money in constructing big buildings like those of the towns. But there is no proper arrangement. What is required today is the entire reconstruction of the villages. It may be impracticable to pull down all existing structures but for the future at least a village planning "scheme" should be definitely adopted on the lines of the Hyderabad scheme.

Most of the village population is concerned with agriculture. There are people who advocate the use of machinery for the development of the agricultural industry. But generally speaking there is no land farming on a large scale, individual holdings are small and as such the field for the use of machinery is limited.

There should be a very well-thought out scheme for doing away with very small and consequently uneconomic holdings and the help of legislation may be sought for such a measure as is done in the Baroda State.* But this campaign must have its limits. India need not imitate the large scale farming scheme of America. The reasons are obvious. The evils of capitalism would spread in the agricultural industry which is quite free from such a menace at present. Again if capitalist methods are adopted, individual holders would be deprived of their living and it would also increase unemployment and discontent. What is wanted is a clear limitation of the economic holding sufficient to maintain a family of five to ten members.

In certain places large plots of land may be found, and intensive large scale farming may be allowed with the help of machinery to add to the national wealth, but our goal should not be "to deprive" the small holders of their living, in order to make a few people rich.

* This act has been repealed.

The Spendthrift Villager

Most of the "miseries" of the village population would not be existing today if the villagers had a sense of proportion in their expenses. On marriage ceremonials, and even on the painful occasions of deaths in the family they spend money out of all proportion to their income. The indebtedness of the peasantry is mostly due to this reckless expenditure. The villag Shahukar steps in under these circumstances and once he is let in, nothing pleases him to let go his hold over the poor victim. The indebted peasant barely maintains his family but gives all his produce to the Shahukar in order to wipe out the debt as early as possible. Accounts are stated in the big account books of the Shahukar, the peasant duly signs (or gets signed if he is illiterate) the khatas (promissory notes). Every now and then these ceremonies are gone through but there is no end to it. The peasant is amazed at the magic of the Shahukar's account books. Every year he pays all that he gets from the land but still the Shahukar's debt is increasing. He suspects something wrong and stops payment for a while. But the Shahukar would not let go things so easily. He drags the peasant to the court. The Shahukar produces the big account books and the latest khata duly signed by the debtor only a few months before the filing of the suit. The peasant has got no receipts for what he has paid. A decree is ultimately passed in favour of the Shahukar, and the poor peasant loses his land and he becomes a little less than a begger in the street.

This is the fate of the general peasantry at present. The village Shahukar is a necessary evil. He is useful so far as he finances the agricultural industry, and his total disappearance from the village economy is inadvisable. But at the same time step must be taken to check him from exploiting the poor villager.

The Village School-Master

Next to the Shahukar the school master is an important factor in the village life. He fulfils the role of a guide, philosopher and friend of the villagers. He forgets his own duties in the school and often meddles in village politics. If there is a khata or some such document to be written he is generally invited besides the Shahukar. He is their legal adviser as well and when disputes arise he is ready with his wits to add fuel to the fire. It is necessary therefore, to be very careful, in selecting teachers meant for village schools.

The elementary education is imparted in village schools. But very few students go for further studies and the knowledge gained by the students in reading and writing is soon forgotten. The result is that illiteracy and ignorance are the two very important problems confronting every scheme of rural uplift. Even in Baroda State, where primary educaion is compulsory this "waste" in education is engaging the serious attention of the authorities and steps are being taken to remedy this, by spreading a net-work of village libraries.

Though the percentage of the village students going for higher education may be very small, there is to be found a general tendency for English education. The ever-increasing number of students appearing for the Matriculation Examination would amply bear out this statement. This may be a hopeful sign, but at the same time we have to bear in mind the fate of the graduates and under-graduates. The problem of unemployment among the educated classes still awaits a definite solution. On a consideration of these circumstances it is doubtful whether the present system of education would help to solve the rural problem. It may at once be admitted that University education imparts a certain amount of culture and refinement but it makes the student unfit for a manual work in fields or factories. The University trained students who belong to villages despise to work on the land belonging to them. They think it degrading to mix with the ignorant village population. They even do not like to settle in villages. They will prefer to go hunting for clerical jobs and swell the lists of the unemployed rather than work in the fields. It is certain, therefore, that the future of villages mostly depends upon the lines the rural education should take.

Village Politics

Yes, villages too have their local politics. I purposely use the word politics because the introduction of the village panchayats or local boards have not produced any sense of civic responsibilities among the village populace but on the contrary party strifes are created thereby. I don't mean to question the very praiseworthy motives of the authorities in introducing this system but my opinion is that the system of elections is totally unsuitable so far as the rural population is concerned. The voters are generally swayed by narrow communal feelings. Family relations and such other considerations are given much more importance than the qualifications of a candidate.

Elections can hardly bring out the best and the most qualified of the candidates to the

forefront. Intriguing persons generally gain the field and the way in which the local self-government is being practised in villages leaves no doubt as to the failure of the present scheme. Bitter enmities are created at the time of elections which are not soon forgotten. This makes the village life unwholesome and disquieting. It is too much to hope that the village folk would be ultimately trained to the art of self-government by this system. It is a matter for serious consideration whether an alternative scheme of nomination by selection of the best persons to the village panchayats would be better for the healthy growth of village panchayats. This system is also full of difficulties but anyhow the problem requires close study and an immediate solution if the village uplift work is to be vigorously carried on, in the right direction.

Village Morality

Much of what may be called religion in villages, is mostly composed of superstitious beliefs and time-honoured customs and usages. With the spread of modern education, these beliefs, customs, and usages are fast dying out. The ever-growing contact with towns is having a demoralising effect on the rural population, as the people are illiterate and ignorant and have no deep religious training. They only followed the beliefs, customs, etc., with a blind faith which is now no longer there. Though they were ignorant and illiterate, by tradition they were bound fast to such faith and consequently they were God-fearing, honest and truthful in mutual dealings. It is a matter of deep concern to all those who have the good of the villages at heart that now things have entirely changed so far as the village morality is concerned. Serious crimes are daily increasing in villages and tendency towards litigation is also on the increase. The present-day villagers are not ashamed of giving false evidence in courts of law. Any one who has closely followed this tendency of giving false evidence among the peasantry would bear testimony to this statement. This tendency requires to be checked by proper moral education.

It is very difficult to touch all the phases of the village life in such a short article. But considering all the points noted above it is obvious that a model village planning scheme should be formulated and all the efforts should be concentrated on the development of a model village. The best way to demonstrate such a plan is to build one or more model villages on suitable sites with all or most of the modern amenities of life supplied to it. The land should be distributed to individual holders on economic basis. Co-operative methods in agriculture may be adopted. In short an ideal village or villages should be set up to show clearly what the advocates of rural uplift really want to do. Such a model and a self-sufficient village would be a better lesson in rural uplift work than all the talks and writings on the subject.

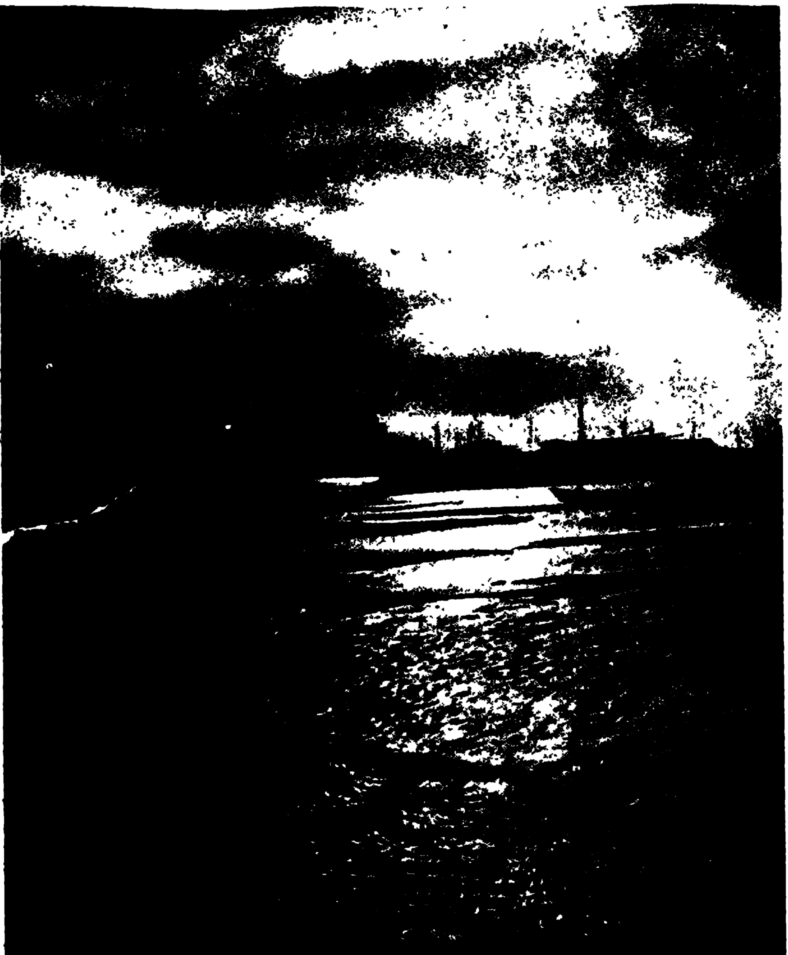
Now-a-days the talk of village uplift is much in the air. There is a widespread belief that the peasant is the " sick man of India."

Too many doctors rush to his help, nobody asks the peasant himself as to what his disease is—nobody cares to know the cause of all his so-called troubles. Doctors differ in their " diagnosis " and suggest different remedies to cure him of his serious disease. Let us beware that too many doctors in experimenting process do not kill him outright. Let the poor peasant not have to say at last, " God save me from my friends ! "

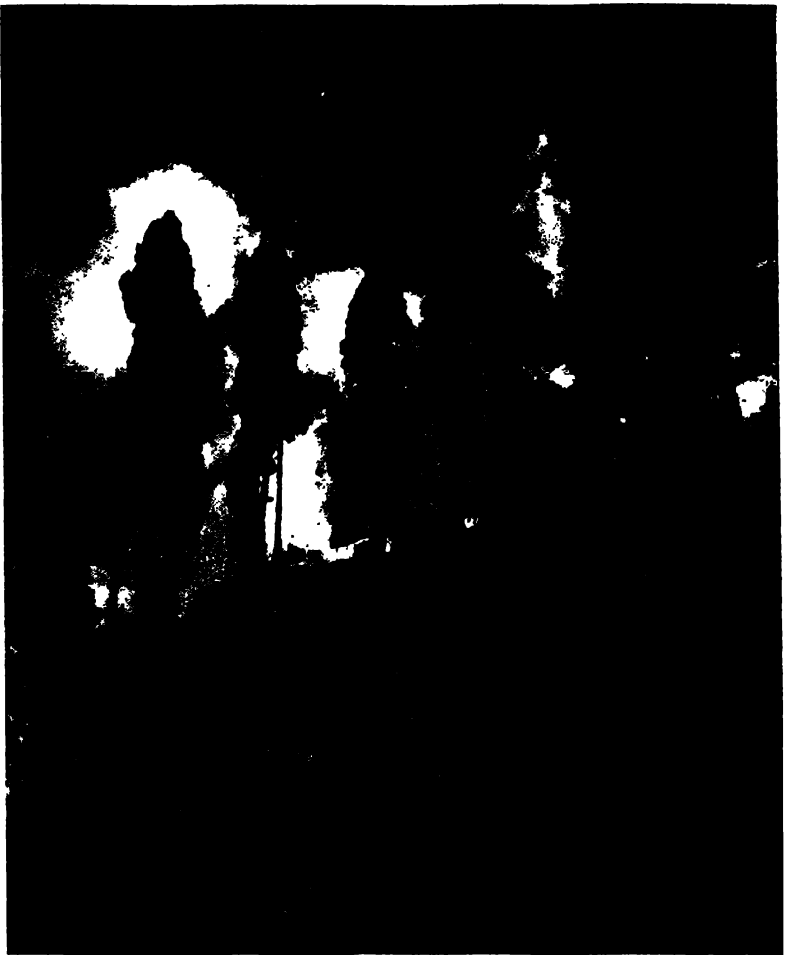




A street in Hongkong



Evening shadows on the Brahmaputra
Photo : Nirod Ray



Silhouettes of pines in Darjeeling
Photo : Kamakshiprosad Chatterjee



Book Reviews



BOOKS in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in THE MODERN REVIEW. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, THE MODERN REVIEW.

ENGLISH

HOPOUSIA OR THE SEXUAL AND ECONOMIC FOUNDATIONS OF A NEW SOCIETY: *By J. D. Unwin, M.C., Ph.D. (Cantab.). With an Introduction by Aldous Huxley. Preface by Y. J. Lubbock. Published by George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London. Pp. 475. Price 21s. net.*

The author of this book has travelled along new lines of thought and his efforts are bound to evoke considerable interest and criticism among intelligent readers. The forces that mould social movements and drive nations into war and other mass activities have all along been supposed to be beyond human control. Recent studies of the unconscious mind along Freudian lines have brought to light the importance of unconscious factors that guide and shape man's destiny, both individually and in groups. The author has laid down in this book, which he has named Hopousia (from a Greek word meaning 'where') certain principles of sexual and economic regulations that according to him would result in the output of the greatest amount of energy and when properly controlled would lead to social, economic and intellectual welfare of the nation. The author's vision of such a society is fundamentally different from the one we are accustomed to concieve at the present time. Unfortunately the organisation of the unconscious forces of man on a mass scale is a problem that is far more complicated than what has been thought of by the author. Aldous Huxley in his long and interesting preface has also noticed the complexity of such a problem. Both the author and Aldous Huxley however seem to labour under the impression that unconscious forces can be sublimated, that is, turned to useful social channels by conscious guidance. There is nothing inherently impossible in this idea but unfortunately psycho-analysis has not yet developed to the point at which it can propose definite and practical measures to divert undesirable and unconscious urges to fruitful lines. Sublimations cannot be made to order. The laws of transformation of the libido into nation building energy are not at all known to us as yet and external checks on sex are not likely to produce the desired result. The book is extremely stimulating and is well worth a perusal.

G. BOSE

SUPUR: AN EXPERIMENT IN RURAL RECONSTRUCTION, *being Visva-bharati Bulletin No. 28. Published by the Institute of Rural Reconstruction, Sriniketan. Price Annas Two. To be had of the Visva-bharati Office, Santiniketan, Bengal. Pp. ii+26 of the size of The Modern Review and a sketch map of the village of Supur drawn to scale.*

Though the writer of the Bulletin says that "it has not been possible to carry out a thorough and systematic survey of the village," yet what has been done may well serve as a model for what should be done for the revival and reconstruction of decadent villages.

It is a commendable method of Rabindranath Tagore's rural reconstruction work that his workers make a small and sound beginning and, from the experience thus gained, they proceed with the enlargement of their field of work.

An idea of the contents of the Bulletin may be gained from the headings of its sections:—History, Population, Gradual Depopulation, Land and Agricultural Conditions, Tanks, Cattle, Industry and Trade, Subsidiary Occupation, Rural Finance, Education, Boy Scouts, Roads. Reconstruction Work: The Palli Samiti, Roads and Drains, Jungle Clearing, The Monkey Pest, The Tanks, The Health Problem, Industries, Infusion of Fresh Blood, The Three Years' Programme, The Attitude of the Local People.

The Appendixes are valuable and interesting. They are: (1) Artistic Ruins at Supur, (2) Distribution of Population by *Paras* (hamlets), (3) Distribution of Population by Religion, (4) Classification of Hindus, (5) A Note on the Health Survey of Supur Village, and (6) A Three Years' Programme.

The Three Years' Programme is comprehensive and feasible.

The many illustrations add to the usefulness and interest of the Bulletin.

R. C.

THE DEEPER CAUSES OF THE WAR AND ITS ISSUES: *By W. G. S. Adams, Gilbert Murray, Viscount Samuel, W. R. Matthews, Sir Richard Livingstone, Sir Richard Gregory, Ernest Barker and Sir William Beveridge. Published by George Allen and Unwin, London. 1940. Pp. 206. Price 6s.*

This book is a collection of addresses given under the auspices of the British Institute of Philosophy by some eminent thinkers of present-day Britain. The different speakers have analysed the present unhappy discords in Europe from the standpoints of science, philosophy, religion, history and politics. Some of them have not stopped short at the analysis only, but have formulated their solutions for converting Europe from a continent of irreconcilable warring peoples into a commonwealth of nations, "united by co-operation in

a constructive effort to achieve dignity, security and prosperity for each and all."

Almost all the contributors to this learned and thought-provoking book seem convinced that European culture and civilization, based essentially on Hellenic philosophy and Christian morals, has been challenged by Hitlerism and not by its own internal decay. Professor Adams thinks that "it is in the anarchy of spiritual and moral values that much of the unrest and the danger of our modern world lies. Nothing can replace, nothing can give so fully, the sense of responsibility which true religion enjoins." He demands "freedom, philosophic freedom, freedom to think things together," and says that the way of peace lies in re-affirming "the rights of man, the rule of law, and the supremacy of moral and spiritual values." Professor Gilbert Murray approaches Hitlerism from the viewpoint of herd instinct, and points out that Hitler represents "with paranoiac intensity the prevailing emotion, open and secret, conscious and sub-conscious, of a proud and war-like people, maddened by defeat." The learned Professor quotes the following sentences from one of Hitler's speeches in 1923 in support of his contention: "Let us be inhuman! If we rescue Germany we have done the greatest deed in the world. Let us do wrong! If we rescue Germany we have swept away the greatest wrong in the world. Let us be immoral! If our people are rescued we have opened a way for the return of morality." But Gilbert Murray is more scared of Communism which "involves a bloody class war and can only be kept in being by the ghastly weapon which Lenin called *mass terror*." Therefore, "if civilization has to be saved, we *must* live in peaceful and reasonably friendly relations with the German people: no other future is tolerable or conceivable. . ." Viscount Samuel blames Hegel and Nietzsche for the waves of anti-intellectualism now sweeping Germany, Italy and Russia, and says that unless there is a *wish* to avoid war, mutual disarmament, freedom of commerce and some form of polity transcending the nations would not be enough to prevent wars in the future. Sir Richard Livingstone presents a balanced historical analysis of the crisis of civilization. He characterizes Lenin, Hitler and Mussolini, notwithstanding his dislike for them, as the greatest builders of the post-war age. "They divined its greatest need and gave their countries a philosophy or a religion, to replace a philosophy or a religion which were dead, or dying or forgotten. . . . Unlike Nazis, Fascists and Communists, our philosophy is unexpressed, our faith a vague and fluctuating emotion. Our weakness is in the failure of democracy to find a creed for its instincts. The failure is intelligible." He pleads for the resurrection of the soul of Europe nourished on the traditions of Palestine and Greece. Sir Richard Gregory condemns the abuse of scientific discoveries tolerated today even by men of science and maintains that "science cannot be divorced from ethics or rightly absolve itself from the human responsibilities in the application of its discoveries to destructive purposes in war or economic disturbances in times of peace." Professor Ernest Barker discusses the problem of an Order of Europe, that is, the problems of boundaries, of economic conflicts, of racial antagonisms that have repeatedly brought war to Europe. The discussion leads him to think of some sort of an international order, federalism for example, but he confesses his pessimism about such an order. Sir William Beveridge gives us an elaborate scheme of 'Peace by Federation,' but the conditions he sets to the functioning of the scheme make its general acceptance again a matter of controversy. Besides, Sir William appears to combine Federalism with Imperialism when he says that the administration of dependencies would be "wholly a federal affair" (page 179). The colonies and dependencies would remain, and would be administered by some improved form of the mandate system.

It is evident that the learned contributors to this volume have all proceeded from a common hypothesis that man is a rational animal, and that his vital instincts and impulses are governed by reason.

Monindramohan Moulik

RALPH FOX—A WRITER IN ARMS: *Published by Kitabistan, Allahabad. Pp. 252+viii. Price Rs. 2-8.*

COMMUNISM AND A CHANGING CIVILISATION: *By Ralph Fox. Published by the Kitabistan, Allahabad. Price Re. 1-8.*

Ralph Fox, after his studies at Oxford, joined the Communist Party and died at the age of 36 fighting the cause of the Spanish republicans against Franco. In this short span of life he had also distinguished himself by various literary and historical excursions, some of which are brought together in a memorial volume, containing also tributes by Sidney Webb, Harry Pollitt and others. Fox appears in these pages as a sincere exponent of his cause, and exhibits great promise. His brilliant portraiture of 'The Death of Lenin' and the study of T. H. Lawrence, his imaginative flight in the piece, 'Conversation with a Lama,' his idealism revealed in pieces such as 'Marxism and Literature' and 'The Novel as Epic,'—specially appealed to the reviewer.

The exposition of Communism is a piece of passionate exposition of the Marxist thesis in a modern background. The inevitability of the communist society and the social revolution are discussed with considerable ability and lucidity, with special reference to Great Britain. The two chapters on 'National and Colonial Questions' and 'World Communism—the Ultimate Aim' should have a special appeal to Indian readers, and there are pointed illustrative references to the survey made by the Whitley Commission on Indian Labour. Fox's slender but readable and convincing volume may be read by all serious students of contemporary social and political problems.

Benoyendranath Banerjea

WHITHER MINORITIES?" *By the Hon. M. N. Dalal, Member of the Council of State. Published by Taraporevala & Sons, Bombay, 1940. Price Rs. 4.*

The extension of the borders of democracy raises more and more urgently the problem of minorities. It is clear that democracy cannot work well unless based upon the foundations of popular satisfaction, that is to say, unless there is absence in the community of any large and well-marked discontented minorities. The principle of majority rule assumes that the minorities would willingly accept their situation. This they would do if, firstly, the chance is open to them of one day becoming part of the ruling majority, and secondly, if they have the assurance that they will not be *oppressed* while in a condition of minority. In a state, where there are obvious and persistent racial, class or cultural differences, as they are in India, this assumption becomes very difficult to maintain, and gives rise to complicated communal problems.

In this exhaustive study, Mr. Dalal has considered the problem of all Indian minorities—racial, religious, political and otherwise—although his main interest is directed to the communal problem in its political

aspect; and this he has analysed with very great care both in the light of history and with regard to the prevailing tendencies in the international world today. Mr. Dalal's undoubted view is that in its large outlines, the communal problem in India is a created one, in the sense that the British statesmen in India, 'realising that if their essential interests in India were to be preserved, it was necessary for Britain to have local allies, and those on a plane different from that in which similar allies had been sought during the early years of British rule in India,' deliberately followed the policy of cultivating 'the strongest single minority, *viz.*, the Muslims, which had anyhow good reasons for dreading the supremacy of the Hindus, if and when the day came when India's dreams of self-government were realised.'

The 'real problem of minorities in India,' says Mr. Dalal, was born in 1907 when the principle of separate representation for classes, communities and interests was first recognised as a cardinal feature of the Indian political system. Readers of Lady Minto's diary need not be reminded that the Viceroy called the day of the Aga Khan deputation in which the demand for separate electorates was formally presented as 'a very eventful day and an epoch in Indian history.' Thus supported by the British Government, the demands of the Muslim minority went on increasing, until in 1928 they were crystallised by the All-Muslim Conference in the famous fourteen points--of which some have already been satisfied, while others seem to Mr. Dalal as 'clearly unreasonable.' But the effect of the daily increasing Muslim demands has been generally to put a premium upon separatism; the division of the Indian community has steadily gone on, and today we have to consider the claims and counter-claims of not only the Muslim minority but of Shias and Sunnis among the Muslims, and also of Depressed Castes, Indian Christians, Sikhs, Europeans, and of a number of interests as represented by landholders, organised commerce and industry, mining and planting, industrial labour, universities, women and the like.

In one chapter of his book Mr. Dalal has reviewed the problem of national minorities and the method of international guarantees in the West, but the European method does not appear to him as likely to afford a solution of the Indian problem. "The Indian question is, indeed, not at all on a par with the one just reviewed, not only because the minorities in India have not come to us from other States, but are a part and parcel of ourselves, the flesh of our flesh and the bone of our bones; but also because there is everything in common between the people of India calling themselves followers of different religions and nothing but an artificial canker of jealousy and trust to divide them." His own solution of the Indian problem would be by a solemn and formal agreement between the principal parties concerned, ratified by the nation as a whole,—by guaranteeing Fundamental Rights, comprehending 'the fullest freedom and toleration for the enjoyment, practice and development of all forms of religious belief, culture and tradition, *consistent with the similar rights of all citizens and the maintenance of public peace and harmony*' (italics ours), and by thus keeping religion wholly out of politics.

Such a suggestion, it will be clear, ignores some of the basic facts of the history of the case, and is altogether conceived in too idealistic a strain. While Mr. Dalal's analysis of the communal problem is on the whole deep and satisfactory, his solution is rather unconvincing. He does not seem to have appreciated the real difficulties of the problem; he has anyhow failed to see (and he is not alone in this failure) that these difficulties are wholly insuperable, if the solution of the problem continues to be attempted by the unsatisfactory method of higgling and compromise. The only effective method, it seems to us, of solving India's communal difficulties is, first, by organising a large-scale effort to make the people think primarily of their economic interest and thus, in effect, turning their minds away from religion and secondly, by organising a stable national party, free from all religious bias and free also from the talk, which the Congress unfortunately too often makes, of communal goodwill and understanding.

We are rather surprised that Mr. Dalal has made no mention in his book, although it came out only a couple of months back, of the Muslim League demand for a Pakistan. One wonders whether he would explain this development of the communal question also on the basis of his hypothesis of 'British support.'

The book has some very interesting and useful tables both in its body as well as in the appendix, and would certainly repay a glance through.

BOOL CHAND

HISTORICAL STUDIES OF THE ROSARY : *By Diogo Jose Pereira Audrade, Goa, Portuguese India.*

In this illustrated booklet, the author has attempted to compare the different types of Rosaries prevailing among the Hindus, the Buddhists, the Christians and the Muhammadans. The author reminds us that the Portuguese were the pioneers of Christianity in the East. This fact is generally overlooked in the books on Christianity written by Protestant writers. Hence this book on the Rosary by a Catholic writer may open the eyes of many who would wish to study the interaction of the Indian religions and the early phase of Christianity in India from the voyage to India by Vasco da Gama (1498).

A THOUSAND MILES UP THE AMAZON : *By A. S. Wadia, Bombay.*

The author undertook a steamer trip along the mighty Amazon river and has given us a series of remarkable photographs of the landscape of Brazil. This country was originally colonised by the Portuguese navigators and to this day Brazil remains the biggest territorial zone with Portuguese as the official language; for, as we know, the rest of Latin America from Mexico to Chile speaks Spanish Mr. Wadia deserves our thanks for bringing Brazil and its incomparable river closer to us through his brilliant pen-pictures and his rich album of photographs.

KALIDAS NAG

THREE MEN OF DESTINY : *By A. S. Panchapakesa Ayyar, M.A., I.C.S., F.R.S.L.*

It is a historical novel with Alexander, Chandragupta Maurya and Chanakya as the leading figures. The author has freely drawn upon the classical writings about Alexander, Mudraraksasa, Kautilya's Arthasastra, and various Indian traditions about Chandragupta and Chanakya in order to weave a romantic tale round the three great historic figures with contemporary Indian life and society in the background. Judged purely as a novel, it cannot be regarded as a very successful attempt. For, apart from the lack of individuality of characters and absence of a plot and its gradual development, such as modern taste requires, it is overburdened with details of social, economic and political life of India which too often remind the readers that the author is teaching them history through the medium of a novel. On the other hand it must be freely admit-

ted that the author has succeeded in creating an atmosphere of ancient India around his tale and imparted flesh and blood to the dry bones of history. The book should be regarded either as history in the form of a novel, or a romantic version of an important epoch of Indian history. As such it will serve a useful purpose by holding out a picture of ancient India to an average reader to whom dry details of history are extremely distasteful. The historian will find many things in this book which he could hardly accept as correct. The literary critic will have ample grounds to find fault with the plan and execution of the novel. Yet the book is not without its value, as it indelibly impresses upon the mind of a reader the essential features of one of the most memorable periods of Indian history. We wish the book to be widely read by Indians as they would derive both pleasure and profit from it.

R. C. Majumdar

HISTORY AND PROBLEMS OF INDIAN CURRENCY, 1835-1939: *By D. K. Malhotra, M.A., Lecturer, Mohindra College, Patiala. Pp. 150. Price Rs. 2-8.*

In this short treatise the author has attempted to give a concise account of the main developments in the Indian currency system during the last hundred years and has mainly kept in view the requirements of students going in for the B.A. examination. In an introductory chapter a brief account has been given of the mechanism of foreign exchange, and the development of Indian currency has been traced in eight chapters dealing with the periods from 1835-1893, 1893-1898, 1899-1917, 1917-1920, Feby. 1920-September 1920, 1920-1927, 1927-1931 and 1931-1939. The desire of the Indian people to have a gold standard and the anxiety of the Government to maintain a stable exchange at all costs are noted as two threads running through the entire history of Indian currency system. In the concluding chapter, the author deals with some of the controversies raised in connection with Indian currency and exchange and pleads for an independent monetary system for India.

The book does neither claim nor evince any originality in the treatment of the subject. But as providing within a brief compass the accounts of the growth of the Indian currency system it will be of considerable help to students of the Universities and also to public men who desire to have a general acquaintance with the history and problems of the currency of the country.

Nalinaksha Sanyal

HINDUSTHANI MUSIC: An Outline of its Physics and Aesthetics: *By G. H. Ranade, B.Sc., Lecturer in Physics, Willingdon College, Sangli, etc. Pp. 177. Price Rs. 2-8.*

The author begins with a brief survey of the development of Indian music from 300 B.C. onwards and deals with 'swaras', 'shrutis', 'grams', etc. He has quoted certain authoritative texts referring to the changes which have taken place in the 'northern school' of music on account of its contact with Persian culture.

In ancient times the master-artists helped to standardise and to keep alive the best forms of vocal music. The theoretic aspect came to be discussed by eminent Indian and European writers of later date. These discussions paved the way for more comprehensive and elaborate writings which helped to establish different aspects of Indian music on a sound basis rendering them easy and intelligible.

The author deals with the physical technique of consonance and dissonance pointing out at the same time the artistic steps in the musical scale. It is generally believed that the voice in singing is controlled by regulating the tension of the vocal chords. It may however be mentioned that the vocal chords act only as a mechanism for regulating the pressure of air-current from the lungs while the air-pulsations are produced by the resonating skull-cavities (*i.e.*, sinuses) of the head and the neck. There is thus another possible basis of tone-production in which there may be minimum strain on vocal chords.

In classical songs proper, the consonances or dissonances forming the melodic law are taken into account. The chief features are (1) drone accompaniment, (2) melodic law, (3) time-measure. The drone-note is a bunch of tones which may either have physical existence in air or may be psychological ear-tones (summation or difference tones), *i.e.*, pulsations which have no real existence in air. The singer perceives it as an illusion and this illusory preception helps him to create definite melodic intervals. To avoid monotony occasional introduction of artistic ornamentations and other techniques is necessary. It is the ability to introduce these techniques that testifies to the vastness of the knowledge of the artist.

The 'raga' is an artistic idea and must possess certain aesthetic value. In the Indian system the artist is both "the director and the performer" and hence individuals are allowed greater scope and freedom in improvising in the Indian system of music than in the Western. The tendency is to please the audience by variation of other aspects without producing a change in the mood developed during the performance. "Imitation of the cries of birds and beasts, of the rustling of the leaves or of the thundering of the clouds, of the surging of the billows or of the roaring of a brook," does not count as musical performance in the Indian system as they do in the Western and this difference in the angle of vision necessitates different principles and procedures of voice training. Indian music aims at representing the hidden or repressed emotions of mankind, it is a sort of ideal emotional enjoyment. In the latter part of the book the author gives a brief survey of the different forms of classical composition. Besides these other forms have been mentioned whose merit, unlike those of the classical forms, lies more in their poetic rather than in their musical expression. 'Tanas' are not allowed in 'Dhrupada' and, according to the author, the absence of the 'Tanas' makes the music monotonous and soon wears out the patience of the listener. It should not be overlooked however that this seeming handicap is more than compensated by the delicate touch of the 'shrutis' which, owing to the slow rate of performance and proper mediation of the gliding tones (*i.e.*, meeda), produce the full melodic effect in perception.

The Indian system does not employ harmony in the true sense of the term although the factor of consonace and dissonance comes in. The dissonances are used sparingly and with caution so that the main 'raga-scale' is not disturbed. The 'glides' as well as the fractions of the semitones which are the most important factors of the Indian music, are not consistent with the principles of harmony. Introduction of harmony deteriorates the fineness of the melodic aspect.

The book presents a theoretical outlook of the main topics of vocal music but the practical aspect of the problem does not seem to have been much discussed. Considering the intricate nature of the problem the author has the merit of putting the relevant points clearly and consistently and his exposition is on the whole clear. We heartily congratulate the author for publishing this small volume and we hope that the

volume will be able to initiate a movement for the publication of a series of such handy books. The need for such books is keenly felt by all lovers of music who desire to see the scientific character of it strictly maintained. We are sure that the volume under review will be able to create an interest in music amongst the public and to lead them to appreciate as also to cultivate this art which is one of the noblest and most ancient of all fine arts.

M. Ganguly

POONA RESIDENCY CORRESPONDENCE, Vol. 5 (Nagpur Affairs, 1781-1820) : *Edited by Mr. Y. M. Kale, B.A., LL.B. Published by Bombay Government Central Press. 1938. Pp. 486. Price Rs. 6.*

The Government of Bombay have undertaken to publish in several volumes, the English Records of Maratha History under the general editorship of Sir Jadunath Sarkar. Four volumes of this extremely valuable series are already before the public and this is the much needed volume on Nagpur Affairs about which the Marathi sources of information are rather scanty. The volume under review reveals the meshes of English diplomacy that bound down the Bhonsle Kingdom of Nagpur to their interest during the critical years of the rise of the British power. Here again we read the unhappily results of Brahmin-Maratha antagonism, narrow and selfish political ambition of the Bhonsle, and last of all, absence of genuine national patriotism of the Maratha race. Rigid limit of space does not permit us to give the reader any idea of the contents of this volume, and their great historical importance. No historical seminar nor library should be without a complete collection of this series.

K. R. Qanungo

ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL GEOGRAPHY : *By Dr. R. N. Dubey, Head of the Department of Geography, University of Allahabad. Kitab Mahal, Allahabad. 1939. Pp. 397. Price Rs. 3.*

ECONOMIC GEOGRAPHY OF INDIA : *By the same author. Kitab Mahal, Allahabad. 1939. Pp. 189. Price Rs. 3.*

These two books have been written with a view to meeting the requirements of Commerce students in our Universities. The author is the Head of the Department of Geography in the University of Allahabad and is therefore expected to know how much the students require. The reviewer can only note that a book on commercial geography is valuable in so far as it is accurate and up-to-date. Judged on this standard, the first of these two books leaves much to be desired. The information given is nowhere relevant to the recent times and in many cases the figures are out of date by about ten years. One has only to glance at the tables to realise that the author has not taken the trouble of revising the figures that seem to have been collected years ago. The author seems also to have been indifferent to neatness and accuracy in the execution of diagrams and maps.

The standard of the second book is better than that of the first. The statistics are not as recent as they ought to have been, but the lag-behind in this book is not so large as in the other one. Students going in for a course in the economic geography of India will find a pleasant-reading introduction in this handy little book.

Bhabatosh Datta

THE MARWARI LEADERS OF INDIA : *By R. Agrasenputra. Lajpatrai Publishing Co., 1-2, Sambhu Chatterji Street, Calcutta. Pp. 131. Price not mentioned.*

This is a "Who's Who ?" of the Marwari leaders of India, particularly of those prominent in the Agarwal community. It consists of twenty-two short sketches, each of which is a catalogue of certain dry biographical details and of the commercial "connections" of the subject concerned. One wishes that the author had made his book more readable by throwing fuller light on the struggles and secrets of success of the leaders in India's trade and commerce whom he has chosen for his sketches. This would have made the book inspiring as well as interesting. As it is, *The Marwari Leaders of India* appears to have been written more to protest against the prevailing tendency to think of the Marwari as a synonym for Shylock than to study, in detail, the ideals of the business magnates, in question, and their technique of becoming rich.

G. M.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE MYSORE ARCHÆOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT FOR THE YEAR, 1937. *Bangalore, 1938.*

The present volume maintains the standard set up by the Mysore Archæological Department with regard to its publications. It presents to us, not only a study of ancient monuments and sites, but also of coins, inscriptions and some important manuscripts. The memoirs of Hyderally by Eloy Joxe Correa Peixoto, of which a full description has been given in the report seems to be a very important historical document.

The treatment of inscriptions in the report is perfectly satisfactory. With regard to architecture, the department surveyed the ground-plans of a number of temples, and has published these plans in the report. It would have been well if an outline elevation had also been added to it, as that would have helped us very much in comparative studies. The construction of the interior is also a very important element in temple architecture from the archæological point of view, and we would suggest that these may be added to the accounts of temples in the department's future reports.

Nirmal Kumar Bose

INDIA'S CHALLENGE TO CHRISTIANS : *By Cyril Modak. Published by the Upper India Publishing House, Ltd., Literature Palace, Lucknow. Pp. 194. Price Rs. 2 only.*

It is an interesting and stimulating book. The author is a Christian and feels that his creed not only entitles him to be a nationalist in Indian politics but makes it a duty for him. He is scandalised at the attitude of aloofness that Christians—Indian as well as non-Indian—adopt towards Indian politics. It is un-Christian and therefore hypocritical. Christianity, according to him, should ally itself everywhere with those who are struggling for freedom. And the Indian Christians ought to throw their whole weight on the side of India's endeavour for political liberation.

As the author himself has foretold in his *Prefatory Note*, "what is said in these pages may annoy some people. May be it will set others thinking." Some will possibly like the book also. It bristles with controversial matters but is a fearless book. And that in itself is a recommendation to the readers.

U. C. Bhattacharjee

GRAHA AND BHAVA BALAS: *By Dr. B. V. Raman, M.R.A.S. Published by the Raman Publications. P. O. Malleswaram, Bangalore. Price Rs. 2-4.*

It is almost impossible to categorically predict the effects of planets unless their exact positions are worked out. This demands of an astrologer some knowledge of Astronomy and Mathematical Astrology. To remove this obstacle the eminent astrologer of Bangalore, Dr. B. V. Raman, M.R.A.S., has written this treatise which will enable the students to easily find out the strengths of planets and houses to correctly predict from birth-charts. I recommend this book as an ideal guide for the student.

SUHRID KRISHNA BASU

URDU PROSE UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF SIR SAYYID: *By Dr. S. M. Abdullah, M.A., D.Litt. With a Foreword by Dr. Muhammad Iqbal, M.A., Ph.D. Published by Sh. Muhammad Asharaf, Kashmiri Bazar, Lahore. Pp. xxi+186. Price Rs. 3-8.*

There are very few books on Urdu literature in English, which deal with the genesis of the social and religious developments of a particular period which led to the growth of its literature. The Aligarh movement, started by Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan, in the nineteenth century had very far-reaching effects on the minds of Muslim writers of the time. It not only gave a healthy stimulus to the religious and social aspirations of the community but also infused a new life in the current thought and literature. A new vision of progressive realisation, much opposed by the orthodox school, dawned upon the mind of the greatest Muslim reformer of India and a life-blood of new modernising forces began to flow into the veins of a community who hitherto "was in the clutches of lethargy of religious ignorance and whose faith had degenerated into a bundle of irrational customs, practices and belief" (p. 15).

Sir Sayyid and his devoted followers, Muhsanul Mulk, Nazir Ahmad, Shibli Nu'mani, Hali and others, aimed at the revival of Islamic sciences and the evolution of a standard of a new scholastic theology based on reason, which found its expression in Urdu prose. The conflict between science and religion, which raged with intensity during the early 19th. century, perturbed the minds of the Orthodox Muslim scholars, but to the "Naturalists" of the School of Sir Sayyid, it brought the idea of "the revival of Islamic society on modern lines and on the bases of a religion fully compatible with the spirit of progress." (p. 21). The slow but far-reaching process of assimilation of new ideas and spirit stirred up the imagination of the Muslim intellectuals of India and Urdu, soon afterwards, became a vehicle of powerful creative thought. Urdu prose, which until now, was merely confined to an artificial word-jugglery with thought subservient to an extremely florid and ornate style—an imitation of fast decaying Persian--received a new orientation both in thought and conception, and apart from the evolution of a new religious thought in Islam, which found its expression in the writings of Sir Sayyid and his followers, another contribution was made by Hali and Shibli, who introduced a well defined standard of literary criticism. The Yadgar-i-Ghalib and the Muquddima-i-Sh'ir-o-Sha'iri of the former and the Sh'ir-ul-'Ajam of the latter, would always remain landmarks on the subject.

English literature influenced Hali and Shibli even more than Sir Sayyid but none of them lost their individuality. "While Sir Sayyid cut his figure on the European pattern, Shibli utilised the European pattern and changed into something new" (p. 61). Hali on the other hand "was animated by a literary spirit of consciously interpreting past in the terms of modern knowledge."

The work on the whole is original both in theme and treatment and can be read with great advantage by those interested in Urdu literature.

BIKRAMA JIT HASRAT

UPANISHADS FOR THE LAY READER: *By C. Rajagopalachari. The Hindustan Times Ltd., Connaught Circus, New Delhi. Pp. 81. Price cloth bound Re. 1 and paper cover Annas 6.*

The first edition of this useful compilation was noticed in our last September issue. The verses are in Devnagri and the translations are in chaste English. The popularity of the book is proved by the fact that the second edition had to be published within this short interval. The present edition is thoroughly revised and enlarged.

S. D.

SANSKRIT

THE MAHABHARATA-UDYOGAPARVAN (II), FASCICULE 10: *Critically edited by Dr. Sushil Kumar De, M.A., D. Litt. (London), Professor of Sanskrit, University of Dacca. Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.*

The Udyogaparvan consists of 197 *Adhyayas* out of which 100 chapters were published in 1937 and the balance published this year will be welcomed by all scholars. When the big bulk of the parvan is taken into consideration we may congratulate ourselves that the learned Editor found it comparatively free from "lengthy insertions." We admire his boldness in tackling the Sanatsujata sub-parvan (Adhyaya 42-45) which was commented upon by Sankaracarya who may or may not be the great South Indian philosopher. For, as we know, he is reported to have been a man from Kerala and yet we find him here ignoring the more reliable Malayalam text and using the more corrupt Telugu-Grantha version. Dr. De has demonstrated that the painstaking analysis of the text is a much surer guide than traditional authority or antiquity of any particular section of the epic or its commentary. The Southern Malayalam version agrees surprisingly with the Northern Sarada-Kashmiri and Bengali versions, affording a broad and sound basis for the critical reconstruction of the text. Dr. De agrees with the general Editor, Dr. Sukthankar in characterizing the so-called Southern recension (Prof. P. P. S. Sastri's Edition) as "uncritically eclectic."

On the contrary, the Editor found the Javanese version to be of "considerable value from the fact that in its prose are embedded throughout quotations from the epic texts used by the Javanese adapter, consisting of a stanza or a part of a stanza or sometimes even of a phrase or a single word." Dr. De, at the end of his monumental work, pays generous tributes to the staff of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute and to the worthy general Editor, Dr. V. S. Sukthankar who laid securely the foundations of the stupendous Mahabharata study. He is getting ready to publish the Aranyakaparvan and meanwhile we have ample reasons to congratulate Prof. S. K. De on his signal success in editing the first critical edition of the Udyogaparvan.

The Mahabharata work is costing the Institute about Rs. 25,000 per annum while donations and contributions amount to about 20,000 only. Part of the cost of printing the Udyogaparvan was met from a subvention from the Trustees of the Mahabharata Fund

of Great Britian in London. We appeal to the public to help this great work by more generous donations.

KALIDAS NAG

SANSKRIT-ENGLISH

RATNASAMUCCAYA OR A COMPREHENSIVE AND CLASSIFIED CATALOGUE OF SANSKRIT WORKS: *Published in India and Abroad. (Third Edition made up-to-date). Mehar Chand Lachhman Das, Sanskrit and Hindi Booksellers, Lahore.*

Workers in old Indian literature are constantly hampered in their work owing to the extreme paucity of bibliographical literature. Systematic publication of bibliographies indicating the progress of work in any branch is unknown. The periodic publication of the *Ratnasamuccaya* which is a detailed catalogue of printed books, arranged according to subjects, in and on Sanskrit, Prakrit and several Indian vernaculars will remove a keenly felt want in this direction, and will be highly welcome to Indologists in general and Sanskritists in particular. It is hoped that the following suggestions for the improvement of the publication with a view to increasing its utility will not be out of place here. The want of a complete and up-to-date list of descriptive catalogues of manuscripts should be removed in the next edition by introducing a new section on the subject. Texts in scripts other than Devanagri, so many of which have been published in different parts of India, may be included in the volume to make it complete.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

RABINDRA-RACHANABALI: ACHALITA-SAMGRAHA, VOL. I: *By Rabindranath Tagore. Visva-bharati Bookshop, 210, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Price Rupees 4-8, 5-8 and 6-8. A limited edition with the Poet's autograph, Rupees Ten only.*

This volume of the Poet's collected Bengali works contains his earlier writings which were issued in book form in his youth but were not re-issued and allowed to lapse as the Poet considered them immature and vetoed all proposals of reprinting them. The Publishing Department of Visva-bharati has now persuaded the Poet to allow these rare volumes which so long were a delight of privileged book-collectors only, to be re-issued in the Poet's complete works, though in a separate series just to signify that the Poet does not any more acknowledge them as his own, though few will agree with his indictment of his own works.

The volume includes *Kabi-Kahini* (verse, 1878), *Bana-phul* (verse, 1880), *Bhagnahriday* (Drama in verse, 1881), *Rudrachanda* (Drama in verse, 1881), *Kalamrigaya* (Drama in verse, set to music, 1882), *Vividha Prasanga* (Essays, 1883), *Nalini* (Prose Drama, 1884), *Saisava Sangeet* (verse, 1884) and the first version of *Valmiki-Pratibha* (Drama in verse, set to music, 1881), and a section containing illuminating notes. The volume also reproduces a number of photographs of the Poet in his early years and manuscript pages in facsimile from *Bhagnahriday* and *Nalini*.

X.

BHASA-PRAKAS BANGALA VYAKARAN: *By Suniti Kumar Chattopadhyay. Published by the University of Calcutta. 1939. Pp. xxii+544.*

A work from the hands of Professor Suniti Kumar Chatterji guarantees its own high value, and requires no commendation. Although written with the particular purpose of serving as a school and college text-book, a purpose and a want which it eminently fulfils, the work is yet marked by all the care, thoroughness and scholarly skill which characterise Professor Chatterji's works. It is a welcome accession to the extremely small number of well-written, accurate and well-informed text-books, and is happily not too erudite for the purpose for which it is meant, even if its 540 pages are too crowded and packed with facts and examples, which, however, come not as a hindrance but as an enrichment. It is not necessary in this short review to go into details; but, besides the interesting attempt to settle grammatical terminology for Bengali, the work is remarkable for its orderly and scientific treatment, while the Appendices add valuable information. One would, however, think that there is no need to include a section of formal rhetoric, chiefly on the model of Sanskrit, as it is hardly of much use in the study of modern Bengali, and is likely to confuse issues in the mind of the beginner. In the interest of a proper study of Bengali, which is rather neglected in our schools and colleges for the want of a really systematic text-book, we shall be glad if the work is widely utilised.

S. K. DE

BENGALI-ENGLISH

CHITRALIPI: *By Rabindranath Tagore. Visva-bharati Bookshop, 210, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. An album of 18 Paintings, Drawings and Etchings with 19 Bengali and English verses. Rupees Four and annas eight only. An edition limited to twenty copies, each numbered and autographed, Rupees Ten only.*

The Poet writes in his foreword:

"In a picture the artist creates the language of undoubted reality, and we are satisfied that we see. It may not be the representation of a beautiful woman but that of a commonplace donkey, or of something that has no external credential truth in nature but only in its own inner artistic significance."

People often ask the Poet about the meaning of his pictures, but

"I remain silent even as my pictures are. It is for them to *express* and not to *explain*. They have nothing ulterior behind their own appearance for the thoughts to explore and words to describe and if that appearance carries its ultimate worth then they remain, otherwise they are rejected and forgotten even though they may have some scientific truth or ethical justification." And if he has used "words to describe" the pictures in the accompanying verses, he has also assured the "Lady of Lines" that

"These words are not an alien invasion
come to set a limit to your realm.
They are but some noisy birds
that for a moment flit across your garden
While your meaning lies far beyond their chirpings."

X.

[A fuller notice will appear in an early issue of *The Modern Review*. ED., *M. R.*]

HINDI

CHANDRAGUPTA MAURYA AUR ALEXANDER-KE BHARAT ME PARAJAYA: *By Sri Haris Chandra Seth. Published by Raj Publishing House, Bulandsahar. 1940. Pp. 192.*

The author has brought together in this Hindi volume some of his revolutionary theories about Chandragupta which have been published in various journals during the last few years. Among these the following deserve special mention:

(1) Porus defeated Alexander in the battle on the Jhelum.

(2) Porus is the same as Parvataka.

(3) Chandragupta is identical with Sosikottos.

(4) Central Asia, including Khotan, formed part of Chandragupta's empire.

These and similar other theories have not been accepted by Indologists. The author lacks critical judgment and rushes to important conclusions without sufficient evidence.

R. C. MAJUMDAR

BRIHATTAR BHARAT : *By Pt. Chandragupta Vedalankar. Published by the Gurukul, Kangri. 1939. Pp. xviii+478+xiii+40. With plates and charts. Price Rs. 4.*

The history of Indian culture in Greater India has lately attracted the attention of Indian scholars. Most of the source-books are written in European languages, *e.g.,* French, German, English and Dutch. Some of our scholars have published resume of the work done in various countries by European archæologists—but these books are mostly in English. So it is a matter of congratulation that a book embodying the history of Indian culture in Ceylon, Khotan, China, Japan, Tibet, Arab, Indo-China, Siam and Indonesia is published in Hindi. This will bring the fruits of archæological researches at the very door of our common people. The book under notice systematically deals with the spread and development of Indian culture in far-distant countries of Asia. This history is now considered an integral part of that of the homeland. The author has spared no pains in making the book interesting and instructive There are 12 illustrations, 5 maps and 9 charts all of which will enhance the curiosity of the readers. This book is sure to popularise the knowledge on the subject amongst Hindi-knowing public. We would like to point out that the bibliography is very inadequate, only noticing a few books in English and Hindi.

RAMES BASU

VAYUMANDAL : *By Dr. Kalyan Bux Mathur, M.Sc., D.Phil. Published by Vigyan Parishad, Allahabad. Pp. 186.*

We are living in the age of Science. Every now and then this or that mystery is unfolded and we add to our knowledge about ourselves and the universe we live in. Yet there are things, no less important for our existence, about which we know practically nothing. One of such things is the atmosphere, without which our universe would have been something we can hardly imagine. Many of us have enjoyed a cool breeze and shuddered at a gust of hot or icy wind; but how many of us do actually know what gases the air is composed of and why it is sometimes cold, sometimes hot, sometimes gentle and sometimes a roaring typhoon ? How many of us do know that life is impossible even for a moment without air ?

The book under review, which is a thesis submitted by Dr. Mathur in his capacity as Empress Victoria Reader of the Allahabad University, is a learned treatise, in lucid and unpretentious style, which provides laymen with simple answers to these apparently complicated questions. The author has taken pains to illumine many of the dark mazes of the *Vayumandal* and has ascertained facts very carefully from authentic sources. The book is profusely illustrated. The author has also given Hindi equivalents of some technical scientific English terms in the appendix of the book. We congratulate the author and the Vigyan Parishad for bringing out this important and comprehensive book.

APRAJITA : *By Anchal. Published by Chhatra Hitkari Pustakmala, Daragunj, Allahabad. Pp. 174. Price Rs. 2.*

Anchal happily is the young bird who sings with full-throated ease the songs of love, life (youth) and mystery. He made his debut with *Madhulika* and now strides forth with *Aprajita.* He is inspired with the devotional ferver which galvanises everything to higher phases of evolution. He is melodious and sonorous and his intuitive flashes give a glimpse of the dreams of life. Some of the felicitous coinages of this young poet are true poetic gems radiating cool effulgence. The reader's heart will throb with the soulful songs of the inner self of this poet. We congratulate him for this precious contribution to Hindi literature.

M. S. SENGAR

KANNADA

HARIBHAKTI SUDHE (NECTAR OF DEVOTION TO HARI) : *Compiled by R. R. Diwakar, M.A., LL.B. The Adhyatma Karyalaya, Hubli. Pp. 289 demy octavo. Price Rs. 2.*

This is a classified collection of *Kirtanas* (poems to be sung) of the Haridasas of Karnataka.

Haridasas of Karnataka are devotees of Vishnu. They belong to the Bhakti cult and follow the Dwaita philosophy of Shri Madhavacharya. They made their first appearance in Karnataka in the 14th century and since then there is almost an unbroken line. They are great singers and they have composed numerous beautiful songs One of them Purandardas was the inspirer of the great Telgu Singer Thyagaraja.

The author here has for the first time looked at the songs from the mystic point of view and has selected and arranged the best of them according to mystic psychology. He has written notes on the particular phases of mystic thought or devotion as the case may be at the beginning of each chapter. The book has been made more useful by brief life-sketches of some important Dasas, notes on the Pauranic reference, a small vocabulary, and so on.

The writer has promised that he would deal in detail with the mysticism of the Dasas in a volume to come.

N. K.

ABHIDHANA RATNAMALA WITH KANNADA TIKE : *Editors A. Venkata Rao and H. Sesha Ayyangar. Published by the University of Madras. Royal Octavo. Pp. 314. Price Rs. 2.*

This is a Kannada commentary on a Sanskrit lexicon of the type of Amarkosha. The original is by Halayudha while the commentary is written by Nagavarma II, the great Kannada author of ancient repute.

Bhatta Halayudha, the author of the Sanskrit versified lexicon Abhidhana Ratnamala according to Sanskrit scholars lived in the ninth century A.D. Dr. Aufrecht however assigns him to the 11th century. It is a dictionary with 884 verses and contains more than 7,000 words. The Kannada commentators' name is not mentioned in the only manuscript that was available in the Arrah Library. But it can be surmised that Nagavarma II (about 1145 A.D.) the author of Abhidhana Vastukosha in Kannada, was also the author of this commentary. Shri Shesha Iyengar has written a learned

foreword to the book and has added indices both of the Kannada and the Sanskrit words contained in the book. These things have materially added to the value of the book and it now lends itself to easy reference. Lexicons in verse were in vogue when they were practically learnt by heart. Today, however, when printing is so cheap and easy nobody wishes to burden one's memory.

This is a very useful publication. It once again points out how as long ago as the twelfth century Kannada authors turned their attention to deeper study of language and literature. The Madras University has to be congratulated upon for having brought to light this great effort of Nagavarma II.

R. R. DIWAKAR

MARATHI

HISTORICAL PAPERS OF THE SINDHIAS OF GWALIOR (1777-1793). SATARA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY, VOL. II: *Compiled by Mr. D. B. Diskalkar, Ex-Curator of the Satara Museum and edited by Mr. G. S. Sardesai, Kamshet. With a foreword by Sir Jadunath Sarkar. Pp. 276. Royal 8vo. Price Rs. 4.*

The period covered by the materials in the present volume which is the second in the series undertaken by the abovementioned Society, is the most glorious of the Maratha Empire. The two outstanding personalities during the latter part of this period were Mahadji Sindhia and Nana Fadnis. The present volume which comprises 424 letters, out of which 258 relate to the military activities of Mahadji himself, is of the utmost importance to a student of the Maratha History. The remaining letters relate to the Peshwa Administration. As Sir Jadunath Sarkar has said in his foreword many of the records published in this volume are made public for the first time, and they throw a new light on the careers of the Great Peshwa Bajirao I and his successors. Each letter in the volume has been summarized by the editor in a few lines in English so as to enable non-Maratha knowing readers to understand its contents—a method successfully followed in the publication of the forty-five volumes of the Pesha Daftar by the same editor. Mr. Sardesai's name is a sufficient guarantee for the accuracy of the notes as well as the historical syntax. These letters give us a correct appreciation of the relations inter-se of the two great men Mahadji and Nana who dominated the period under review, and the repercussions of their mutual rivalry on the course of events. In short we might very well say of the volume under notice what Sir Jadunath has said of it in his foreword, that 'it is a good work well done and ought to make its way in the world of scholarship by its undeniable intrinsic value.'

D. N. APTE

URDU

TAFHIMAT, PART I: *Collected by Moulvi Syed Abul Alla Moudoodi. Published in Ressalla-Tarjuman-al-Quaraan. Pp. 353. Prices Re. 1-8 and Rs. 2 according to binding.*

The book under review is a collection of 24 essays on Islamic religion, culture and social life, which were published from time to time in the periodical *Tarjuman-al-Quaraan.* These essays are sure to help the reader in understanding Islam.

ABU BAKR

GUJARATI

OPERATION KONUM ANE BIJI VARTAO: *By Dr. Pranjivan Mehta, Chief Medical Officer, Nawanagar State, Kathiawad. Printed at the Ved Printing Press, Jamnagar. 1940. Paper cover. Pp. 159. Price annas eight.*

Dr. Mehta when in Bombay commanded an extensive practice and after going to Jamnagar had made it a model medical town with its Solarium, maternity cottages, infant welfare and nursing associations. But besides his own profession, he has a leaning towards literature and the eleven stories narrated in the book make entertaining reading. He has been moving with open eyes, and noticed the shortcomings, greeds, etc., of his brother physicians, who instead of making their professions a mission of mercy, turn it into a means of making money mercilessly. Wealthy as well as poor people will always be found in our society. This is what some of the stories show effectively. There are phases of Hindu Life humorously described also.

PAGDANDI: *By Dhum Ketu. Printed at the Survaprakash Printing Press, Ahmedabad. 1940. Cloth Bound. Pp. 240. Price Re. 1-8.*

Dhum Ketu has written on serious subjects, has written stories and novels, and has now ventured into a new path—narration of travels. He calls this book "A Foot Track," and in several cases he really had to pick his way on foot-tracts to enjoy scenes of nature, which otherwise were not accessible or approachable. The travels extend over Naini Tal, Chorwad and Gir (Kathiawad), Sutlej provinces, Jubbulpore waterfall, Darjeeling and other places like the Teesta Valley, which very few Gujaratis visit or have visited. The descriptions are given in a highly realistic but romantic and poetic vein and are therefore "catching." Several illustrations assist the reader in following what the writer says. On the whole it is an informative and entertaining book which should induce homekeeping people to move out and see these places.

K. M. J.



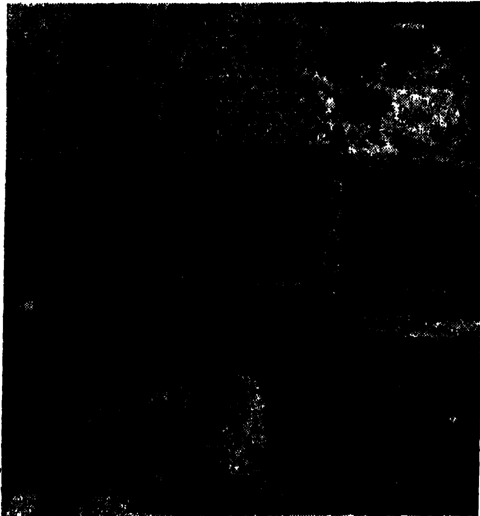
RAJA RAM ROY'S ANCIENT ARCHITECTURAL BUILDINGS AT KHALIA (FARIDPUR) AND THE DYING ART OF BENGAL

By S. P. ROY CHOUDHURY

The aesthetic and cultural taste of ancient Bengal found expression in various ways. Though recent excavations at Paharpur prove beyond doubt the greatness of Bengal on the architectural side, in books of history and archaeology one meets with but scanty references to her architectural greatness.

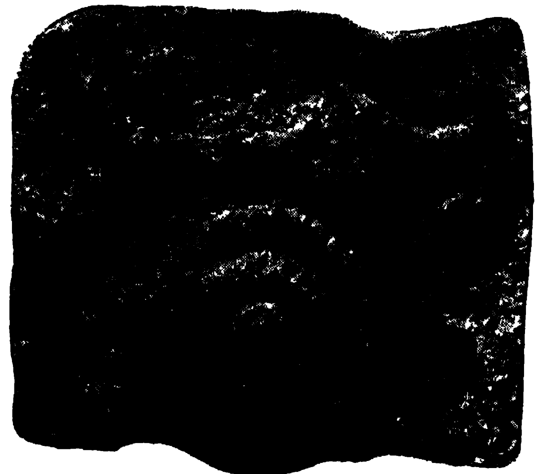
"On the north-eastern side of India Gour was for several centuries one of the most important building centers of Hindusthan. In the 16th century it was reckoned by the Portuguese as one of the greatest of Indian cities, its population being estimated at over a million. Its early history as the capital of Hindu Kingdom of Gour, when it was known under the name of Lakhnauti goes back to many centuries before Christ. ....It was perhaps from Gour as the centre that the characteristic form of Bengal architecture spread to other parts of India."—Havell : *A Hand Book of Indian Art*, p. 121.

"The Ain-i-Akbari, describing Akbar's building at Agra, refers to the beautiful designs of Bengal-Gujrat." "The City of Jaipur laid out by a Bengalee Architect in the 18th Century, is the best known example of a modern Indian city, planned in accordance with the ancient Hindu tradition."—Havell : *A Study of Indo-Aryan Civilisation*, pp. 12-20.



Relief work at the base of a pillar with the figure of Garuda

Adina and Gour (now in ruins), Pratapaditya's Jessore, Sitaram's Mahammadpur, Rajballav's buildings (now under the waters of the Padma) are also famous in history. It is certainly a regrettable fact that no effort has ever been made to preserve and maintain these ancient buildings constructed at an enormous cost or to keep any record or description of these, the finest and the best specimens of ancient structural workmanship. It is a great pity, and who are responsible for this? Mainly the Zeminders. The present Zeminders of Bengal inherited those properties of their forefathers but left their native districts for the more comfortable town and city life, leaving to others the responsibility and duty of looking after the welfare of the places where once their ancestors flourished. While enjoying life in the city they managed to forget all about the places of their origin and thus allowed the residential houses of their ancestors, full of tradition and memories, to be destroyed by the ravages of time and nature. In this way the glory of our ancient architectural skill and workmanship has met with a sad end leaving behind no record or history. This was to some extent remedied by Lord Curzon, who introduced the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act on the 18th March, 1904, but the Act was a little too late because before that date Bengal had already lost many of her ancient monuments.



Shield and sword on a brick

In the 16th and the 17th centuries some Hindu chiefs (Samanta Rajas) defying the



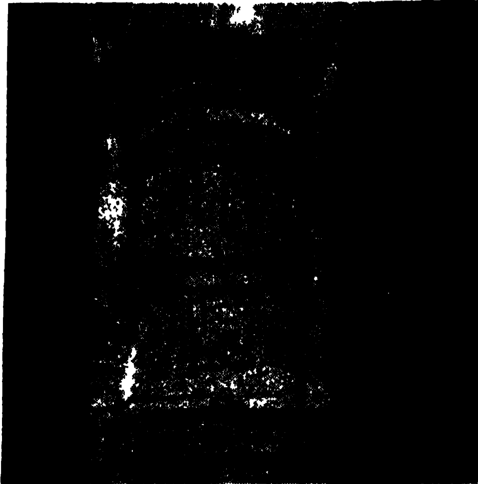
Upper storey of the Temple of Raja Ram Roy

Mughal power, came to Bengal and settled in the land as squatters and a few of them afterwards attempted to secure "Jagirs" from the Mughal Government. Practically Bengal was then under the 12 Bhuians. Recently I have procured a transcript copy of the Dacca University manuscript No. 475.B. which contains the old history of Raja Ram Roy and the village Khalia. This Raja Ram Roy was a rival and contemporary of Raja Sitaram Roy of Bhusna-Mahammadpur. From the historical point of view Khalia, which was formerly within the jurisdiction of the Dacca district (South Bikrampur), then within Backerganj and now within the territorial jurisdiction of the Faridpur district, claims to be one of the oldest villages in Bengal. Owing to its peculiar position, being bounded by rivers almost on all sides, the village gradually flourished both in population and in material prosperity.

"The narrative in the records proceeds to relate that from Kamrupa Yuan-Chuang went south and after a journey of 1200 or 1300 li, reached the country of Sanno-ta-ta (Samatata). This country which was on the seaside and was low and moist was more than 3000 li, in circuit, and its capital was above 20 li, in circuit ....Cunningham regarded the Samatata of the passage as being the District of 'the Delta of the Ganges, the chief city of which was occupied by Jessore.' Fergusson considers it to be the Dacca District the former capital of which was Sonargaon. We should probably place it South of Dacca, and the district of modern Faridpur." Watters: *Yuan-Chuang's Travels in India*, p. 187.

In the heart of the village there stands a two storied building partly dilapidated which was constructed by Raja Ram Roy. The lower storey consists of 4 side-rooms and 2 halls. The upper storey has 2 side-rooms, one hall and one open verandah. The materials are strong and durable. Its workmanship appears to be wonderful, is of very great interest to research scholars and so fine that the ravages of centuries could do but little damage to the building. Although the groundfloor has partly sunk down the parts that remain above the ground exhibit a marvellous achievement as regards architectural skill and technique of the mediaeval age. The bricks of the building are of rather smaller size and so sturdily set up that it is a most difficult job to take one out of the body of the building. Some walls are inscribed with images of Hindu gods and goddesses and some exhibit scenes of ancient anecdotes from the Ramayana and the Mahabharata. Though the main spire of the building has been partly spoiled by the growth of big banian trees and, shrubs, it is a sight to look at. Many people from far off places come to see this wonderful

monument, and are struck by its unique workmanship and solidity. There can be seen ruins all around the village where one can find bricks of the mediaeval age with different inscriptions, which reveal the fact that once this



Upper portion of a pillar

village Khalia was adorned with temples and buildings, tanks and towers. The two sides of the roof are hut-shaped or *chouchal* type.

"The Bengalee introduced a new form of roof which has had a most important influence on both the Mahamedan and Hindu styles" Fergusson's *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, Vol II, p. 253 Woodcut No. 404.

The middle dome is of the *Bengala* type which is crowned by a great lotus or *maha-padma* and a *kalasha* or waterpot.

"In the Hindu buildings on the contrary it is always treated as an important part of the Dome structure.. .....The water-pot or Kalasha containing a lotus bud placed above the Maha-Padma or the amalaka as a final was a most appropriate symbol of the creative element and of life itself"- Havell · *Indian Architecture*, pp 27-99.

The great lotus or *maha-padma* is the *ashana* or seat of Brahma or the Creator of the Universe, and the *kalasha* or water-pot or *purna kumbha* indicates the prayer for the fulfilment of the desires. The front of the upper storey is covered with designs in terra-cotta and the lovely arches are supported by short pillars which are richly ornamented.

"They employed the arch everywhere and in every building that they had any pretension to permanency. The Bengalee style being, however, the only one wholly of brick in India proper, has a local individuality of its own, which is curious and interesting." Fergusson : *Indian History and Eastern Architecture*, Vol. II, p. 253.

"The Bengali builders being brick-layers rather than stone-masons had learnt to use the radiating arch whenever useful for constructive purpose, long before the Mahomedans came there." Havell : *Indian Architecture*, pp. 52-56.

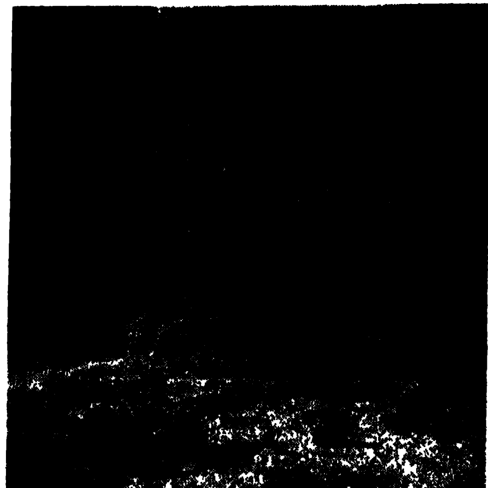
Besides the inscribed images of gods and goddesses there are scenes of *mrigaya* or dear-hunting and individual figures, *e.g.*, Garuda, Dusshasana-badha, lion, elephant, shield and sword, etc. The local tradition says that the lower storey was decorated with battle-scenes from the Ramayana.

Regarding the fine architecture and style of Bengal, Fergusson states in his *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* Vol. II, p. 255:

"The city of Gour was the famous capital of the Hindus long before it was taken possession of by the Mahomedans........many fragments of Hindu art and architecture are found amongst the ruins, and if carefully examined might enable us to restore the style...... it is neither like that of Delhi or Jaunpur nor any other style but purely local and not without considerable merit in itself."

The genealogy and activities of Raja Ram Roy, are here worth mentioning (from the D. U. MS. No.—475B).

The origin of the Brahmins of Bengal is traced back to the time of Adisur who invited five Brahmins in 654 Saka era to this province from Kanyakubja to settle in Bengal permanently. The names of the Brahmins were Sriharsa, Bhattanarayan, Daksha, Bedagarbha and



Lower portion of a pillar

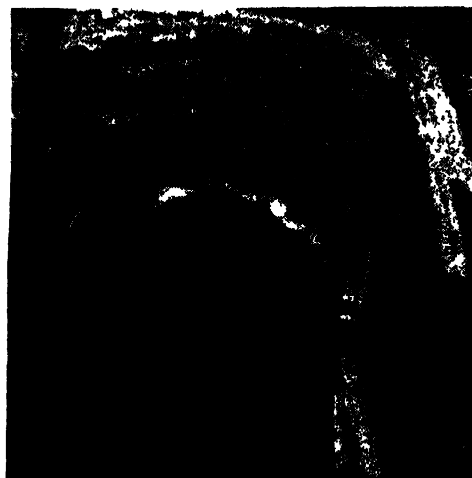
Chandara. They had altogether 59 sons. Ballalsen the next king of Bengal in 1119 A.D recognised their religious greatness and appreciated the multifariousness of the rites and duties performed by these Brahmins, and divided them into two social ranks, Kulin and Srotriya, having slightly different duties. Out of fifty-

nine Brahmins, 22 were ranked as Kulins and 37 as Srotriyas. In the line of Sriharsa a very pious and religious-minded man was born by the name of Sureswara. He had two sons Chhakari and Nakari. The former was without any issue and the descendants of the latter are the present Choudhury families of Khalia in the district of Faridpur. Nakari was a man of power and



The Temple of Raja Ram Roy at Khalia

prestige. He was rich and had in his possession elephants, chariots, cavalry, and infantry For this reason, the title of "Roy Chaturdhary," that is the holder of four powers was conferred upon him. With his army he invaded Fathejanga-nagar in the district of Faridpur; the fight actually took place at the village of Narayanpur. Narayan Roy had a son named Mahesh Chandra who conquered Fathepur and assumed the title of Raja. Afterwards Mahesh Chandra settled at the village Khalia where he built several temples dedicated to God Siva. He died a premature death leaving his only son Raja Ram Roy Choudhury (Choudhury is derived from Chaturdhary) Raja Ram in due course invaded Kashimpur and annexed it to his estate. He built temples of Kali, Siva, and Govinda according to the rules laid down in the Shastras. He excavated many beautiful tanks and erected buildings for the public, a number of which (a few buildings, temples and tanks) can still be seen at Khalia. Above all he performed with pomp the religious rites and ceremonies introduced by his forefathers. He visited all the places of pilgrimage in India by boat and other means of transport. There was a fight between Raja Ram Roy Choudhury and Sitaram Roy, one of the most powerful of 12 Bhuians of Bengal, in the 17th century, for the recovery of a vast plot of land covering 27 villages in the possession of the latter. In course of this fight Sitaram's son-in-law was killed and his party defeated. After this defeat as Sitaram was again preparing for a second fight with a large number of soldiers, it is said that he heard a voice from heaven: "You will never be able to defeat Raja Ram," on which he withdrew his army with a broken heart. Overcoming all difficulties Raja Ram by his own efforts established his name and fame. On account of his generosity, humanity and simplicity he was respected by all. Three well-accomplished sons, Raghudev, Ramchandra and Krishnadev were born to him. When he died full of years and honours, his sons performed the Sradh ceremony with great pomp and eclat and distributed generous gifts to Brahmins who came from far-off localities. The descendants of Raja Ram kept up the tradition as regards performance of religious rites and were famous in their days throughout the province of Bengal. The extent and solidarity of Raja Ram's Zamindary can be conceived from the fact that though it has suffered continuous deterioration for the last three hundred years or so, even today as many as two thousand men and women look forward for the income of the estates for their support and



The decorated arch

maintenance by its realisation. The descendants of Raja Ram are credited with many notable activities both social and religious. The name of one deserves special mention. He was Kali Kinkar Roy. He visited all the Hindu pilgrimages from the Cape Comorin to Kashmir

sometimes on foot and sometimes by boat. In a vision he was asked to bring the goddess Annapurna to Khalia and place her in a temple with the due performance of rites and ceremonies. After that he performed the Agnihotri-yajna



Ornamental work on outer wall

which required very great determination and very heavy expenditure, one of the items of the Yajna being to kindle a fire in open air (in a *kunda* 80 cubits square); this fire was under no circumstances to be extinguished during the lifetime of the performer and was to be constantly fed with ghee and sandal-wood. There is no record in Bengal of any other man performing such a Yajna and bringing it to a successful finish.

The remains of these ancient temples at Khalia as illustrated in the article are still to be found, and it is high time that the department of Archaeological Survey of India looked into the matter to preserve the relics of Bengal's architectural art and workmanship and protect them from certain devastation.

It will not be out of place, I think, in this connection to quote a few authoritative opinions regarding these temples of Khalia. Dr. R. C. Mazumdar, Vice-Chancellor, University of Dacca and the President of the Indian History Congress, 1939, says :

> ....It is a temple of the late mediaeval period. such temples were very popular in Bengal.........in view of the antiquity and the peculiar style of the building, it certainly ought to be preserved.

Mr. U. Ghosal, I.C.S. says :

> ....The building appears to possess intrinsically sufficient historical importance and interest which entitle it to claim protection under the Ancient Monument Preservation Act.

Mr. S. K. Saraswati of the Calcutta University observes :

> ....The temple, as the reproduction shows consists of a two-storeyed structure, of which the lower one is badly damaged. The upper storey shows elaborate ornamentation, in terracotta, on the front facade. The heavy and squat pillars supporting the lobed arches are also elaborately decorated.
>
> What constitutes the peculiarity of the building is its arrangement into three lateral components, each covered over by a roof, copied from Bengali hut-shaped types. Those at the two sides represent what is known as the *Chauchala* type, while the middle one is of the *Bengala* type. Both the types are common and such separate structures are quite usual in the mediaeval architectural types. But a combination of two types in a single structure is rare and not commonly known. Storeyed structures of such types are also not usual. As an architectural type the building thus may be said to have some peculiar and unusual features, and hence ought not to be allowed to perish.



THE LEPCHAS AND THEIR NEIGHBOURS

By JITENDRA KUMAR NAG, B.L.

SIKKIM, the small Himalayan country between Nepal and Bhutan is the land of the Lepchas, a Mongoloid primitive tribe of the Himalaya mountains, that are gradually diminishing in numerical strength. In Darjeeling, the important headquarter and trade centre of British Sikkim, the Lepchas have been very much overshadowed by the dominant race, the Nepalese. The Bhotias, too, an advanced community, have kept them in the background because of the Lepchas' adherence to their old and own primitive manners, customs and mode of living.

In Darjeeling, which was once a part of Sikkim, the Lepchas are in an appreciable minority and are much handicapped financially in a sense, that they do not do well in the competition as regards employments with their neighbours. In Sikkim, however, they are in a better position, as, fortunately for them, other hill tribes could not filtrate to a great extent to this, their mother country.



A Tibetan-Lepcha family

The entire population of the Lepchas, mostly living in Sikkim and Darjeeling, was, during the last 1931 census, 25,161. Sikkim alone has got a population of 110,000 of which 25,780 are Lepchas. Unfortunately 50 per cent of these Lepchas are of mixed origin as they are intermingled with Bhutias, Tibetans, Bhutanese and other local hill tribes living in the region, and only thirteen thousand were found to be tribally pure.



A Lepcha boy

The influx of the other Buddhist Himalayan tribes has in a way eradicated to some extent, in the Lepchas, primitivism and superstitious beliefs prevailing among them. Though they are losing their tribal originality, they are availing the benefit of modern civilisation. Naturally, there is conscious and unconscious resistance amongst the Lepcha folk against the imitation of the manners and customs of the other Paharia communities, such as those of the Nepalese, Bhutias, Tibetans, etc., who are either Hindus or Buddhists, but they cannot escape from assimilation of some of the customs of these races. Thus the number of purely primitive Lepchas is declining.

The Lepchas are said to have originally settled in the Upper Himalayas, Tibet and the

region beyond Sikkim, but in the 16th and 17th centuries they were pushed southwards to the lands along or below the Rangeet valley by the hardy Tibetans. The Tibetans tried to exploit



A Lepcha woman labourer

them and foist their religion, Buddhism on them. But the animist Lepchas, however primitive they might be, were reluctant to profess the cult of Buddha. And the Tibetan influence however strong it might be, was not enough ultimately to convert them to Buddhism. The Lepchas have a faith of their own, based on spirit and ancestor worship, but curiously enough, they are also swayed by the Tibetan Lamas, who are often invited by the Lepchas to act as priests on occassions. The Lamas have been as a rule, performing the duties of priests in all religious ceremonies of these animist Lepchas from the time they came in contact with the Tibetans.

Unlike the neighbouring hill people the primitive Lepchas have no written language of their own. Their mother-tongue too is almost identical with the Tibetan language. Hence they differ much in speech from their Nepali and Bhutia brethren and rarely borrow any word from their languages. The Lepchas call themselves as *Rongs*, meaning settlers retaining their own mother-tongue. The speaking dialects of the Lepchas are so full of Tibetan words that one is almost led to believe that the two languages are closely intimate if not cognatic. According to the Nepali dictionary, Lepchā or Lāpche means 'vile speakers,' a name contemptuously attributed to these folks by the Nepalese for the Lepchas' non-acceptance of the Nepali tongue. The Nepalis constitute about fifty per cent of the population of Darjeeling, whereas the Lepchas will not exceed 10 per cent. Both the Nepalis and Bhotias are progressive people and they, through their wit and merit, have been able to capture most of the employments.

II

The Lepchas are remarkably Mongolian in feature with dark olive shades on their yellowish complexion. They are short in stature, seldom exceeding 5 ft. The Lepchas of Darjeeling are poor and ill-fed, so they look very udeveloped. The real Lepchas of Sikkim are hardy and well-built, for they are not so destitute and like other hill people possess good physique. The physical characteristics of a Lepcha, distinguishing him from people of other hill tribes, are his hands and feet that are short in proportion to the body.

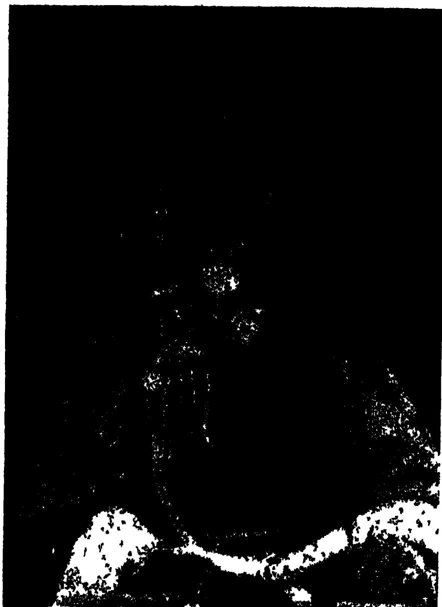
A Lepcha male seldom cuts the hair of his head but allow them to grow. He dresses them



A Nepalese woman of Darjeeling

in coiffures and the peculiar scantiness in the growth of hair on the moustache and beard is as well marked amongst them as in other Tibeto-Himalayan people of the Mongoloid race.

The epicanthic folds in the upper lids of the eye are in very few cases missed. The high cheek bones and almond-shaped eyes of the Lepchas are prominent. The womenfolk alike



A Tibetan-Bhutanese woman

the menfolk are timid, cool tempered and shy and less stout than the Bhutia females.

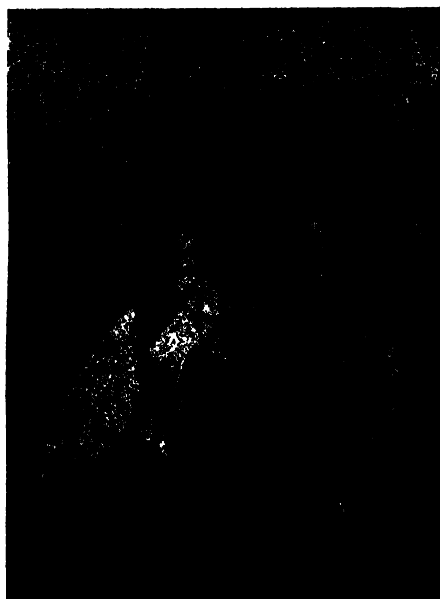
A particular kind of dress characterises the tribe, so that one can recognise the Lepchas amongst a group of all other hill tribes in Darjeeling. It is *dum dyamn,* as the natives call it. It is a long garment, made of home-spun or mill yarn, thick (sometimes very thick), reaching up to the knees or longer, leaving often arms bare, there is fastening arrangement at the waist like our dressing gown. This dress is used by both the sexes as an upper garment. In general the Lepcha dress is almost like that worn by the Tibetans. The girls are seen to put on always a peculiar type of skirt. The whole dress has wide sleeves and when put on is girdled by a belt which tightens it at the waist.

The girls of the well-to-do families often resemble the Bhotia belles with their happy round face, flat nose and prominent cheeks. They are not only good looking but also hardy and strong, and work for their families.

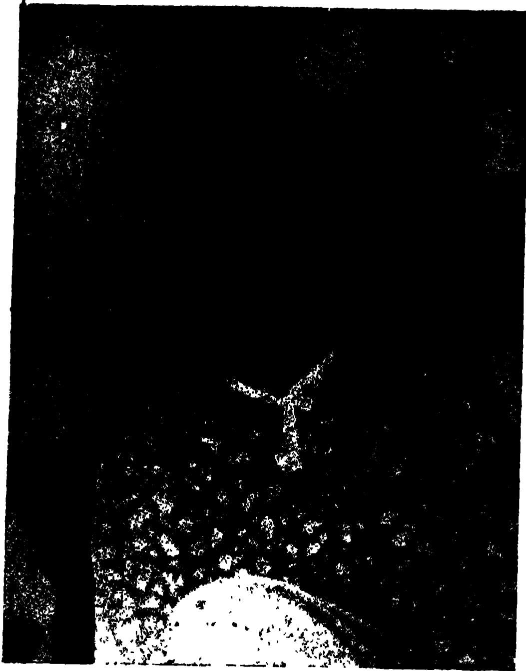
The Lepchas in their mother country, Sikkim, have preserved some form of clan organisation in their society. There are several clans among them. A boy or a girl of one clan is never wed to any one belonging to the same clan. He or she is allowed to marry only in clans other than his or her own.

Preliminary to marriage, a custom has grown amongst the Lepchas to persuade the groom to live in the house of the bride for a period that may extend to a year until the guardians or the mother of the bride are satisfied as to his docility, before the groom starts home with their ward, the bride. Sometimes he is called upon to pay a bride price. The guardians on both sides usually make marriage settlements, but in many cases the bridegroom, being a grown-up person marries of his own accord. In those cases, negotiations take place between the family of the bride and the groom himself. The village chief is of course called upon to help the groom. There is a matchmaker too.

The boy returns home after staying for a few months in his would-be mother-in-law's place and then the ceremony of the wedding follows. He starts with his party from his village to the bride's place and marries her, observing all the customary rites. On the return journey the bride accompanies him. She is veiled, and carried by her husband slung hammock-wise in a sheet the ends of which are attached to a long bamboo pole. They are followed by a procession of the invited guests who are fed by the groom's party.



A Tibetan woman of Darjeeling



A Bhutanese woman

After the wedding is over the young husband takes his wife to a new house he builds to bring in his own family. If the wife is unfaithful and goes away from her husband's place or if a child is not born to her, the husband claims from the bride's family a return of the bride price. The seducer, though he may be severely punished by the community, has to compensate the husband. The compensation is calculated upon the costs incurred by the husband on the occasion of the marriage. Divorce is effected and the girl is allowed to live with the person she loves.

Lepchas can marry and maintain more than one wife, but they are ordinarily content with one. Polygamy is allowed but is not in vogue mainly on account of financial difficulty and for avoiding quarrels in a family. They do not practise polyandry like the Tibetans. There are rare cases of polyandry in Upper Sikkim where the Tibetan influence is rampant.

The Lepchas are born naturalists. They have names for almost every bird, plants, insect and butterfly. The forces of nature are looked upon as something like spirits. The rainstorms, floods, thunder and lightning, famine and scarcity of food crops or anything that is not normal in the sphere of their life are feared so much that they think that some evil spirit must be the creator of these evil calamities. To a Lepcha rivers, forests and mountains are all animated with spirits.

THE UNITY OF ART

By Principal P. SESHADRI, M.A.

One of the misconceptions regarding Art, widely prevalent all over the world, is to look upon it as divided into various watertight compartments, each guided by a different set of principles. The philosophic analysis developed by Lessing in his *Laocoon,* drawing attention to the difference in outlook, aim and means, among the various Fine Arts is perhaps responsible for the feeling even among aesthetic circles, though it will be conceded that each has a different technique of its own and particular aspects of Beauty seem to find more apt expression in some than in others.

Lessing may be right when he suggested, after an examination of the famous group of statuary in the Vatican, portraying Laocoon the priest of Neptune and his two children struggling with the sea-serpent and the corresponding description in the *Aeneid* of Virgil, that the beauty of repose is more suited to Sculpture than Poetry, while the latter is specially fit for portraying life in action. If Laocoon is not represented in the statue as "bellowing like a bull" as conceived by Virgil, it is because the representation of "close-lipped suffering" is more effective in sculpture than an open mouth. Virgil described the priest as crowned with chaplets of flowers, but in sculpture, they could only have obscured the forehead and prevented the artist from showing the swollen veins on the face and the strenuous exertion.

In spite of such differences, the unity of Art has been recognised from very early times. Simonides, in the fifth century B.C., was in a position to declare that "poetry was eloquent painting and painting was dumb poetry." If poetry did not evoke picturesque imagery in the mind, it would lose one of its most important

attractions, though it is possible to recall at least some poetry which is not of this type, but appeals to the abstract mind. It is, therefore, not surprising that many poets have been inclined to be painters also, Dante Gabriel Rossetti being an admirable example. In fact, it will be difficult to say, with any conclusiveness, whether Rossetti was greater as a poet than as a painter or greater as a painter than as a poet. It is also not without significance that Rabindranath Tagore should have been indulging, in recent years, in various attempts at Painting, which are undoubtedly more than mere experiments in the Art. The student will have no difficulty in recalling such example of the practice of more than one Fine Art as Leonardo da Vinci and Michael Angelo. It may not be generally known that the English poet Blake made his living by exercising the art of engraving, whatever his genius as a poet, and William Morris took Designing as his serious vocation and poetry was only his recreation.

Conversely, Painting would not have much value if it were not full of life and if the picture did not seem to have a message for us, though it is not communicated in actual words. The story of the famous painting with life-like wolves, at wheih the hounds barked as they entered the room is an interesting example. Could it be denied that the hounds actually saw the wolves in motion and perhaps even heard them in their imagination, when they burst out into a hunting cry ? The creator of the beautiful story of Pygmalion in Greek mythology showed an instinctive perception of the truth in yet another sphere. It was not difficult for the sculptor to feel, and wish as he passed his hands over her beautifully chiselled limbs, that she should come to life, an aspiration which the gods were so kind as to fulfil !

Somewhat similar to the epigram of Simonides is the observation of Goethe that Architecture is "petrified music." Elaborating the conception, it is possible to point out that if only a beautiful building which is a real work of art, could speak, its voice would obviously be a rare piece of musical symphony, the working of a really great Master of Song. If, as a logical conclusion of the process of dissolving solids into liquids and rarifying them into gasses, there was such a process as releasing it into the energy of sounds, could the result be anything other than music ?

Striking realization of this unity is also furnished by the well-known Indian tradition of representing *Ragas* in pictures, which are eminently suggestive of the corresponding musical notes. Moghul painting has numerous examples of the Art which was continued effectively even in the more recent Kangra School. Many successful specimens can also be seen in the Jaipur, Jodhpur and Alwar Palace libraries and in the Badri Das Jain Temple in Calcutta, not to speak of the authoritative treatise on the subject, by the late Sir Sourindramohan Tagore in Bengal. The average Westerner has often found it difficult to understand this convention, but perhaps some great European painter of the future will give similar interpretations of Mozart, Beethoven and Wagner.

To the Hindu, steeped in immemorial traditions of different *avatars* or manifestations of the same God, it may not be difficult to explain that the Fine Arts are all different facets of the same Beauty. Diana was only of 'triune loveliness,' but Art is a fascinating Goddess of five faces or even more, Poetry, Painting, Music, Sculpture and Architecture, each vying with the others in its rapturous beauty, entering, in spirit, the mind and soul of man.



SIR DANIEL HAMILTON

By Rai Bahadur SUKUMAR CHATTERJI, M.A., M.B.E.,
Institute of Rural Reconstruction, Sriniketan

Daniel Mackinnon Hamilton was born at Helensburgh in Scotland in 1860. He came out to India at an early age as a junior assistant in the firm of Mackinnon Mackenzie & Co. of Calcutta, and, by dint of sheer ability, rose to be its senior partner. In 1904, he was appointed to be an additional member of the Viceroy's Council and in 1906 he was Knighted.

When he retired from business, he settled down at his residence at Balcamara but continued to be in close touch with India, coming to Bengal almost every autumn. Later on, when he acquired his property at Gosaba, his time was divided between the princely mansion house in Scotland and the unpretentious wooden bungalow in the wilds of the Sundarbans and on the outermost fringe of civilization.

He died at Balcamara in December, 1939.

During the first period of Sir Daniel's life, there was very little outwardly to distinguish him from the hundreds of Britishers who came out to India for business careers, make their piles and look forward to the enjoyment of the evenings of their lives in their homeland. If they ever turn their gaze to the wider sphere outside the immediate circle of their business interests and think of the problems which do not directly concern them, they seldom consider it their duty to interfere in these matters. There is much to be said in favour of this general attitude but, like every other rule, this has its exceptions and the life and work of Sir Daniel Hamilton afforded a striking example of such exceptional men.

His phenomenal success in business must have absorbed all his energy and intelligence. The idealism, with which his mind was so richly endowed, was never allowed to lift him away from the solid earth on which he lived and moved. But it is also clear that, even during this period of a strenuous business career, the unseen mind was working, observing the facts that took place around him, taking stock of things and analysing them and trying to investigate their root causes. The conclusion at which he arrived was stated with the characteristic force of his style at the Bengal Co-operative Conference in 1919. He said :

"India with her huge population may well be described as the minus quantity of the Empire—minus education—minus doctors and medicines—minus sanitation and, in the year of scarcity, minus food,—minus water—minus clothes and all else that make the wheel of life turn smoothly."

A sensitive and idealistic mind like that of Sir Daniel could not rest satisfied with the mere contemplation of this melancholy state of things and during the rest of his life with which we are concerned, his activities and his numerous speeches and writings show how seriously he devoted himself to the task of improving the lot of the people of the country of his adoption. They also reveal that he took considerable pains to be acquainted with the early history, literature and philosophy of this ancient land.

The more he studied these problems, the more was he convinced that their real and ultimate solution lay, not so much in political reforms, as in the introduction of a sounder and more rational economic organisation. As these ideas gradually developed and took shape in his mind, there emerged a three-fold scheme comprising (*i*) the elimination of the money-lender, (*ii*) the expansion of the Co-operative Movement and (*iii*) the proper utilisation of paper currency.

The Sowcar or the Money-lender

Rural indebtedness has long been recognised as a problem of outstanding importance and the part which the village money-lender has played in the life of the cultivator has been subjected to frequent and searching examination. On this subject, Sir Daniel held strong and extreme views. He attributed the miseries of the cultivator mainly to the activities of the money-lender. Against that class, therefore, he waged a relentless war and his feelings find frequent vent in language which might not always be regarded as fully justified.

Speaking of an outbreak of anthrax in the Sunderbans, he exclaims :

"Why did the cattle die? Because the Government had inoculated the mahajan instead of the cattle . . . . . . There is plenty of money in the country to provide for more men and serum, but it has been allowed to pass into enemy's hands . . . . . . The Collector of 24-Parganas is not my friend, Mr. W. D. Prentice, I.C.S. but Ramcharan, the mahajan. For every rupee of land revenue collected by Government for the people, Ramcharan is allowed to collect ten for himself. Is this high finance"?

In this strain he continues :

"Doctors are scarce because Mahajans are plentiful. The Government purse is empty because the Mahajan's is full. The services are lean because the Mahajan is fat. The people die because the Mahajan lives. Their lives are dyed with a dull dead grey because the Mahajan wears purple and gold."

And then comes the peroration :

"Young men, you may have no dealings with the Mahajan, but he has many dealings with you, for it is he who keeps so many of you out of employment. Now suppose the Mahajan were to die and leave his business to Government, see what would happen . . . . May he die soon"? (Paper read before the Bengal Social Service League, 1918).

The Co-operative Solution

If the Mahajan goes out of the picture, how is the cultivator to be financed ? Sir Daniel has not the slightest doubt or hesitation in suggesting the remedy.

"The Mahajan lies entrenched behind his money-bags while the victims of his silver bullets lie all around in heaps. When is this dacoity to cease ? . . . . India stands a thousand years behind the times because the Mahajan with his ruinous rate of interest stands athwart the path of progress, and only the Government can remove him by the development of the Man and Money power of the country along co-operative lines. Only along the co-operative *vista* will India find the way from poverty to plenty." (Address to students of the Scottish Churches College, 1917)

Till the day of his death, Sir Daniel was the staunchest non-official supporter of the movement in Bengal. With many of the early co-workers in the field, he firmly and sincerely believed that not only the economic but the political salvation of the country could be achieved by its development on co-operative lines. Even experience administrators like the Hon'ble Sir P. C. Lyon shared this view and speaking at the Provincial Co-operative Conference of 1913, he looked forward to the time

"when the Co-operative Credit Society of each village, bringing the people together for all matters connected with the weal of the village, will be linked up with the system of village and circle Government and will be utilised as the only efficient electoral unit"

The political philosophy of Sir Daniel Hamilton was strongly coloured by his co-operative bias. He was not entirely satisfied with the state of things in the West. He said in 1919 :

"Gentlemen, the war is over but peace has not yet come. We now see a world-wide revolt of labour against capital. It is the same red flag, with different degrees of redness, which has been raised in Petrograd, on the Clyde, in America, in Bombay and in Madras and, though peace may be patched up from time to time, the flag will not be lowered until the present industrial system has given place to a better in which Capital and Labour are one."

Elsewhere he continued in the same strain and developed his thesis further.

"And when I looked westwards, what did I see ? A fabric of civilization joined together not by mutual trust but divided by antagonism and mutual greed, party against party, capital against labour, church against church, woman against man . . . . . . I wanted something better for India. India had no use for Europe's second-hand political rags and old top hat. Give her a chance, and, on her co-operator's loom, she will weave a garment of her own, in which the many colours will be blended into one."

Believing that the economic salvation of the country can only be achieved by the co-operative organisation of the people, he was impatient at the paucity of results and the failure of the Government to force the pace of the movement and to provide for the requisite staff and trained officers. At the Provincial Conference in 1919, he moved a resolution calling upon the Government of Bengal to formulate a definite development policy for the co-operative movement in order that it may cover the province in ten years' time and to strengthen the staff of the co-operative department.

In his public utterances and writings, he frequently reverted to this topic and later on, after the publication of the Report of the Royal Commission, he took his stand on the finding of that Commission, that it was the duty of every Government to provide a highly educated and well-trained staff of officials for the development of the movement.

The Problem of Finance

In the New India that was to be, according to Sir Daniel's ideas, the money-lender would not exist. His place would be taken by a net-work of co-operative organisations, covering the entire sub-continent. But the financing of the agriculture of the country would require an enormous amount of money. Where was this money to come from ? On this point also, Sir Daniel had a clear-cut reply. In fact, his views on finance and currency may be considered by many to be radical and heterodox in nature. In his public utterances and writings, during the latter part of his life, it was on this point that he laid the greatest emphasis.

The space at my disposal would not permit any critical discussion or even a full exposition of his views. Basing his case on the well-known dictum of Adam Smith, that, "the annual labour of every nation is the fund that originally supplies it with all the necessaries and conveniences of life," he recorded a vehement protest against the theory that the paper currency of a country must be restricted to the available gold or silver reserve. "A restricted supply of productive cre-

dit money," said Sir Daniel, "means a restricted life, a shrivelled body, a shrunken soul." He was therefore indignant when the one rupee note. which was called into being at the time of inflation during the war, was abolished. He was never tired of citing the example of his own country, Scotland, and the marvellous progress and prosperity of that country during the eighteenth century, achieved mainly through the issue of one pound notes by the Scottish Banks. He firmly believed that "the one rupee note, harnessed to the ryot and the hand-loom weavers of India, would do for this country what the £1 note did for Scotland." He called it sheer stupidity and bad finance "to regulate the issue of credit money by the output of gold and silver mines at the other end of the earth." He thought it was folly that "the people of India should stop growing rice because some miners in South Africa had stopped raising gold" and he considered it "a sign of senile decay in the finance department of Government to regulate the food supply of India by the silver output of Mexico."

The Work at Gosaba

But the practical mind and overflowing energy of Sir Daniel did not exhaust itself merely in his writings and speeches. When the people whom he sought to convince seemed to turn a deaf ear to his advice, he thought that example would be better than precept and the result was Gosaba.

Gosaba is one of the numerous islets, within the Gangetic delta in the northern fringe of the Sunderbuns. Sir Daniel chose it as a suitable place where to carry out his experiment, obtained a lease of it from the Government, reclaimed, developed and colonised it and here he spent a considerable part of his time with his wife.

In 1937, the present writer had an opportunity of paying a visit to Gosaba. The memory of that visit, the courtesy, kindness and hospitality of Sir Daniel and Lady Hamilton and the recollection of all that he was privileged to see will remain fresh in his mind for many years.

Gosaba is a co-operative state in miniature, where the economic life of the people gyrate round the triple organisation consisting of the Co-operative Central Bank, the Co-operative Stores and the Co-operative Rice Mills. In the 18 villages in which the tenants live, paddy is the staple agricultural produce. These tenants are financed, through the agency of the village Co-operative Banks by the Central Bank at the Centre. With this money, the cultivators subsist during the season of cultivation and defray their expenses.

At this stage, the Gosaba Samabay Bhandar or the Co-operative Stores play an important part by supplying the necessaries of life at a reasonable price and thus saving them from being victimised by unscrupulous traders.

When at last the crop is harvested, the villages of Gosaba, like other villages in the reclaimed portion of the Sunderbuns, are visited by hosts of traders, who taking advantage of the geographical seclusion of the people, their helplessness and ignorance, are able to induce them to part with their produce at a rate much below the proper price. This is prevented at Gosaba by the sale organisation in the shape of the Rice Mills. The producers are able to take their entire produce to the Mills where, after deducting the money due from them on account of the crop loan, an advance is made to each of the value of the remainder of the crops, pending final settlement of the dues of each after the paddy is milled and sold in Calcutta, through the Central Co-operative Paddy Sale Society.

Depression had set in in 1929 and, by 1937 most of the rural credit societies in the province were bordering on a state of inanition. It was therefore a pleasant surprise to the present writer to find, in this remote corner of Bengal, a group of rural credit societies not only alive but functioning satisfactorily, supplying the members with necessary finance, and embracing the whole of their economic life by linking them up with the Stores and Mills.

It was also in this cycle of co-operative organisation that Sir Daniel found scope for an experiment of his scheme for the manufacture of credit. He had 1,100 one rupee notes of his own printed and circulated in his estate. What these notes signified and the purpose they were meant to serve will be clear from inscriptions thereon. Sir Daniel was very proud of the circulation they had achieved and he presented to the writer one of these notes with the request that it should be shown and explained to his friends and acquaintances.

The Rural Reconstruction Institute

The exertions of Sir Daniel, however, were not restricted to the co-operative organisations. He felt keenly for the unemployed youth of the middle classes. He thought that, with proper expansion of the co-operative movement, it would absorb a large number of our unemployed young men, while the economic advancement of the country would afford employment to an addi-

tional number He had his schemes ready, but they found favour neither with the Government nor with the public.

To give a practical shape to his ideas in this respect, he established a Rural Reconstruction Institute at Gosaba where *Bhadralog* young men may obtain training in agriculture and allied industries, the theory and practice of co-operation, Banking and rural reconstruction He hoped that these young men would be able to grow their own food, provide for their own requirements and, by their example and precept, help in the organisation and development of the villages on sound lines

LADY HAMILTON

No account of the life and work of Sir Daniel Hamilton will be complete without a reference to his wife who has survived him. She was not only a true helpmate of her husband, but she identified herself completely with his life and work cheerfully reconciling herself to the banishment at Gosaba and depriving herself of much that life means to the people of her sex.

It is no wonder, therefore, that the name of Sir Daniel Hamilton is almost a household word in Bengal and that, for a long time to come, his memory will be enshrined in the grateful minds of the people of the province.

INDIAN WOMANHOOD

MISS BANI GUPTA has secured a high Second Class in Ancient Indian History and Culture at the M A Examination of the Calcutta University this year Miss Gupta took up Fine Arts



Miss Bani Gupta

as her special subject and she is the first Bengali lady to come out successful from this University in Fine Arts Group. It is understood that Miss Gupta is preparing for a Research in this subject She is the daughter of Sj Lalit Mohan Gupta, proprietor of the Bharat Phototype Studio.



Sreemati Renuka Mitra

SREEMATI RENUKA MITRA has been awarded the P.A. (Proficient in Arts) degree (corresponding

to the M.A. degree of the C. U.) this year (1940) of the S. N. D. T. Indian Women's University of Bombay by submitting two thesis in Bengali. A committee composed of Bengali Specialists examined the thesis. According to the rules of the University a candidate has either to pass the examination in six papers (in one subject, in this case Bengali) for the P.A. degree or to submit a thesis which, if considered by a committee of specialists of sufficient merit, may be accepted for the whole examination or it may be taken in lieu of some papers and the candidate has to appear in the remaining papers. In the case of Sreemati Renuka, she was required to submit two thesis one for the fifth paper alone and the main thesis for the remaining five papers —thus an additional burden was laid upon her but she acquitted herself creditably in spite of it. She secured the G. A. (Graduate in Arts) degree of the said University in 1938. She has been educated at home throughout (except for one session only at Santiniketan) and passed the examinations of the Women's University from Entrance to P. A. as a private candidate.

INDIA'S CAUSE IN AMERICA

By AN AMERICAN

Progressive causes—such as that represented by the nationalist movement of India under the leadership of the Congress—have always evoked warm sympathy and support from the American people as a whole. That India's cause is unfortunately little known or understood in America, for reasons we shall suggest below, does not for a moment detract from the fact that *if* it were known and understood it would be met with the deepest sympathy. America contributed many millions of dollars and thousands of young men to the Spanish loyalists during their travail; it has contributed much to Chinese relief work and clearly indicated its opposition to the Presidential policy of supplying Japan with war materials in its attempted imperialist conquest of China; it has opposed vehemently the bloody marches of Hitler and the unwarranted attack of Soviet Russia upon the Finnish nation. In every fresh international outrage the bulk of Americans have always stood on the right side—that is, the side of genuine democracy and the right of all peoples to determine their own mode of government, free from imperialist coercion.

Cynics have suggested that all this is cheap sympathy, freely donated by a people who enjoy extraordinarily high living standards and democratic rights and can therefore shed liberal crocodile tears for the sufferings of others. *This is an absolutely false conception from two angles.* First, that this sympathy for others is genuine can be proven by pointing to its numerous concrete expressions. The greatest example is our entry and participation in the First World War. Regardless of the consequences, which were anything but what we had hoped for, the fact nevertheless remains that the American people agreed to participate in that war *only because* they thought it would be the last war, *only because* they thought it would firmly establish world democracy. That they were misled is not the point. They backed up Woodrow Wilson out of their hopes; now, of course, they will hesitate long before travelling the same road as 1917. Once bit, twice shy !

Secondly, the American people gained their standards and democratic rights not from heaven but only after long years of heavy struggle with natural forces and Man. They had to conquer a continent; they had to drive out foreign rulers; they had to subdue slave masters in four years of civil war. Nothing was given them. That is precisely why they place such high value on what they possess today; that is why they wish others to possess the same worthwhile things.

Americans can never forget the origin of their nation which, in many respects, will resemble the origin of the Indian nation when it finally achieves its independence. We too were ruled over by a foreign power—the same foreign power !—from afar. They exploited our land and prevented the growth of our industry. Finally, under the leadership of our nationalist leaders, that was brought to an end less than 200 years ago, and we entered the road of national freedom.

But we were by no means secure as yet. The War of 1812 definitely ended any threat of foreign rule, and the problem of negro slavery grew ever more threatening to our Republic. It was finally solved by our great Civil War. The

negro slave was emancipated from bondage. All this is an important part of the American people, particularly the memory of America's most beloved democrat, Abraham Lincoln. In one of his famous debates Lincoln once said, "This country with its institutions belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever the people therein shall have grown tired of the existing system they have the democratic and revolutionary right to change or abolish it by any means they see fit." This basic utterance of genuine American democratic thought has been extended by the American people to world events. If the English people have a right to their own régime, surely the people of India have the same right! That is the meaning of American democracy as applied to India. In this lies the guarantee that—provided India's cause is properly explained—it will receive popular American support.

It is true that America has nothing to be proud about in its treatment of the 3,000 East Indians who are now permanent residents of the United States. Most of these people (we call them all Hindus, although the bulk are Sikhs and Moslems, in order to distinguish them from our falsely named, aboriginal American Indians) live in California as farmers or agricultural laborers. The rest, aside from a few merchants and professional people, are either textile workers or struggling along at the most menial and unskilled tasks.

Worst of all, by an absurd decision of the American Supreme Court they have been denied the right to become naturalized American citizens on the ground that they are not members of the Caucasian (White) Race. This, of course, is false from a scientific and anthropological point of view but our judges will have to be educated otherwise. The result is a denial of elementary legal rights and difficulty in finding jobs during the present days of sharp unemployment.

How to explain all this? There are several reasons, one of which is perhaps sheer neglect and carelessness. The Indian population constitutes such a tiny group that in no sense can it be called a national minority or problem. This, of course, is no excuse. Secondly, most of them dwell in the California area where the problem of land ownership and acquisition has been especially severe because of attempted inroads by Chinese and Japanese immigrants. The California State Legislature, controlled by wealthy and reactionary American landlords, has for many years successfully enforced discriminatory legislation against *any* Asiatic peoples. This influence has extended right up to the American Congress at Washington and defeated progressive legislation. And finally, the Indian people themselves have been too divided along communal and economic lines to organize for any effective action.

Only recently has any sort of united activity been carried out. It has had its effect, although, because of the far graver problems confronting America, it would be wrong to exaggerate the results. The India Welfare League—a non-communal organization as is shown by the fact that its two leaders, Ramlal Bajpai and Mubarek Ali Khan, are respectively a Hindu and a Moslem—has been organized and has devoted itself to a nationwide campaign for citizenship rights and for popularizing the Congress cause in America. It has succeeded in having hearings before the American Congress, getting a naturalization bill introduced into both Houses and winning much support from Congressmen. At the next Congressional session it may well succeed where others have failed. At any rate, it presents a united face to the American public and vigorously attempts to counteract the main propagandistic weapon of the British—that India is not a nation, but a conglomeration of races who would fly at one another's throats if the present rulers should leave.

In the past India's cause has not been well presented or represented in America. If it had been, a book of the type of Mayo's *Mother India* would not have attained the notoriety it did. Although the effect of this book has been exaggerated (actually, it circulated primarily among upper class and reactionary-minded people) nevertheless Indian nationalism is not well known or understood. The truth is very few Americans know anything about India! There are two basic reasons for this.

First of all, in recent years there has been no official Congress representative and no organized educational efforts. Distinguished visitors come and go, but spasmodically and generally cover the same ground. Secondly—and perhaps most important—the propaganda work that is carried on is limited solely to one strata of the American population—the small group of liberals, intellectuals and up-to-date clergymen. Without belittling the importance of these people, I submit that they are thoroughly unrepresentative of America and that if Indian nationalism is ever to get a rearing in our country it must be brought within earshot of the American public—the vast middle class, the workers (we have 4 crores of industrial workers alone!) and the

farm population. These are the people who know nothing one way or the other about India. But these are the people who, once things have been explained, will understand. They are the genuine representatives of American democratic tradition.

In addition, I would like to offer the following criticism of those spokesmen who have come and those who have been in America for a number of years. Beside the fault of speaking to a limited audience, they all have another weakness in common which creates a bad impression on the American mind. In presenting their case, they assume the air of *pleaders* (in the literal sense of the word) and appear to suffer from a feeling of inferiority and apologeticism. They stress only the actions and crimes of British imperialism; they ignore the constructive work of the Congress and its program for the future. They appear to be pleading for sympathy and lack the firmness, conviction and positiveness that comes with a just cause. The American people if I am any judge, do not like this. They prefer those who stand up boldly and, with dignity, present their cause to the world. Those who come abegging repel them; those who reveal resoluteness win their respect and admiration. No Indian spokesman has yet revealed this spirit in America !

Such is the situation today. The field is still wide open in America for legitimate efforts to win sympathy and support for the Congress movement. Only the barest beginnings have been made, but if—as appears to be a reasonable likelihood now—a formal alliance comes into effect between the British Empire and America, then who can deny the importance of the matter ? If I may make a few practical suggestions, I would say the following :

(1) After suitable preparation and investigation, let some Indian or Indian organization in America be officially authorized to represent the Congress as is done in England, Japan, etc. No such individual or body exists today.

(2) Let an authoritative Congress spokesman—a member of the Working Committee, for example—tour America. Large meetings and important gatherings would most certainly be arranged. But let it be an authoritative spokesman in every sense of the word.

These are elementary and necessary steps if Indian Nationalism is to combat the idea now spreading throughout democratic circles that continued opposition and refusal to participate in the war (as represented by the Congress Ramgarh resolution) means that India is playing the game of Hitler. The whole history and tradition of the Amarican people means that—once things are presented in their true light—they will understand that those oppressed people who today are striving for national emancipation are the true and genuine representatives of world democracy which so many of us glibly claim to represent.

ERRATA

The Modern Review for October, 1940. "Dadaism" .

P. 425, col. I, l 47. *read* coffee *for* coffe.

P. 426, col. I, l 43 *read* young girl..........*the* first communion.

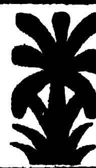
for young girl......*his* first communion.

P. 126, col. II, l 39, *read* Destructivism *for* Destructicism.

P 426, col. II, l 55, *read* splashed *for* plashed.



INDIAN PERIODICALS



Buddhism in Media, Parthia and Persia

Buddhism was once a flourishing religion in Media, Parthia and Persia. Bhikkhu Metteyya writes in *The Maha-Bodhi*:

In the heart of the golden Isle of Lanka, Suvannamali, the Maha-Thupa stands in trance-like beauty. It is as though a supreme Buddha were alive. The faithful come in thousands, offer flowers to Him who is the Light of the Universe, and wish the whole world well Their hearts are full of love and pity.

Here, in the shadow of the Suvannamali, the mind is filled with noble images of the past. One thinks of the foundation-laying ceremony of this Great Fane, to honour which Arahants came from Rajagaha, Isipatana, Savatthi, Vesali, Kosambi, Ujjeni, Pataliputta, Kasmira, Pallavabhogga, Alasanda, Vinjha, Buddha Gaya, Vanavasa and Kelasa. (Mah. Ch. 29, vers. 30-43).

"*From Pallavabhogga came the most wise Thera Mahadeva, together with four hundred and sixty thousand Bhikkhus.*" (Mahavamsa, Ch. XXIX, Verse 38).

As do the inscriptions of Asoka so does this account of the Mahavamsa also show that the Sasana was established in most distant lands at that very early date. For Pallavabhogga is Persia and Parthia, and Alasanda, the renowned capital of Egypt under the Ptolemies.

Hiuen Tsiang tells us that the Sacred Bowl of the Blessed One was treasured by the King of Persia and that there were Sangharamas with several hundred monks "In former times," says Alberuni, the Arabian historian, "Khurasan, Persia, Irak [Mesopotamia], Mosul, and the country up to the frontiers of Syria were Buddhistic."

"The example of right living and right thinking which had been set by generations of the Buddha's devout disciples," writes Mr. E. B. Havell, "had been an inspiration to many religious teachers. Hiuen-Tsang gives some indication of the western extension of Buddhism in his time by the mention he makes of Hinayana [Theravada] monasteries in Persia."

In Parthia were discovered gold coins which bore the image of the Blessed One together with His name in Greek letters. In China, Anshi-Kao, the noble "Parthian Prince," who translated numerous *Pali suttantas* is still honoured.

Of yore, Persia was designated *Arianka*, the land of the Aryans. In the Rajatarangini, it is referred to as Aryanaka. (Rajatarangini, IV., 367).

The history of this ancient land is a long one. To this day, there exists the tomb of Cyrus, the first King of Persia, who created an empire which ruled a great part of the then known world. The powerful Darius (Skt.=*Dharayavasu*; Pers=*Darayavaush*) consolidated this empire by creating a new and organized administration; he invaded Scythia, crossed the Danube and marched far into the interior of modern Russia. Under him, even Thrace and Macedonia became subject to the Persian Empire. The most flourishing period in the history of the Ionian Greeks was that during which they were subject to Persia.

Between the Indians, the Sinhalese, the Persians and the Parthians, there was a very close kinship, in blood, in culture, and in spiritual heritage.

Great influence was exercised by the Pallavas on many nations, including the Greeks, the Romans and other peoples of Europe. The language of the Pallavas was known as Pahalavi or Pehlevi. About the sixth or the seventh century a life of the Lord Buddha was composed in this language, and later it was translated into Arabic and Syriac. Still later the work was translated into Georgian, Greek, Hebrew, Ethiopian, Armenian and Slav. Various other versions were made from a Latin text translated from the Greek. Since 1220 there have been adaptations of the story in German.

Incidentally, it must be said that the once powerful Pallavas of South India are not the Pallavas of the Mahavamsa. The first Pallava King of South India, about whom anything substantial can be known was Sivaskandha-Varman, the contemporary of King Bhatiwabhaya-Tissa of Ceylon. Further, *as the Mahavamsa mentions Pallavabhogga just after Kasmira and just before Alasanda, it is clear that the Holy Elder Mahadeva came to Lanka from Iran.*

In Manu and in the Maha-Bharata, too, the Parthians and the Persians are called *Pahlavas* or *Pahnavas*, and in the Apadana, the Venerable Jatukannika Thera speaks of the Pallavas and the Alexandrians.

Java in Asiatic History and Culture

In Bali as well as in Java the cultural influences of India are decisively demonstrated not only in architecture and sculpture but in one important branches of decorative art and above all in the divine art of dancing. Dr. Kalidas Nag writes in *The Calcutta Review*:

The basis of this noble art may be traced to the primitive Malayo-Polynesian races and cults but the gorgeous superstructure and the soul of the art is admitted to have come from India, the land of the Natyasastra. Dutch specialists like Dr. van Lelyveld and Dr. Bake (who spent years in Dr. Tagore's Santiniketan) agreed that Javanese theatre and dancing should be studied in close relation with the art traditions of India (vide *Indian Art and Letters*, Vol. IX, 1935). The plastic art of Java and Bali could be best understood and appreciated if one is helped by the living commentary of rhythm supplied by their art of dancing. This I felt from day to day. During my pilgrimage through Java and Bali (*vide* "Greater India Revisited," *Modern Review*, 1926). Discussing this subject with

eminent Javanese and Dutch authorities like H. H. Mankoenagara VII, the Sultan of Jogjakarta, Dr. Bosch, Dr. Schrieke, Dr. Callenfels and others, I came to realise what a vast field of research lies ahead of us tracing the migration into Indonesia and transformation therein of the *Natyasastra* tradition of India. The best schools of Javanese dancing are those maintained by the enlightened Sultans of Surakarta and Jogjakarta, to whom every lover of Asiatic art should be grateful for their artistic zeal and munificent patronage.

Another most promising field of comparative study points to the bronze statues and cult objects of Java and India.

From the Andhra-Kalinga period of the early centuries of the Christian Era, through the schools of Ajanta, to the grand epochs of the Gupta, Pallava, Pala and Cola empires Indian plastic arts have been influencing the Javanese art of stone carving and bronze casting. We are thankful to Dr. A. J. Bernet Kempers (*vide* "Hindu Javanese Bronzes," *Indian Art and Letters*, Vol. IX, 1935), for having opened this promising line of research with a comprehensive monograph on the subject. But our famous bronze collections scattered in different museums, including even the most valuable finds those from Nalanda and Kurkihar, have not yet been adequately catalogued and photographed. This stands in the way of our learned colleagues of Dutch East Indies and of French Indo-China, who often fail to get photographs from India for attempting a comparative study. Compared with our Indian Museums and art societies I found the photographic department and the news service of the French and the Dutch Archæological Service more efficient and helpful and the quality of the photographic documents far superior.

The Late Sir Joseph Thomson

Sir J. J. Thomson, O.M., F.R.S., Master of Trinity College, Cambridge and formerly Cavendish professor of experimental physics, was the last of the line of British physicists like Kelvin, Stokes, Maxwell and Rayleigh, who received their early training in mathematical physics but later took up experimental research and who gave a characteristically British stamp to the development of physics in the latter half of the nineteenth century. In an article in *Science and Culture* Prof. D. M. Bose gives the following account of his life and activities :

Joseph John Thomson was born on December 18, 1856 in Cheetham, a suburb of Manchester. He was intended to be apprenticed to an engineering firm. While on the waiting list a friend advised his father to have the boy, who was then only 14 years of age, admitted to the Owens College—which subsequently became the University of Manchester—for a course in engineering. His teachers were Osborne Reynolds in engineering, Balfour Stewart in physics, William Roscoe in chemistry, and Thomas Barker, a senior wrangler from Trinity College, Cambridge, in mathematics. Amongst the friends he made at that time were Arthur Schuster and J. H. Poynting; the friendship with the latter, Thomson records to be one of the greatest joys of his life.

His father died soon after his admission to the Owens College, and as the family could not pay the heavy premium necessary for joining an engineering firm, it was decided to allow him to continue his studies in the Owens College, where he stayed for five years.

Had it not been for the sacrifices made by his mother and the scholarships he won, it would not have been possible for him to continue his studies in Manchester and later in Cambridge. On the advice of his professor of mathematics, Professor Barker, he decided to appear at an entrance scholarship examination tenable at Trinity College, Cambridge. He was awarded a minor scholarship of value £75 a year and a subsizarship at Trinity College which he joined in October, 1876.

He began to read for the Mathematical Tripos.

As was the custom he attended the classes of the famous Cambridge coach Dr. Routh, of whom he has given a very interesting account in his *Recollections*. He attended the lectures of Cayley, Adams and Stokes, also N. D. Niven's lectures on Maxwell's *Electricity and Magnetism*. He sat for the Mathematical Tripos in January, 1880, and came out as second wrangler, the senior wrangler of the year was Sir Joseph Larmor. It is interesting to record that Prof. Homersham Cox of Muir College, Allahabad, was the fourth wrangler the same year. Thomson used to visit the Cavendish Laboratory during this period, but somehow he never met Maxwell who died in 1879. Later on Thomson edited the second edition of Maxwell's *Treatise on Electricity and Magnetism*, to which he added a supplementary volume entitled *Recent Researches in Electricity and Magnetism*.

Thomson had done a certain amount of experimental research work in Manchester, one of which ended in an explosion which injured his eye, and for sometime it was doubtful whether his eye could be saved.

After taking his B.A. degree in 1880, till his obtaining the Cavendish professorship, his time was fully occupied with both theoretical and experimental investigations. For his Fellowship examination, for which a dissertation had to be submitted, he took up a subject the suggestion for which came to him in Manchester while attending Balfour Stewart's lectures on the Conservation of Energy. Owing to the difficulty which he found in conceiving how one kind of energy was transformed into another, he made the assumption that all kinds of energy were kinetic in nature, the physical effects produced by it depended upon the nature of the system in which the energy found its home. He made use of, Langrange's and Hamilton's equations, which gave very general methods for dealing with systems possessing only kinetic energies, to problems in physics and chemistry. His dissertation was subsequently expanded into a book called *Applications of Dynamics to Physics and Chemistry*. He was awarded the Adams Prize in 1882, the dissertation for which was subsequently published as *A Treatise on Vortex Motion*.

Another problem he took up at this period was the investigation of the behaviour of moving charged particles in light of Maxwell's theory, to determine the magnetic force due to the charged moving particle, and also the mechanical force acting on the latter in a magnetic field. The results were published in the *Philosophical Magazine* in 1881.

The experiments undertaken during this period by J. J. Thomson were chiefly on the suggestion of Lord Rayleigh who had succeeded Maxwell in 1879.

They were on problems arising as consequences of Maxwell's theory, the most important of which was the determination of the ratio of the electrostatic to the electromagnetic systems of units, which according to the theory ought to be equal to the velocity of light.

In 1882, Thomson applied for the chair of applied mathematics at Owens College, but he was passed over in favour of Schuster. He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1884.

In 1884 he was chosen to succeed Lord Rayleigh as Cavendish professor of experimental physics, much to his and to everybody else's surprise as he states in his *Recollections*.

His tenure of the Cavendish Chair lasted from 1884-1918, when he was made Master of Trinity College.

The reputation which the Cavendish Laboratory had acquired as a home of research attracted a large number of able students from all over the world, and the first batch had included men like Rutherford, Townsend and McClelland.

The investigations carried on by J. J. Thomson during the years 1884-95 dealt with the phenomena of the discharge of electricity through gases. The theory of electrolytic dissociation, proposed in 1887 by Arrhenius and Vant Hoff, had attracted the attention of J. J. Thomson and he wanted to find out whether a similar splitting up of the gas molecule took place under the influence of the electric field present in the discharge tubes resulting in oppositely charged atomic ions. In 1897, he was able to convince himself that the gaseous dissociation was of quite a different type.

J. J. Thomson was a shy man, the essential kindness of whose nature was hidden under a gruff exterior and a booming voice. He possessed a dry sense of humour which used to come out in his speeches and conversation.

The existence of the positive electron was an article of belief with him, just as that of the neutron with Rutherford.

The experimental researches carried out by him during the period 1895-1914 were concerned with the nature of the cathode ray, the phenomena of gaseous ionisation and conduction, and the properties of the positive rays. For two terms in the year he used to give a course of advanced lectures on these topics, which later appeared in book form under the title *Conduction of Electricity through Gases*, and became at once a classic in the subject.

He was the first to show that cathode rays could be deflected by electric as well as by magnetic fields, and his researches contributed mainly to the establishment of the view that they consisted of negatively charged particles, which were named corpuscles by Thomson, but later on the suggestion of Stoney, the name electron was adopted.

His theoretical investigations during this period dealt with the structure of the atom, for which he proposed the model of a spherical volume distribution of positive charge in whose atmosphere Z electrons were to be found, such that the total positive and negative charges were equal in amount.

He belonged to the school of Maxwell, Kelvin and

Rayleigh, who had definite views on the importance of using models as an aid to physical discoveries.

Towards the end of the period under review Thomson took to the study of positive rays.

The work in the Cavendish Laboratory suffered from the outbreak of the last War, most of the workers were diverted to war work. Thomson was made a member of the Central Committee of the Board of Invention and Research. During this period he was also elected President of the Royal Society. In 1918, he was appointed Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, upon which he resigned his Cavendish professorship. Rutherford was elected to succeed him; but he continued to work in the Cavendish Laboratory with his assistant and a couple of research students.

After his retirement he paid his last visit to America in 1923, when he delivered a course of lectures on *Electrons in Chemistry*, which showed his interest in the nature of the chemical bond. In 1936, he published his *Recollections and Reflections*.

He married the daughter of Sir George Paget, a well-known Cambridge physician. He is survived by a daughter and a son Prof. G. P. Thomson.

The Quest of the Beautiful

If "beauty is truth" as the poet says, the pilgrims who are on the quest of the beautiful are also earnest seekers after truth. The lake Manasarowar presents the picture of the human mind as it lies absorbed in the blissful state of Samadhi. In the October number of the *Prabuddha Bharata* the editor observes :

Manasarowar, the fairy lake of Tibet, lay in front of us. *Hamsa* birds were moving gracefully over its blue waters. It was dawn. The azure blue lake with the snow-covered peaks surrounding it presented the appearance of a precious sapphire set in the midst of diamonds. The sun peeped over the eastern peak, and rays of light fell on the surface of the lake making it golden here and green there. The silvery summit of Kailas was seen towering above the northern horizon. A celestial calmness pervaded the atmosphere. The party of pilgrims stood watching the scene, their hearts throbbing with silent wonder. The turmoil of the world below was forgotten. The long trek across the Himalayas daily revealed varying scenes of beauty and splendour. But there was nothing to equal the glory of sunrise over the silent waters of Manasarowar. This beautiful lake and that holy peak which were cherished as dream-visions, a few days before, have now assumed the shape of reality. Objects which were considered real have now receded into the background of memory.

In the mystic land of Tibet, religious leaders and founders of monasteries have built their *Gumphas* and houses of prayer in such surroundings as would lead the mind naturally to lofty thoughts. There are as many as eight monasteries around the Manasarowar and four around the peak of Kailas. The large monastery at Taklakot is built on the top of a hill. Water for the needs of the two hundred and fifty inmates has to be carried daily from the plains below, the carriers have to walk a weary mile to reach the monastery. The writer, when he visited this monastery, was wondering why the wise lamas had chosen a site where water was not available. Just then the full moon rose with all its splendour between two snow-clad peaks and there was silence all around. The writer immediately realized that the wise men of Tibet had exercised great wisdom in choosing the site of the monastery at Taklakot.

Democracy and Colour Prejudice

It is a curious fact that the democracies of the United States and the British Dominions are hotbeds of colour prejudice. *The Readers' Digest* observes :

The *Federal Council Bulletin* of June 15 in a documented article on the discrimination against Negroes in the Army of the United States, which participated in the last European war, quoting from Army Orders, observes :

Order No. 40 of the 92nd (Negro) Division proclaimed that "Negroes should not speak with or to French women." Negroes disregarding this order were arrested by the Military Police. The French Military Mission, stationed with the American Army, is charged with having issued on August 7, 1918, a statement explaining to French officers in command of American Negro troops "the position occupied by Negroes in the United States. . . . . It will devolve on the French military authorities," the document explains, "to give information on this subject to the French population. . .

"The French public has become accustomed to treating the Negro with familiarity and indulgence. This indulgence and this familiarity are matters of grievous concern to the Americans.

"Although citizens of the United States, the black man is regarded by the white Americans as inferior beings with whom relations of business or service only are possible"

There were three recommendations :

"First, that there should be no undue familiarity between French and Negro officers; second, that the American Negro troops should not be praised too highly by the French military officials; third, that the French population should be warned against 'spoiling' the Negro soldiers." This document "sent to all the Governors and Mayors in France" was reprinted in the May, 1919, issue of *The Crisis*, and that issue was banned from the mails.

Some Negro troops were put on a battleship for transportation to America after the war. The executive officer asked the Admiral to have the troops removed since "no coloured troops had ever travelled on board a United States battleship." This was done. The other day the *Bombay Sentinel* complained that Indian troops were not offered the same hospitalities as the British and Dominion troops. A feeble attempt at an apology was made on the ground that Indians were in their own country which one would think was a reason why they should be given more consideration. This colour question touches all Indians, Prince and peasant alike. Indians who regret the Japanese aggression on China, are obliged to concede that Japan is doing a service to human solidarity by establishing the capacity of a coloured race to master the military and industrial technique of the White man so as to meet him on his own ground. Britain as an Asiatic Power herself does wisely to appreciate the position of Japan by adopting a conciliatory attitude towards that country, even when Japan shows herself a bit unnecessarily assertive.

The Interpretation of Indra-Myth

Much has been written about Indra, and yet he is as obscure and unintelligible as before. The main features of Indra-myth still remain unexplained, and in them lies the key to unravel the whole mystery. In the course of his article on the interpretation of Indra-myth in *The Journal of the Benares Hindu University*, Fatah Singh writes :

> Indra, in the first place, brings light; creates sun, dawn as well as waters, and, in the second place, he is associated with lightning, rain and thunderstorm. No theory, so far, has been able to harmonize effectively the two contradictory traits of the god, and account for the continuance of the latter in the Puranic and epic mythology. It is because of this that scholars are at a loss to understand the true nature of the cows, demons and waters in the Indra-myth; and that the myths like those of Vrisakapi and wheel-manœuvre are explained away as a satire or a creation of later poets

This seemingly contradictory character of the myth can be explained in a most natural way, if we take the help of Arctic phenomenon (not Tilak's Arctic theory).

> Though the two traits of Indra, connected with simultaneous release of light and waters cannot be found in one and the same natural phenomenon, they are similar enough in character and can safely be brought under one deified mythological being.

The fundamental idea behind the two traits is that of the simultaneous release of light and water by killing, with a noise and brilliance, the demon who obstructed them.

> This could happen, in the Arctic region, in two ways. Firstly, the demon of Wintry Night with its enveloping darkness and frost or ice are destroyed by the advent of the radiant and warm day-light, and consequently light and waters are simultaneously released, the former by the removal of the darkness, the latter by the melting of the ice. Secondly, the dark clouds, laden with watery vapours are struck and milked, as it were, by the lightning and wind, resulting in the freedom of waters, lightning flashes, and even the sun, at the final destruction of obscuration. In the first case, the battle continues throughout the winter and the weapons used are the resplendent shafts, spears and lightnings of multi-coloured and ever-changing Aurora Borealis. In the second case, the battle does not last so long and the weapons used are also mere lightnings. In both the cases, there is a lot of hideous noise and display of energy and force in the nature. On the advent of daylight in Spring, as Nansen has described in his *Farthest North*, there is a lot of dreadful noise caused by the breaking of the ice-layers, creating occasional tremour in the icy mass. On the occasion of thunder-storm also, there are peals of thunder and the whole nature seems to be in wild commotion. The character of the two battles, their causes and consequences are all same or similar. It was natural, therefore, to amalgamate the two traits into one concept of Indra, the god of light and energy.

It may be tentatively concluded that Indra is the presiding and controlling deity of light and energy in the universal sense.

Now, it is clear enough why Indra is reduced to a mere rain-god in the latter mythology. The release of waters from the rain-cloud was only a minor exploit in the Arctic region, when compared with the release of the waters from the ice-giants, the latter being the chief and the most desirable. In India, where the bulk of the traditions contained in the later literature were formed, the latter was altogether non-existent and hence forgotten, while the former was the chief and the most desirable phenomenon after the scorching heat of the summer. It is therefore no wonder that all the traits of Indra concerning light and radiance, which were once the main things dwindled away into nothingness, as if such a thing was never found in his character.

The Ethic Discourses of Bhishma

The *Shantiparvan* of the Mahabharata, a symbol of the learnnig and the intellectual achievement of the ancient Hindus, covers the whole field of human life and records discourses which contain standards of life of high value, the motive all along being spiritual. K. M. Jhaveri observes in *The Aryan Path* :

The six principal duties of a sovereign, as far as the waging of war is concerned, are thus set out :—(i) To make peace with a foe if he is found stronger (*sandhi*); (ii) to wage war against one of equal strength (*vigraha*); (iii) to invade territory belonging to one who is weaker (*yana*); (iv) to withdraw skilfully in face of danger (*asana*)—(as the British Forces did from Dunkirk in the present war and from Gallipoli in the last); (v) to seek protection and safety in one's own fort when one is weak and is invaded by superior forces (*samshraya*); (vi) to sow dissensions among the chief officers of the enemy (*dvaidhi bhava*).—(*Adhyaya* 57, *Sloka* 16).

Brihaspati's as well as Shukra's *Nitishastra* and Kautilya's *Arthashastra* follow the same lines, but they are all based on the principles enunciated by Bhishma.—(*Adhyaya* 59)

The king is enjoined, if he is to reign as a king in the true sense of the word, to take care of the following things :

(i) His own self, (ii) his counsellors, (iii) his treasury (iv) his machinery for awarding punishment, (v) his friends, (vi) his provinces and (vii) his capital. (*Bhishma and His Teachings* By M. N. Dutt, p. 183).

A large portion of Bhishma's discourse is assigned to the science of chastisement *Dandaniti*—and distinctions are drawn between punishments meted out to the four castes of society prevalent then. The Brahman, as the one who lays down the law, contrives to escape with next to no punishment at all for even heinous offences—an instance of that phase of human nature which is always partial to self. This part of the discourse draws for us a picture of the social life of the people then and we find that drink-shops, public women, pimps, actors, gamblers and keepers of gaming-houses existed even then. They were considered sources of social disorder, and Bhishma suggests means to check the distress they create.

Hitler's grievance against the Treaty of Versailles is that the victors sought so completely to break the back of the vanquished that the latter could not rise again. According to him it was the act of barbarians. What is Bhishma's advice in such a case? How should a victor, according to him, behave towards his broken foe? He cites in support of his own advice the words of the wise, and says that a king should only break the strength of his enemies—he should never, when the opportunity comes, persecute his enemies, the reason being that a foe may become a friend, sooner or later. A king should never do such an injury to his foe as would rankle in the latter's heart.—(*Adhyaya* 103, *Sloka* 19).

After summarizing the duties of a king, including the ethics of war, principles of statesmanship, governance and successful administration of his kingdom in its various departments, Bhishma discourses on the state of society existing in his time, which, of course, was the reflection of the mode of life followed from the days prior to his. He describes the spheres of work and the duties of the four *Varnas* (castes), of which the Sudra formed the bottom and the Brahman the top, more puissant and powerful than the reigning king, immune from every penalty and punishment, but at the same time expected to lead an austere life of self-control and to be a paragon of virtue and the premier preceptor, learned and exemplary in behaviour, in justification of the high position assigned to him.

Tibetan New Year Festival

At the beginning of the first month of the New Year over 20,000 monks of the three great Monasteries assemble in Lhasa Cathedral. Writes Tarchin in *Saint Andrew's Colonial Home Magazine* :

Drepong is the largest with 10,000 and is situated five miles from Lhasa. Sera, three miles North of Lhasa, with 7,000, and Gaden 5,000 about forty to the East. The gathering lasts for about a month. For this period one of the higher Lamas of the Drepong Monastery is every year vested with all the power of the ordinary Law Courts. He is called the "Tshok-chhen-She-ngo" and comes to Lhasa on the third of the first month together with all the monks and with befitting ceremony takes charge of all the Law Courts from the Government Officials. All the prisoners in Lhasa Jail are removed to the "Shol" Jail (below the Potala, the residence of the Dalai Lama—"Shol" means "below"). He then gives his orders to the residents.

Having declared his mundane orders, he now proceeds to the wells with his iron sceptre and commands the water springs to supply of water while the session lasts, on pain of his curse and punishment.

No spirit or oracle is to possess or obsess mankind so long as the assembly lasts.

Thus ordering he resumes his office. Anyone high or low failing to obey him would be liable to punishment.

The city is now at its best, well decorated and tidy and scrupulously clean.

At evening in front of the various houses of the officials, banners about 30 to 40 feet high in the inner round street of the city shaped at the top like a cross and line made with leather which is decorated, smeared with butter, mixed with various colours and made into many kinds of images of gods, flowers and lucky signs. At the bottom of every banner is a seat or altar, arranged with oil burners and other offerings. At dusk all the oil lamps are lit and the street is illuminated wonderfully, dispelling all darkness, reminding one of the

decorations and illuminations of Christmas Eve, when the festival of the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ, Whom we look upon as the Light of the World, is observed. Out of the midst of the shining lights comes first of all the Regent and high officials, going round to inspect the banners of the butter and the decoration. He makes observations and the best one gets a reward from the Government. After their visits thousands of people go round and round with songs and prayers.

The festival goes by the name "Chho-naga-chho-pa," *i.e.*, offering of the fifteenth day worship.

The tradition regarding it is this :—"Chho nga chho pa zhe po yin na, Nyi me gung la thon ne sho." If you are (proud banner) the offering of the 15th come out in the daytime"—challenging it to be bold enough to come out. This is addressed to a man who thinks himself very proud or high, fit for treason, backbiting and other evils, but not audacious in the presence, much as the banner of this festival is decorated with butter-paintings but it can't stand before the Sun.

On the 30th of the month a large "Tor-ma" made of barley flour in a formidable phantom shape is carried by the monks in a great procession to an open place and set ablaze, with chantings. No one would willingly miss this function as it drives away all the misfortunes in store for the coming year.

From the next day all the monks go back to their monasteries and Lhasa seems empty.

At the end of the Tibetan second month again the monks of the three monasteries assemble in the same place for another ten to twelve days, successively revising all the ordinations.

On the 29th of the second month, a man decorated with all the ugly things possible was chased out of the city in the belief that he was carrying away the evils awaiting the following year. He was fully charged with all the powerful influences by the power of the Lamas. It is said that this man would be picked out from the worse criminals and recompensed in turn with all provision for a year. It is also said that he would have to go from the city, about three days' journey, and then return.

This is the last day of the month when the priests without exception carried all the sacred books, relics, banners, ancient articles, small and large musical instruments, marching slowly in a grand procession, blowing their large trumpets and religious (national) bands. The scene is picturesque and telling

On the Use of Science and Scientists

We reproduce the following from *Science and Culture* :

In his anniversary address to the Royal Society, Sir William Bragg, President of the Royal Society, makes the following remarks with respect to the use of science and scientists during times of peace as well as of war.

"There is indeed a widespread recognition of the general effectiveness of science. The ways of using science and scientific men are being slowly discovered. But the process is slow. It would, I think, be hastened, if certain fundamental truths were generally known and recognised. I venture to state them in the form of a few propositions :

1. Science, that is to say, the knowledge of Nature, is of fundamental importance to the successful prosecution of any enterprise.

For example, a nation is obliged to make all possible use of science in preparation for war, whether aggressive or defensive : and, again by way of example, in the maintenance of public health and social welfare. Of course, science is not alone in being a necessity in either case.

2. Science is of general application. There are not one science of chemistry, another of electricity, another of medicine and so on : there are not even distinct sciences of peace and war. There is only one natural world, and there is only one knowledge of it.

Experience shows that an advance in knowledge or technique or skill in any direction may be based on some item of knowledge acquired in a far distant field of research. For that reason, it is necessary to resist strongly a natural tendency for those who study science or apply it, to separate into groups without mutual communication.

3. Fruitful inventions are always due to a combination of knowledge and of experience on spot. Unless the man with knowledge is present at the place and the time when some experience reveals the problem to be solved he misses the fertilizing suggestion. Neither can the mastering idea suggest itself to the man who has the experience only but no knowledge by which to read the lesson that the experience teaches. The man with knowledge may be a temporary or special introduction, or, which is much better, he may be the man who meets with the experience.

4. There are difficulties peculiar to the application of science to war purposes. While the war proceeds scientists as a body are anxious to put all their knowledge at the service of their country : but when the time comes they are anxious to get away to their work on pure science or the applications of science to the problems of peace. Government may preserve and most fortunately has preserved a nucleus of able scientific effort during the last 20 years of peace, so that a certain connexion is maintained between these particular applications and the general body of science, but from the very nature of their respective occupations, and on account of a certain secrecy which one of the two bodies is forced to maintain, the connexion is not always strong. It can easily happen that the solution of a particular difficulty in the war service may lie in some piece of knowledge far away from the immediate science of the enterprise and unknown to those who need it."

The urgency of using science for times of peace as well as of war was discovered only during the last Great War, and almost all western countries and Japan set up organisations for this purpose, with varying amount of success. In this matter, this country as usual has been nearly 25 years backward. There have been, in other countries, many defects in the use of science and scientists, but if these mistakes be carefully noted by the Government and leaders of this country, our lost opportunities may, to some extent, be retrieved.



FOREIGN PERIODICALS



Thomas Hardy—The Man

Clive Holland presents a vivid and intimate portrait of Thomas Hardy, whose birth-centenary was observed this year, in the course of his lecture delivered at the Royal Society of Arts, London and published in the *Journal* of the Society.

I arrived on a bright day in early summer and found him in the drawing room awaiting me. He was dressed in an oldish knickerbocker tweed suit, and wore a check waistcoat, and I was destined often to see the suit again as it was a favourite one. He certainly looked more like a farmer than the distinguished novelist who had also a volume of his verses to his credit. He welcomed me smiling, asked which way I had come for I had cycled, and smiled again when I told him I had come through Wareham, Wool, Bere Regis, Affpuddle, Tolpuddle and Puddletown, adding, "In fact, the country of your *Tess of the D'Urbervilles, The Return of the Native, and Far from the Madding Crowd.*" He laughed quietly, and then said, "So you, too, have been trying to identify the places—or supposed places—I describe." I said "Yes."

After some talk he said, "You must not assume as a general rule that you may discover the actual place I had in mind, though perhaps one fitting the description fairly accurately." I did not forget this, and on a future occasion he remarked in this connection, "Sometimes two places may have been merged by me in one, or a building, though existing and accurately described, may have been transferred to different surroundings to the actual, for some reason or other that has struck me."

Hardy had a keen, sly sense of humour, and on several occasions this was exhibited when he took me to some spot to test my knowledge of one of his novels, and waited to see my reactions to this. I remember on one occasion we had cycled from Dorchester, through the *Tess of the D'Urbervilles* country, through Bere Regis (the "King's Bere" of the novels) and across Egdon Heath down to Wool, the "Wellbridge" of *Tess*. He wanted to show me the manor house in which Tess had passed her short and tragic honeymoon after her marriage to Angel Clare, and also the pictures of the two ancient and forbidding dames which Hardy so graphically describes in that novel. After a visit to Bindon Mill, we went into the Abbey grounds to find the stone coffin of the Abbott in which Clare had laid Tess. Then Hardy took me through country lanes till we arrived at a secluded dairy farmyard. We jumped off our cycles and leaned against the gate. It flashed into my mind that it was the "Talbothays," where Tess had met Angel Clare. Hardy was quietly watching me. I exclaimed, "Why, this is 'Talbothays'?" He gave a slow smile of assent, and chuckled. It was just as he had described it. I sensed that he had been testing my memory of the scenes and incidents in the story, by bringing me to the spot.

Several times during the years I knew him we crossed Egdon Heath on our bicycles together. It

appears in several of his novels; in that grim and tragic story, *The Return of the Native*, the scene is laid almost entirely on the heath. I had opportunities of realising how wonderfully and accurately Hardy had succeeded in rendering the "atmosphere" of Egdon at all seasons of the year, and how he had, indeed, lived the scenes of the novels in which it appeared—its gloom and bleakness in winter, with its stricken firs, and other trees waving distorted or bare branches in the wintry air, a vast stretch of country only beautified rarely in a generation at that season of the year by a mantle of snow, but often glittering with frost, and a trellis work of frozen cobwebs amid the bracken; its awakening in the late spring to something less superhuman and depressing, on a day of pale sunshine with cloud forms racing across its swart surface.

It was on one of my visits to Egdon that I learned from Hardy how, in early boyhood he used to go up on the heath just at the back of his home at Upper Bockhampton, with, perhaps, one of the classics his mother had procured for him, to read. He said, "I oftener lay amid the heather watching the cloud shapes, or the ants and lizards, and listening to the songs of the birds, all of which latter I became able to distinguish." This love of nature study remained with him to the end. I had long known that he was a great lover of wild birds, and the small wild animals of the countryside. He was very tender-hearted towards what to me on more than one occasion.

On these excursions Hardy talked very freely on many subjects, and I got to know that it was when with a single companion or only a few friends that he seemed most at home. He was a singularly keen observer, and had an enquiring intellect. Nothing escaped him, and he remembered events of his boyhood clearly almost up to the last. He told me that his grandmother used often to tell him, or he heard her tell grown-up members of the family, of tragic incidents that had occurred in her circle of acquaintances, and others which were of the nature of "old wives' tales," the main incidents of which, he said, had on several occasions been woven by him into short stories.

He once, while on the way to a beauty spot that he never tired of visiting, asked me a very strange question. He said, pausing on the way up a hill that we were walking, "I am going to ask you a question. Will you answer it honestly?" "If it can be answered at all, it shall certainly be answered honestly," I replied. "Well, then," he said, "If you had had the choice of being born, would you have been?" In reply I told him that had he asked me the question less abruptly I should probably have answered "Yes"; but that he had raised grave doubts in my mind. Then I asked him, "Would you?" After a pause the reply came; "No, surely not," followed by several reasons, which were weighty enough as the speaker stated them. This conversation, it should be noted, occurred at the time when he was at the height of his fame as a novelist, as near as I can fix it, some two years before the publication of *Jude the Obscure*, the hostile reception of which led to his final abandonment of fiction, and his return to his first medium of expression, poetry.

Much was said during his life and written after his death concerning Hardy's pessimism. On one occasion at least an attempt was made to pin him down on this matter.

He was asked whether he considered that the pessimist held that the power of evil in the world was greater than that of good. His reply was that he did not entirely accept that point of view, adding, "I know that many people call me a pessimist; and if it is 'pessimism to think with Sophocles that 'not to be born is best,' then I do not object to the designation." His was, indeed, the intellectual pessimism of a logical and searching mind, and not that of a man who is a pessimist by reason of continued frustration of his life's hopes through no fault of his own and his being the sport, seemingly, of chance. On one occasion he claimed that his books were not, as one American critic had described them, "the gospel of pessimism," but "one continued plea against man's inhumanity to man—to women—and the lower animals."

Women's Activities in War-time China

The following note on women's activities in war-time China is reproduced from a *News Release* issued by the China Information Committee, Chunking.

One hundred and thirteen Chinese woman's organizations have been established at home and abroad in the past three years, reported Miss Sze Liang at a meeting of the Women's Advisory Committee of the New Life Movement Association held on the occasion of the third anniversary of the Shanghai hostilities, which was observed throughout China.

Miss Sze, member of the People's Political Council, said that under the direction of Madame Chiang Kai-shek, Chinese women's work has made satisfactory progress since the war. More than $50,000,000 in cash and kind have been used to express their appreciation of and bring encouragement to the Chinese soldiers. About 20,000 women have joined the guerillas in the "occupied" areas and self-defense corps. Five women's service corps have been organized at the front, its members doing patrol and rescue work.

Nearly 1,500 women are engaged in child refugee work, caring for and educating 20,000 war waifs and orphans housed in 48 homes throughout Free China, Miss Sze continued. One thousand of these children are studying in middle schools and 1,000 others have been given jobs. Schools have been founded to educate the recruits' families and to train them in tilling the land.

Five thousand women are working in the 13 cotton spinning, cloth weaving, and silkworm rearing plants operating in Szechwan Province alone. In the North-west, the Chinese Industrial Co-operatives are providing work for 12,500 women. Hundreds of thousands of others are doing farm work further north. In the cold months they raise poultry.

In political work, Chinese women are also active. For instance, there are 39 women's advisory boards in as many districts in Kiangsi. In the North-west thousands of women act as village leaders. The number of women's magazines has increased to 19 and four million peasant women have been made literate.

Miss Sze concluded that in order to increase efficiency, the various women's organizations have been training young women in administration and field work. Forty thousand have so far graduated from the training classes.

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Napoleon of Propaganda

Parade reproduces from F. W. Wile's "NEWS IS WHERE YOU FIND IT" some interesting incidents

from the life of Lord Northcliffe, Napoleon of Propaganda.

The colossal success of the Northcliffe chain of newspapers was due primarily to his uncanny vision—what he called his sixth sense of what the public wanted, or was going to be interested in. It was that uncanny intuition that made the Chief a trail blazer in cycling, motoring, aviation and motion pictures long before the world generally took interest in those epoch-making developments.

It was the *Daily Mail's* £10,000 prize that led to Louis Bleriot's historic crossing of the Channel (thirty-two miles in thirty-seven minutes) by plane in July, 1909, the event which proved that "England was no longer an island."

Northcliffe's system of critical daily bulletins to the editorial staffs of his papers is material for a text-book for colleges of journalism even today. They consisted of minute, detailed comment on the day's paper.

Sometimes Northcliffe's bulletins, which were displayed throughout the office for all members of the staff to inspect, were generously commendatory, sometimes bitterly condemnatory, often a blend of subtle irony and witty rebuke. They were always stimulating. A fault caught by the Chief's eagle eye was seldom repeated Typographical errors were insufferable in his eyes.

Here is a *Daily Mail* bulletin, crammed with typical touches :

"This morning's editorials are varied in subject, but long-winded. The *Daily Mail's* success came from saying in 150 words what other papers say in 500 words.

Often, however, the bulletin was short, but meaningful :

"James Gordon Bennett once said the only way to conduct a successful newspaper is for the proprietor to sleep in the office. Judging by this morning's paper, the entire *Daily Mail* staff was asleep in the office last night."

Or this .

"I am very proud of this morning's *Daily Mail*. No other paper in England compares with it. My congratulations and thanks to the entire staff."

The newspaper craft never knew a more generous employer. He insisted upon efficiency, but he rewarded it handsomely. If Northcliffe ever "sacked" a man, there was a reason. "Good men are scarce. My business is to keep them," was his maxim.

He was said to have asked Scotland Yard to watch for "Germans" or others harbouring designs on his life. He attributed the contraction of his fatal illness to some mysterious "poison plot" against him while he was visiting Germany a few months previously.

Severed Poland

The following excerpt from an article by Nicholas Basseches in *Weltwoche*, Zurich, as adapted by the *Living Age*, reveals the state of Poland now partitioned between Germany and Russia.

After the German occupation, the Reich immediately incorporated large portions of Polish territory directly into Germany. (It is worth noting that this, and Russia's similar action, absolutely contravenes the rules of the Hague Convention, which do not allow annexation of territory during a war). In these districts, everything is being done to exterminate the Polish nationality. Large Polish landholdings and, in general, all other property have been expropriated or placed under German control. Poles are not allowed to travel, even within this territory, without special permnssion. Every word and action of the German authorities is directed to showing the Poles that they are an "inferior race." They have not even the consolation that others are being treated worse than they, for the Jewish population has been entirely driven out.

The policy in that part which has not been officially annexed is not quite the same. The intention seems to be to construct a Polish State which will be a German Protectorate. Polish property rights have not been disregarded to the same extent that they have in the Corridor, in Posen and in Upper Silesia. Railroads, the post-office and, in general, the lower public offices have remained in Polish hands. German officials have received orders to treat the Poles politely—in public, at least. But education is withheld from them, and the old Jagello University has become a German institute.

Officially, the Poles in that part of the country which has not been annexed are supposed to be treated politely.

But, at the same time, punitive expeditions are operating continuously in the dark of night. Anyone who belonged to the intelligentsia, anyone who could give the Poles spiritual guidance or is of intellectual importance, is being arrested and deported. There is also recruiting for forced labor of men and boys down to the age of fourteen to be sent to Germany. Polish girls are being kidnapped and placed forcibly in the brothels of the Germany army.

Hitler and the Art of Lying

An editorial writer who insists that the cause *par excellence* of this war and all wars is lying, observes in the course of his comment in the *Catholic World*, that of all the liars mentioned by him to illustrate his point, none can compare with Hitler : he has achieved more with the lie than with his army.

He did not invent the lie as an instrument of diplomacy, but it must be confessed that he has used it with more success than any earlier practitioner of the slippery art.

Yet I would not call him a real artist in lying. He is almost continuously the liar, and one gets used to his technique. You simply take his predictions and apply them in reverse. For example : Two years ago, he proclaimed solemnly "No more war. The Sudetenland is the last territorial claim which I have to make in Europe. Germany has no more territorial ambitions." So he proceeded to gobble up more and more territory.

Again : "I should hate to see the British Empire broken up. It is a great influence in the civilization of the world. I have not and never had any intention of dismembering the British Empire." Which means, of course, that he will move heaven and earth and hell to smash the British Empire.

Yet again : "It is absurd for the United States to imagine that Germany has any designs upon America : too absurd to merit denial." Which, being interpreted means that he is determined to clean us up when he finishes England.

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NOTES

Finance Bill Rejected by Assembly

The Finance Bill brought before the Central Legislative Assembly by the Finance Member of the Government of India for a supplementary grant of two crores of rupees for war expenses, has been rejected twice by the Assembly, once as originally introduced and finally as certificated by the Governor-General, on both occasions by a majority of two votes. The Muslim League members did not vote on either occasion.

There is illogicality in asking men to vote expenditure for action not sanctioned or approved by them—action taken without even consulting them. We will do what we like, but you must foot the bill—that is the logic of the constitution imposed on India by the British people and parliament. For such a constitution and for any procedure which has to be followed in accordance with it, neither the present Governor-General nor his Executive Council can be held responsible. But if they were convinced of the illogical character of the constitution they could refuse to act according to it by tendering their resignation.

This constitution could have been made logical, just and *democratic* (this last word has been italicized because the British Government claim that they are fighting for *world* democracy) by providing that all action taken by the Executive must be approved and sanctioned by the Legislature and all expenditure (and taxation to meet it) also voted by it. It could have been made at least logical, though not just and democratic, by empowering the chief executive authority to take all action at his sole pleasure and will and discretion and also to levy and spend all taxes as he liked or thought fit.

If the constitution had been made logical by following the first method, the British people would have had to part with power, which they are determined not to do. If it had been made logical by the second method, they would have had to give up pretending that they had given self-government or anything democratic to this country.

So neither course has been followed.

The result is, the Government of India has made this country a party to the present world war without obtaining the approval of or even consulting its duly elected representatives and then has thought fit to go through the formality of obtaining their consent to the expenditure and the fresh taxation involved. The representatives of the people—even those who are not ahimsā-ists—are, therefore, perfectly justified in saying in effect: "You made us a party to the war without even consulting us. Why then seek to make us a party to the expenditure and taxation involved? We will have nothing to do with either."

Opponents of the Congress twit it with its inconsistency. They say, the Congress Working Committee were at one stage prepared to co-operate with the Government in its war effort—they even threw overboard Mahatma Gandhi

and his thoroughgoing ahimsā in order to be able to do so; but now Congressmen are non-co-operating with the war effort and indirectly thwarting it. The two positions taken up by the Congress are undoubtedly opposed to one another. But the Congress was ready to co-operate with the Government on the latter fulfilling a condition, namely, forming a National Government at the Centre. That condition was not fulfilled. Thus the Congress was absolved from its conditional promise to co-operate. In politics it is not proper to expect one party to act in a certain way without the other party fulfilling the condition laid down by the former.

The procedure of seeking the consent of the elected representatives of the people has been spoken of above as a formality. So it is. For the Governor-General has the power, at the last resort, to certify the Finance Bill and get it passed by the Council of State in which the Government has a subservient standing majority.

Why go through this formality, it may be asked. It is not merely because the constitution lays down this procedure. It may be presumed that there was another reason. High officers of state connected with the British Imperial Government in Britain and with the Government of India as well as with the Indian Provincial Governments have been repeatedly speaking of and extolling **India's** war efforts, implying thereby that India is a willing participant in the war, though India's representatives were not at all consulted. So in order to lend colour to the assumption that the war is India's war, too, it was necessary to show to all the world—both enemies and friends—that India's representatives had voted the expenditure. This adventure of endeavouring to obtain such a vote was not quite a forlorn-hope; for there was a probability of catching the votes of at least some of the Muslim League members. If, instead of all of them not voting, at least three had voted with the Government, the Opposition would have been defeated. But that was not to be.

That only five elected members voted with the Government is significant. It would be charitable not to analyze their probable reasons for not voting with the Opposition.

Why Muslim League Members Remained Neutral

Neither Mr. Jinnah nor the other members of the Muslim League Assembly party have issued any formal and complete statement as to why they did not vote on the Finance Bill. So their reasons can only be guessed, in part.

By not supporting the Government, they showed the powers that be that they were in a position either to help or hinder—and if their help was wanted, the price demanded must be paid. Mr. Jinnah's speech made it clear that the price—at least its major part—was the sanctioning of the Pakistan scheme now and its carrying out after the war; the price not having been paid, the help was not forthcoming.

At the same time Mr. Jinnah was astute enough not to preclude the possibility of obtaining the favour of the Government in future by making an enemy of it by voting with the Congress party. His hatred of the Congress may have also made him refrain from co-operating with the Congress party.

It is probable, too, that he did not want to antagonize those Muslims, outside the Muslim League, who are Nationalists and want independence for the country. There are such Muslims in the League also. They have to be kept unoffended.

As Mr. A. K. Fazlul Haque has stated in one of his speeches or statements—we do not remember which, members of the Muslim League may individually help the Government in its war effort though the League as an organization is opposed to co-operation with it in that effort !

So that is that.

The Question of Helping Britain

We have said more than once that we are for helping Britain in her need. As is plain from our first note in this issue, we think the Congress members in the Assembly were justified in voting against the Finance Bill. These two positions of ours may seem mutually contradictory, but they are not so.

We are for voluntary help to Britain. If any tax be levied against the will of the people's representatives for meeting war expenditure and that tax has to be paid, such payment cannot be said to be voluntary help. Even some of those who voted against the Finance Bill may be willing to help Britain voluntarily. Mr. Aney's speech shows that there is a possibility or probability of such voluntary help, though not the kind of help which a Collector wanted Mrs. Katju to "*generously*" (!) render in order to prove her "loyalty" and thereby be entitled to have a house in a Khas Mahal !

There must be many Britons who consider Mahatma Gandhi their country's arch-enemy at present. He is nothing of the kind. He was willing to and would even now be prepared to help Britain, but in his own way. He asked the people of Britain not to fight the Nazis. He offered to go to Britain to show them the non-

violent way. That meant that he was prepared to be killed by the Nazis; that is to say, he was prepared to lay down his life for the welfare of Britain, and of Germany, too, and all the world. We have neither the spiritual illumination nor the resulting courage to do as he does. So when we speak of helping Britain we say so in the ordinary sense.

Before stating why we are for helping Britain, let us make it clear that it is not for the usually mentioned reasons that we are for helping her.

We are for helping Britain *not* in the expectation or hope of any prospective favour. If we want freedom and independence, as we certainly do, we do so because liberty is our birthright and a just right. If Britain ever agrees to our being free, it will not be a favour but the restitution of a right long withheld. We do not expect that, even if all political parties help Britain now, she will confer even Dominion Status of the Westminster Statute variety on India on the conclusion of the war. If she does, the unexpected will happen : for once, and finally, she will keep a promise made to India, and it will be a case of "All's Well That Ends Well."

Some high-placed Britishers, and some Indians, too, have drawn lurid pictures of what would happen to India if Britain were defeated. These lugubrious forecasts do not frighten us. We do not want that anybody should be frightened by these dismal anticipations into helping Britain. From the inmost recesses of our heart we desire that the Nazis and the Fascists should not be victorious. But if the worst comes to the worst, human civilization, human freedom, humanity will not die with the going down of any particular nation. As for India, the same Divinity Which has enabled her to survive many a cataclysm and keep up her identity through millenia, still exists. It has not abdicated Its function of the Ordainer and Arbiter of the destinies of races, peoples and nations. It has not come down from Its throne, placing any human being, or nation, or empire there. Placing our trust on high, we refuse to be frightened.

Britain may not be fighting for the world's freedom,——specially she may not be fighting for making India free. But she is fighting for her own freedom, for her very existence. That is a very worthy object. And she is fighting with great partriotism and courage. These qualities we admire and honour. She is in distress and requires help. It is humane to help those in distress. Moreover, according to all accounts available to us, British culture and civilization are better than Nazi Kultur and barbarity.

So we are for helping Britain as a voluntary act of humanity.

China has been fighting for her independence. She has thereby earned a right to voluntary and fraternal help. Greece has been fighting for preserving her independence with the patriotism and valour whose inspiration has come down to the present from her glorious storied past. She has appealed to India for help. If in the days that are ahead others be in the same plight and behave as valiantly, they too should have a share of our handfuls of rice.

Alas, that it should be only handfuls of rice! The measure of India's poverty is the measure of the opulence of those whom she has made wealthy.

Nine Millions Sterling and Rupees Twenty Lakhs

In 1931 the population of Great Britain was 50 millions in round numbers and that of India 350 millions. Hence in population Great Britain is one-seventh of India. The area of Great Britain is 89,041 square miles; that of India, 18,08,679 square miles. So in area Great Britain is less than one-twentieth of India.

It was given out some time ago that Great Britain was spending nine millions sterling (equivalent to twelve crores of rupees) every day for the prosecution of the war. The amount must have increased by now, as the war has spread to new areas. In the course of his speech on the Finance Bill the Finance Member said that India's war expenditure was twenty lakhs of rupees a day. So in comparison with the British war expenditure India's war expenditure is very small, being one-sixtieth of the former. Yet, leaving aside the question of Britain's right to draw India into the war without consulting her, we feel it a great burden to have to spend for the war one-sixtieth of what Britain spends.

How is it that a country which is less than one-twentieth of India in area and contains one-seventh of her population is able to spend sixty times as much per diem as India is called upon to spend but considers an unbearable burden ? The answer is, Britain is far richer than India. And it is the possession of India which is the foundation on which rests the edifice of Britain's immense wealth. The immensity of Britain's wealth reveals by contrast the immensity of India's poverty.

The material reason for Britain's ability to bear her huge war expenditure is not the only reason. There is a moral reason, too: she knows she is fighting for her freedom and independence, nay for her very existence.

Why The War Is Not Felt To Be India's War

That Britain is fighting for the freedom of some countries admits of no doubt. But these countries are herself and those other countries, like Greece and Egypt, whose conquest and occupation by Italy or Germany would imperil Britain's possession of her empire—particularly of India. But giving India any freedom, any power to shape her own future, does not appear to be a part of Britain's plans. The Indian National Congress had made some suggestions relating to the future constitution of India and to a provisional constitution for the present, as a step towards the goal. The Hindu Mahasabha had placed its proposals before the Government. The Muslim League, too, had done so. All these suggestions or proposals involved Britain's transferring some powers to Indian hands. The British Government has not accepted the suggestions or proposals of these bodies. Were they all wrong in every respect? No impartial observer will believe that no Indian political party is right in its views of what is required for the welfare of India but that the only party—and that a foreign party—which can work for India's good is the party whose interest it is to keep India in subjection for an indefinitely long period, if not for ever.

We have not mentioned all the political parties in India none of which the British Government has been able to satisfy. We have not mentioned the Arhars, the Jamiat-ul-Ulema, the other *Azad* or Independent Muslims, and last but not the least, we have not mentioned the Liberal party. The views of this last party are very ably represented by *The Leader* of Allahabad. This organ writes thus on the Viceroy's recent address to the Central Legislature:

> We have read the Viceroy's address to the Central Legislature with the care demanded by all utterances of the head of the Government of India. We will frankly say at the very outset that, while there are in the address passages which evoke our appreciation, **it is on the whole disappointing.** (Thick type ours.—Ed., *M. R.*).

Again:

> If the Secretary of State and the Viceroy had from the outset of the war taken the line that the prosecution of the war must engage the whole of their attention and all constitutional issues must await its victorious conclusion for consideration or solution, the millions who have been making willing sacrifices to help in the prosecution of the war would not have uttered a word of complaint; *provided* that in the prosecution of the war effort no race preference or race prejudice has been betrayed by authority. But that the conclusion of a year of hopes held out should be to leave the *status quo* undisturbed after and as the result of proposals and promises **can have the only effect of strengthening Indian suspicion that the British after all do not mean to part with power for as long as they can cling to it.** We will conclude our comment on this part of the Viceroy's address with the following two lines of verse in Lord Linlithgow's native tongue as they correctly sum up the whole position:
>
> "To promise, pause, propose, postpone,
> And end by letting things alone."
>
> (Thick type ours.—Ed., *M. R.*).

These extracts show that in the opinion of Indian Liberals, popularly styled Moderates, Britain, though fighting for her own freedom and for the freedom of those whose loss of it will jeopardize her empire, is not thinking of making India free; hence, in Indian Liberal opinion, too, this war is not India's war of liberation.

In his last month's address to the Central Legislature His Excellency the Viceroy extended his invitation to "all men and women of good will throughout this land to support in this critical hour, with strength of body and spirit, the cause of India and the Empire." Whilst we are of the opinion, which we have expressed more than once, that voluntary help should be given to Britain in full measure, we have also shown that no political party in India is satisfied that Britain's practically evinced attitude to India proves beyond doubt that Imperial Britain's cause is the same with that of subject India.

Sir N. N. Sircar, who did not belong to any Indian political organization before accepting the Law Membership of the Government of India and has not, so far as we know, joined any political body after his retirement from that office, appears to gravely suspect British intentions with regard to India.

Sir N. N. Sircar on Mr. Amery's Speech in the Commons

The following statement on the speech of Mr. Amery, Secretary of State for India, in the British House of Commons on the 20th November last, has been broadcasted by Sir N. N. Sircar, ex-Law Member to the Government of India, through the United Press:

> "As Mr. Amery's versions of the Indian Constitutional deadlock are increasing in number, on impartial minds the conviction is getting stronger that Mr. Amery is under some handicap in the matter of presenting true and complete picture of the causes of the present constitutional deadlock.
>
> "While I am sure he did not intend to mislead and misinform his English and overseas audiences, I am equally certain that he has succeeded in achieving such an undesirable result.
>
> "I may say at the outset that not only I hold no brief for the Congress, but I feel disappointed with the

Congress attitude, as in my opinion they would have served the interests of India best by wholehearted co-operation in war efforts.

THE PRESENT IMPASSE

"Whether I am right or I am wrong in having views which are opposed to those of the Congress, I see no justification whatsoever for Mr. Amery's representation of the Congress as the only party mainly responsible for the present impasse.

"A summary of Mr. Amery's speech to the English-speaking Union has been just published in some of the dailies, while an ampler version has been broadcasted all over India and elsewhere. He is reported to have said:

'May be the fears of the Muslims may be largely met by a further increase in the powers of the provinces, possibly re-arranged and re-grouped, subject only to a minimum Central control, necessary to secure in some measure of unity in foreign, defensive and economic policy.'

"I was amazed when I read these lines—for Mr. Jinnah has repeatedly stated that he does not want democracy. Possibly he will condescend to accept democracy in Provinces where Muslims are in majority, if he fails to secure Pakistan.

"The declared object of Mr. Jinnah has been to secure non-interference by the Hindu majority in matters which concern Muslims—such matters not being confined to the social and religious spheres only.

"I am not here criticising Mr. Jinnah's policy, but having regard to his attitude it follows that increase of powers in the provinces where Hindus are in a majority, will be calculated to augment and intensify his hostility, and not 'remove his fears,' as Mr. Amery asserted before an audience ignorant of the real situation in India.

CONGRESS DEMAND

"If Mr. Amery will write to Mr. Jinnah enquiring whether his fears will be removed by increasing provincial powers, I can predict confidently that Mr. Amery will get either an answer in the negative or an answer in the affirmative coupled with fourteen points, most of which will be destructive of the original proposition.

"To the Congress demand of the declaration of Independence after the war, Mr. Amery has given a clear and emphatic negative. As I am one of those who has repeatedly said in public that India's interest is best served by her remaining within the British Empire, I am for obvious reasons not criticising Mr. Amery's statement.

"What I do seriously complain is Mr. Amery's discreet silence on the Muslim attitude in general and in particular on what Mr. Jinnah has even in his latest statement on the floor of the Assembly declared to be his ultimate and indispensable goal—Pakistan.

"True Mr. Jinnah graciously agreed to suspend the Pakistan scheme during the war, but equally Congress is not insisting on 'independence' during the war. That certainly is not a factor which can lead to condemnation in one case, and unexplained silence over the other.

"Mr. Amery has discarded with a firm voice the ideal of independence, but not a word has been said on the ideal of Pakistan.

"Mr. Amery has repeated too often the obvious fact that the Indian Constitution is a matter for Indians—with a destructive rider which means in effect that what is contemplated is a 'democratic' self-governing Dominion in which the majority will have no voice in affairs concerning minorities.

"Granting that the Indian Constitution is a matter for Indians Mr. Amery has never enlightened his audiences as to the Muslim demands. His English and Overseas audiences could have then judged for themselves whether such demands are fair and whether such demands can reasonably be expected to be accepted by the other communities. They could have then judged whether such demands can be fitted in any democratic Constitution—and I presume Mr. Amery has all the time democracy in mind, be it of the English or some other type.

LEAGUE AND PRESENT DEADLOCK

"Expediency and diplomacy may require that Muslims should not be rubbed the wrong way at this crucial moment, and when Muslim States are friendly to Great Britain—but that hardly justifies statements placing the entire obloquy on one of the combatants.

"'Nothing doing' summarises the present situation and Mr. Amery may be quite right in depicting Congress as contributing to the deadlock, but a more correct and fairer description, requires that he should not conceal the fact that equally large, if not larger contribution has been rendered by the enemy of the Congress—the Muslim League.

"In his speeches Mr. Amery has shown much discreet diplomacy, but if he wants to exhibit the quality which is making the British so justly admired today, namely, British courage, it is up to him to give as unequivocal a condemnation of the Pakistan Scheme, as he has employed in the case of 'independence.'

"On the other hand, if those are not his sentiments, let us have it fair and square, that Mr. Amery is quite prepared to drop the idea of a united India on democratic lines, and that he will be quite prepared to divide India into two parts, neither part being blessed with either autocracy or democracy.

"If this is his attitude, his benevolent suggestion that the jailed Congress leaders should use 'their plenty of opportunities for correspondence and study in bringing out a constructive thought out plan' is a contribution of no value whatever in solving India's constitutional difficulties."

"The War . . . . . Must Be Related To Everything We Do"

These words are extracted from His Excellency the Viceroy's recent address to the Central Legislature.

Ever since the beginning of the war British statesmen at (their) home and in India have repeatedly declared in effect that the war is so continually in their thoughts and they are so busy and anxious that they have no time to devote to Indian constitutional questions. We fully believe that they are very busy and anxious. But it is not a fact that "the war (is) related to everything" done in the British Parliament.

According to the Government of India Act, no Provincial legislature is (or rather, was), competent to legislate in any matter affecting the powers and interests of any University whose jurisdiction extends over more than one province. By virtue of an amendment of that Act *during war time* the Bengal Legislature feels

competent to deal with the Bengal Secondary Education Bill, which, if it becomes law, will seriously cripple the Calcutta University, whose jurisdiction extends over Bengal and Assam, and will ruin secondary education in Bengal. Non-Muslim Bengal is seriously perturbed in consequence.

How is the war "related to" this amendment of the Government of India Act? Some kind of war is undoubtedly related to it. It is going to be utilized for fighting and crippling the intellect of Bengali Hindus—and of Bengali Christians, Buddhists and Brahmos also.

Notable Applicants for Congress Primary Membership in Bengal

Several legislators, central and provincial, were among the applicants for primary membership of the Congress at the office of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee on Wednesday (20th November), the last day for enrolment of membership.

They include the Hon. Mr. Sushil Kumar Roy Chowdhury, member of the Council of State, Prof. Humayun Kabir, M.L.C., Mr. Sibnath Banerjee, M.L.A., Mr. Bankim Mukherjee, M.L.A., Mr. P. Banerjee, M.L.A. and Mr. Atul Krishna Ghosh, M.L.A.

Mr. Santosh Kumar Basu, Deputy Leader of the Congress Party in the Bengal Assembly and several other members of the Congress Party in the Provincial Legislature have, it is learnt, submitted applications for membership of Primary Congress Committees to the General Secretary of the A.-I. C. C.—*The Amrita Bazar Patrika.*

An eleventh hour move has been taken by some Congress members of the Bengal Legislature who have been so long prominently associated with the revolt against the official Congress organisation to wriggle out of the difficult situation in which they now find themselves on account of their past activities.

The Secretary of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee has received a letter from the Office Secretary of the All-India Congress Committee stating that the latter has received from thirteen members of the Bengal Congress Parliamentary Party application forms signed by them as also the amount of subscription for renewing their membership of the Congress for the next year.

The Office Secretary of the A.-I. C. C. has written to the Secretary of the B. P. C. C. to take necessary steps to have their names entered on the roll of the primary members for the next year.

The applicants are: Mr. Santosh Kumar Basu, Mr. Jogesh Chandra Gupta, Mr. Surendra Mohan Moitra, Mr. Atul Chandra Kumar, Mr. Atul Chandra Sen, Mrs. Hemaprova Majumdar, Mr. Manmatha Nath Roy, Mr. Satya Priya Banerjee, Mr. Charu Chandra Roy, Miss Mira Dutta-Gupta, Mr. Naresh Nath Mukherjee, Mr. Debendra Lal Khan and Mr. Khagendra Nath Das-Gupta.—*The Amrita Bazar Patrika.*

Propaganda (?) In America Against The Indian National Congress

The occurrence of the name of Professor Humayun Kabir, M.L.C., among the applicants for primary membership of the Congress reminds us of his article in the last August number of *Asia* (New York), entitled "Even the Muslims Disagree." *Asia* is a high-class magazine which refuses to serve as a medium for propaganda of any kind. But there may be propaganda without its editor being able to detect it. And it may also be that Prof. Humayun Kabir did not knowingly or intentionally write his article as a propagandist. But there are passages in it which look like propaganda against the Congress and which we will quote for the information of Congressmen. It should be added that there are also passages in the article criticizing the Muslim League which may give the impression that the writer is equally critical of both the Congress and the League.

Says he:

"The Congress Ministers also made mistakes in their handling of some of the problems that cause communal friction, and the League fully exploited these mistakes to rally the Mussalmans under its own banner. The charges of the Muslim League may be briefly enumerated under the following heads: First, interference with religious rights; second, tampering with cultural traditions; third, attempts to curtail the Muslim proportion in the public services and in representation; and, fourth, social snobbery. Congress Ministers have denied all these charges and with perfect good faith. At the same time it must be realized that the agitation and discontent among large sections of Mussalmans in the United Provinces and Bihar cannot be dismissed as only the work of an interested clique, for even cliques require some genuine grievance to work up feeling among the masses. Agitation could not have continued without some real discontent or sense of injury behind it. The injury may have been imaginary, but if the discontent was real, we must try to understand its cause and nature."—*Asia*, August, 1940, pp. 435-436.

The writer says that "Congress Ministers have denied all these charges and with perfect good faith." He does not say, "*with perfect truth.*" Perhaps he thinks that though the Congress Ministers *believed* these charges to be all entirely false, they were not really so. The reader of the passage quoted above may be left wondering whether an "*imaginary*" "injury" may or may not constitute a "*genuine* grievance to work up feeling among the masses" and manufacture real discontent! All that we know is that the Muslim League could not substantiate a single charge brought forward against the Congress Ministers and that Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq did not tour round the Bihar villages concerned in the company of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to substantiate the charges against the Bihar Congress Government.

As regards the United Provinces, we remember to have read of a pamphlet issued by a Department of the U. P. Congress Government which referred to curtailment of some religious rights or interference with the cultural traditions

of the Hindus in order to meet Muslim objections, *not* vice versa.

In this connection, the sub-joined passage extracted from the last August number of *Asia*, page 434, forming part of an article on "Jinnah—The Enigma of India" by Khwaja Ahmad Abbas, may be found interesting—and illuminating, too. Perhaps it is an accident that this passage faces that extracted above from Prof. Kabir's article. The Khwaja writes, in part :

"The fundamental objective (of Mr. Jinnah's negotiations with the Congress) was to secure for the Muslim League minority participation in provincial administrations with the right virtually of free and unrestricted veto against the Congress majority, and thus to set himself, the League leader, up in a position of power at least co-equal with that of Gandhi or Nehru. Congress could not oblige Jinnah, and the Muslim League became the principal opposition in all Congress provinces. It is the duty of an opposition to criticize, and Jinnah, *playing upon the sense of frustration of provincial League leaders who had been hoping to secure seats of power, whipped criticism into a passionate denunciation in and out of the Legislatures.* With the genius of a lawyer whose job consists in making out his case by suppressing and ignoring that of the other side, he has been advocating his cause before the Muslims. Shout to your people that their rights are being "trampled upon ruthlessly," give plausible one-sided reasons, exaggerate them for all you are worth—you are worth much as a clever advocate !—promise them a "Muslim India" in a partition plan, and what more natural than that you should rouse communal passions against Congress "atrocities"? This Jinnah has achieved. (Italics ours.—Ed., *M. R.*).

This and other passages (too long and too many to quote here) in Khwaja Ahmad Abbas's article in *Asia* show how "genuine (!) grievances" have been manufactured in order to create "real discontent or sense of injury," to quote Mr. Kabir's words.

We shall quote another extract from Mr. Kabir's article. He writes

Music before mosques and the slaughter of cows have been the two major issues in respect of interference with religious rights. Juridically, Hindus have as much right to play music on the public road as Muslims have the right to kill cows on their own land. Congress Ministers have not taken a sufficiently strong and definite attitude on these questions, and this has led to misunderstandings or worse. The use of the criminal law in Bihar or elsewhere for the prevention of cow-killing was a definite mistake, for this was real restriction on the civil rights of a community. If the criminal law were to be used at all, it should have been used to restrict those who sought to curtail the civil liberties of others.

We support the last-quoted platitude. But the writer has produced the impression that it was the civil rights of the Muslims which were curtailed. He has not a word to say on the serious restrictions on and interference with the civil and religious rights of the Hindus in Bengal and elsewhere. He makes no reference to the Hindu-killing campaign in Sind. He does not give any definite instance or date of "the use of the criminal law in Bihar or elsewhere for the prevention of cow-killing."

We agree that "Congress Ministers have not taken a sufficiently strong and definite attitude on" the question of music and processions before mosques. Cow-killing on public roads or in any place exposed to the public gaze is not a civil right. Muslims have the right, of course, of killing cows in mosques or in their homes or other places screened from public view.

It is curious that an educated Muslim professor brings in even the Wardha scheme of education as "another source of Muslim resentment"

He writes :

"The Wardha scheme of education was another source of Muslim resentment. It is notable that the Wardha scheme, sponsored by Gandhiji and the Congress governments, was worked out by a committee presided over by a well-known Muslim educationalist while an Indian Christian has also played an important part in its formulation. It combines manual with mental training, thus shifting emphasis from mere literacy to vocational efficacy. It was unfortunate that the confusion between Indian renascence and Hindu revivalism which is rampant in the Indian mind today should have marred a scheme which otherwise had many things to recommend it." P. 436.

The writer ought to have been more precise. What was the confusion ? Perhaps nothing but the complete de-Hinduization of India and Indians can satisfy communally-minded Muslims. Though the Wardha scheme was worked out by a Muslim and "an Indian Christian" (?) has had much to do with it, it still remains suspect !

The writer proceeds :

"The Muslims objected, and rightly, to the introduction of a religious colouring into educational institutions; for this was bound to reflect the tone and temper of the majority community. It thus seemed a surreptitious attempt to impose the peculiarities in the culture of one community on members of the other and as such it provoked blind opposition. In a state composed of men of different religious denominations, education can best thrive by being secularized, and the necessary corollary to the separation of politics and religion is that public education should be kept scrupulously free from the religious traditions of any community." P. 436.

What was the religious colouring introduced into educational institutions ? Instead of making a sweeping and vague remark, the writer ought to have stated definitely what was this alleged religious colouring generally introduced in the educational institutions of the Congress-governed provinces as a whole and particularly in Madras, Bombay, C. P., Bihar (where the

Education Minister was a Mussalman), Orissa, U. P., and N.-W. F. P.

We are for the secularization of education.

We do not know how many educated Mussalmans have criticized the text-books used in the *maktabs* and *madrasas* in Bengal and objected to practically compelling Hindu pupils in many places in Bengal to read these productions which "reflect the tone and temper of the majority community " and in which a jargon is used which is not in common use even among educated Bengali Muslims themselves.

This note has already become too long. So many other points cannot be mentioned. We conclude by noting that the writer has discovered that " the Muslim League saw " in " the question of a common language " " an attempt to impose Hindu culture on the Mussalmans," and so that question " proved another cause of dissension." It appears to be a grievance that " Nagri is slowly but steadily crowding out the Urdu script. Nor can this always be prevented, for, where Muslims form a negligible minority, they are themselves gradually forced to adopt the Nagri script."

M. P.'s Demand Release of Congressmen

LONDON, Nov. 23.

A resolution demanding the release of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and other imprisoned Congressmen was passed at a meeting of the India League, London, today.

The speakers supporting the resolution were Mr. H H. Elin, ex-Chairman of the Trade Union Council, Maud Royden and Mr. S. S. Silverman, M.P.

Messages supporting the resolution were received from the following M.P.'s : Mr. Vernon Bartlett, Mr. Graham White, Mr. Geoffrey Mander, Mr. Richard Ackland and also from Lord Listowel, Mr. D. N. Pritt and Mr. Henry Nevinson.—*Reuter.*

Sir S. Radhakrishnan On British Government's Attitude

" The present attitude of the British Government is calculated to hamper India's co-operation and not to assist it," said Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan deploring the lack of vision and courage among British statesmen in the course of his presidential address at the seventeenth death anniversary of the late Mr. Aswini Kumar Dutta, an eminent educationist and nationalist leader, held on the 20th November last at the Albert Hall, Calcutta.

" Indian leaders are willing to co-operate with Britain materially and morally if only a popular Government is set up. British statesmen seem to belong to an era that is passed. They seem to be firmly set in the old ways."

Concluding Sir S. Radhakrishnan said that they were thankful that Mahatma Gandhi had postponed his fast.

" But is it too much to expect that British statesmen with vision and boldness will approach the Indian problem in a new spirit and assist in an enduring solution of it ? The sands are running out."—*A. P. I.*

Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar on Viceroy's and Secretary of State's Speeches

Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar in the course of a statement says :

" The long statement of the Governor-General and the Secretary of State's ostrich performance refusing to see anything contrary happening in India, remove any shadow of doubt that might have existed in Indian minds as to the situation. Our co-operation is not wanted. Only our goods and our money are sought with eagerness. India's life should, according to them, depend on Britain. Like the Hindu wife following the ideal of *sati,* India should not think of any independent honour or life or goal. We are here to cultivate and produce and give the foodstuffs and other materials and all the money that we can invest, leaving the question of honour and of battle to the British ruling class. Though it has been proved to the hilt that those who had been hitherto holding the trust for a hundred years and more have been guilty of the gravest stupidity and dereliction of duty in regard to the defence of India, the people of India should not even at this late hour be permitted to take charge. The very defencelessness that has been produced by deliberate mismanagement is made into an excuse for continuing the wrong.

PATRIOTIC AIM

" Mr. Churchill, on whom the responsibility finally fell to define the British war aims, gave up all talk about Christianity, democracy, human personality, a new order, and the like, and put it bluntly that the war was fought in order that they may survive, and that it was unnecessary now to go beyond that patriotic aim.

LIFE FOR INDIA ALSO

" We do not object to the survival of Britain and her national life in the fullest measure. We would love to be able to help in a struggle for British liberty. But we desire life for India also, and therefore liberty. There is between the maintenance of British power and Indian liberty a contradiction which ought to be removed and replaced by a better relationship."—*A. P. I.*

His Holiness The Pope's Prayer For Peace

VATICAN CITY, Nov. 24.

An exhortation to pray for the return of peace in Europe was delivered by the Pope in an address at high mass at St. Peters this morning (Sunday). Much of the traditional pomp and ceremony at the Papal high mass was omitted at the Holy Father's express orders.

The fanfare on silver trumpets which normally heralds the arrival of His Holiness was absent and there were none of the usual shouts of " viva il papa " from the huge congregation.

After the Pope's sermon all present joined in the singing of " credo."

The Pope's speech, which was broadcast, constituted

an eloquent prayer for peace during the course of which, His Holiness said, "Peace among men is dead, if you ordain it. But let it be resuscitated on land and sea and especially in the air, whence in the dark watches of the night, death, fire and destruction are rained down over huge populations."—*Reuter.*

POPE TO FAST

LONDON, Nov. 24.

"It is understood that the Pope will fast for a week as an appeal to God for peace," states the Rome Radio. —*Reuter.*

Slovakia Joins Tripartite Pact

BERLIN, Nov. 24.

Slovakia has joined the Tripartite Pact between Germany, Italy and Japan today (Sunday). M. Tuka, Prime Minister of Slovakia signed a Protocol to this effect when he reached Berlin this morning.

Slovakia thus becomes the sixth country to adhere to the Pact. The terms of the Protocol are virtually identical with those signed yesterday by General Antonescu, who left Berlin today.

In a declaration after signing the Protocol M. Tuka said the people of Slovakia would co-operate in the New Order by constructing their Government and social order on National Socialist lines.

An Ankara message states Turkey remains unimpressed by Hitler's latest diplomatic moves which have secured recognition to German and Italian overlordship of Europe by countries which are not able to make their own decision.—*Reuter.*

More probably under the influence of Nazi terror than for any other reason, State after State have been joining the Axis powers. Great Britain stands alone, as the European countries which have not yet acknowledged the overlordship of Germany remain at best neutrals. Even Eire is neutral. Britain will be strengthened if Russia and the United States of America become her allies in belligerency.

Maulana Azad In Sind

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Congress President, in an interview to the *United Press,* refutes the reference made in a section of the press that he himself formulated the Pakistan scheme in 1908. He characterises the Pakistan scheme as useless, unworkable and good for nothing.

Referring to the situation in Sind, Maulana Azad said :

"What is needed to cure the present Sind ills is a strong Cabinet. The present Cabinet will meet that requirement. I hope within a short time Sind will be able to stand shoulder to shoulder with other provinces."

If the Cabinet which the Congress President has taken so much pains to form can put a stop to the campaign of murdering and plundering Hindus and detect and punish the leaders and rank and file of this wicked conspiracy against the Hindu community, its efficiency will be proved beyond doubt.

The Sind Observer in the course of a leading article on the mission of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad to Sind says :

"In a province so notorious for its vagaries and so full of surprises and uncertainties the Congress President by his tactful handling of the various elements composing the legislature and the Ministry has evolved a measure of unity, understanding and goodwill among them for which the people of this province are deeply beholden to him. He leaves behind a lot of unfinished work which can be handled by the Sindhis alone. His work during the last fortnight has removed the weeds of misunderstanding, jealousy and bickering. It is now for the responsible leaders of this province, Hindu and Muslim, inside and outside the legislature, to sow the seed of unity, water it with goodwill, then reap the abundant harvest for the happiness of the people of this much-distracted province."

Under the caption "A New Era in Sind," the *Daily Gazette* welcomes the Maulana's statement as a harbinger of peace and goodwill and adds :

"The permanence of peace inaugurated by the Congress President will depend to a large extent on the willingness and co-operation of the public of Sind, which is tired of the internecine warfare which has been disfiguring Sind's public life for more than three years.

All-India Women's Conference, Calcutta Branch

The annual conference of the All-India Women's Conference, Calcutta Branch, at its second day's sitting on the 24th November last expressed its opinion that it was absolutely necessary for women to combine and take an active part in developing international understanding and bring about an era in which peace based on justice to all races was ushered.

The Conference deeply deplored the unrest in the world today and sympathised with the suffering of the victims of aggressions, particularly women and children and all those who had been exploited by armed might and the lust for power.

The Conference adopted the following resolutions :

"The Conference wholeheartedly congratulates Begum Farhat Banu for bringing forward a Bill for the control of widows' homes, orphanages, etc., before the Bengal Legislative Assembly, particularly in view of the fact that this measure will bring about the achievement of the real purpose of all such institutions. It requests the Select Committee, appointed in connection with this Bill, to give their serious consideration to the recommendations embodied in the representation drawn up by the Sub-Committee appointed by the Branch and further requests them to make certain that this Bill becomes an effective measure.

"This Conference considers that the time has arrived when energetic steps should be taken to remove the existing defects and omission in our systems of marriage laws, and in furtherance of the object, necessary

legislation should be initiated forthwith particularly in regard to

(a) Amendment of Sarda Child Marriage Restraint Act, so that its provisions are made effective.

(b) Notification and Registration of marriage.

(c) Suitable provision in Hindu Law for Divorce on the following grounds—(i) Desertion, (ii) Lunacy, (iii) Cruelty, (iv) Adultery, etc.

"This Conference expresses its deep confidence in the unity among the different communities which characterises the women's movement in India. It considers, that it is the duty of Indian women to take an active part in promoting mutual understanding among different sections in the country and thus make a direct contribution towards the cause of unity and progress of India."

Freedom Of Speech In Wartime

Rashtra-Vani has quoted at some length Professor Laski's opinion on the question of freedom of speech in wartime from his book, "Grammar of Politics." As the professor is an acknowledged authority in political science, we give below some sentences from the passages extracted in *Rashtra-Vani.*

"The problem of freedom of speech in wartime raises quite different considerations. But it is first of all important to urge that the scale of operations makes no difference to the issue. The rights and duties of an English citizen in a period of struggle with a minor nation like the Boers in South Africa remain the same as his rights and duties in a struggle with a first-class power like Germany. His business, as I have insisted, is to contribute his instructed judgment to the public good. He must, that is to say, support the war if he think it right and oppose it if he think it wrong. That the executive has embarked upon a adventure in which unity of opinion is a condition of strategic success does not alter the moral position that he occupies. No executive has a right to move on its way, whatever the opinion of its citizens. Those opinions must be made known in order to affect its activities. To penalise them at a time when it is above all urgent to perform the task of citizenship is fatal to the moral foundations of the State. . . . . Indeed, there is ground for the view that an inconvenient time is not unlikely to secure a closer attention to the substance of such opinions. And what can be urged on the other side? It is said that the utterance of hostile opinion hinders the successful prosecution of the war. But this, in fact, is to raise not one, but several issues."

"Does 'hostile opinion' mean hostility to the inception of war, to the methods of its prosecution, to the end at which it aims? In the last European struggle the opponents of the war were divided into camps of each of those views."

Bengal Dowry Restriction Bill

It has been correctly observed in the statement of objects and reasons of the Bengal Dowry Restriction Bill, introduced in the Bengal Assembly by Sj. Surendra Nath Biswas, M.L.A., that "the marriage dowry system prevailing amongst the Bengali Hindus has been a long-standing curse to the Hindu Society of Bengal and has been responsible for the self-immolation of many girls and the financial ruination of innumerable Hindu families of Bengal." Legislation may not, and most probably will not, succeed in entirely destroying this system, but may certainly be expected to mitigate its evils. We, therefore, lend our general support to the Bill, which penalizes the offer or acceptance of any dowry whose money value exceeds the sum of rupees fifty-one. The explanation attached to section 3, namely,

"The sum of Rupees fifty-one as referred to in this section shall not include the value of ornaments or any other thing in kind given by the bride's parents or guardians to the bride as a gift of free will,"

leaves a loophole for evading the provision of the section which ought to be closed.

Only a high conception of marriage and conjugal love can eradicate the evil, but legislation can help in the process.

Suggestion For Abolishing Medical Schools

Among the resolutions passed at the 14th session of the Medical Council of India held in New Delhi on October 26 last, we find the following:

The Council further decided that provision should be made for an All-India Medical Register which should include (1) qualifications prescribed in the Indian Medical Council Act, 1933 and (2) persons who possess qualifications granted by examining bodies in British India other than universities on 31st December, 1947, and whose names are on the Provincial Medical Register on that date. The Council urged the Central Government to take early steps to implement these proposals and to ask the Provincial Governments to abolish medical schools for licentiates or to raise them to a university standard so that there would in future be only one uniform minimum standard of medical education for the whole of British India.

The medical schools in Bengal, and in other provinces also, serve a useful purpose. No doctor, however well qualified and however eminent his position, has denied the need of giving "first aid." The licentiates of medical schools serve *at least* as useful givers of "first aid" and of "second aid," too, if we may say so, and are in numerous places the only persons who can give any medical assistance at all. More highly qualified doctors are certainly preferable. But how many villages can make it worth their while to practise there? Moreover, it cannot be said that the majority of cases treated by the licentiates of medical schools end in death or disaster. They *do* save countless lives and effect numerous cures.

We are not opposed to the raising of the standard of the medical schools, provided the money required for the purpose be found by the

public. It is futile to expect the Government to find the money, though it is its duty to do so.

We find that at a 'convention' of 'the All-Bengal Licentiate Students,' held in Calcutta on the 25th November, the request for the abolition of the medical schools *and the introduction of a five years' medical course* was repeated. If the schools are abolished, will the two medical colleges in Bengal be able to supply all the scientifically trained doctors needed in Bengal? If the schools are abolished, for what institutions would the 5 years' course be needed?

Evils of Communalism in the Services

Sir Andrew Clow, Communications member of the Government of India, condemned the grant of promotion on communal grounds in the course of his address to the annual session of the Indian Railways Conference Association at New Delhi on October 26 last. Said he:

"I am quite clear in my own mind, and I feel sure that this Conference will agree with me, that the grant of promotion on the basis of neither experience nor efficiency, but of community, would be a disastrous step. It would mean that, where seniority is the normal rule, a senior might find a junior promoted over him merely because he belonged to another community, and where selection is the principle, the most deserving man would find that a less competent man was preferred. That would not mean merely that we were not making the best use of the men available. It would involve going a long way on the road of dividing the service by communities and a body which is divided against itself cannot have that loyalty and *esprit-de-corps* which are so vital in public services."

It is as unjust and as injurious to public interests to appoint a less competent man on communal grounds, overlooking the claims of the more or most deserving, as it is unjust and injurious to public interests to grant promotion on the basis of neither experience nor efficiency but on that of community.

The Seizure of Maps

The papers have so far published news relating to the seizure by the police of maps (ordinary maps, not maps used in warfare) at Allahabad and Poona, two centres at great distance from one another. The contagion may spread to other centre.

What is the reason for this new occupation of the police? Is there any apprehension of any popular armed rising in which these maps may be of some use? But are there men credulous enough to think that successful armed revolt is practicable now?

Immersion of Images and Communal Trouble

In a good many places in Bengal there have been communal troubles connected with the ceremony of immersion of the images of the goddess Durga on the fourth day of her worship. In all cases this has been due to the fact that the local Muslims or some of them have come to believe that the Hindus can be allowed to perform their religious rites only on sufferance and that Muslim beliefs, prejudices and fancies are entitled to be conformed to above all, even though these may interfere with the religious practices of others.

The troubles will recur so long as this sort of conceit remains rooted in the minds of Muslims or some of them. It can be removed if the State acts on the true and recognized principle that all religions are entitled to equal consideration and that the followers of no religion are bound to yield to those of another. For example, if the auspicious hour for the immersion ceremony falls, according to the Hindu almanack, at some hour when Muslims pray in their mosques, both the Hindus and Muslims should simultaneously go on with their respective religious practices, neither minding inconveniences, if any. This is not asking too much. Muslims do not mind the noise of passing aeroplanes, railway trains, tram-cars, 'buses, motor cars, &c., at the time of their prayers.

Students' Strikes and Noisy Demonstrations

AGRA, Nov. 23.

"For us who are responsible for shaping the policy of the universities it would be well to remember the prophetic words of a great thinker that it would be a most deplorable thing to make the price of education for our youths the surrender of the years of the greatest initiative and enthusiasm and of the hope and capacity for great deeds to rigid surveillance or to the work of acquisition alone. Let us keep our students at work getting knowledge out of books but not while the enthusiasm of youth is ebbing away and the capacity of doing things is being gradually lost," said Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, while delivering his address at the annual convocation of the university of Agra held today.

"Unfortunate disturbances, such as strikes and noisy demonstrations, are becoming a common feature in educational institutions and this tendency should be discouraged in the interest of all concerned."

Talking of the medium of instruction in a university the speaker observed: "Education should be imparted through the medium of our own languages. The acceptance of this principle may raise initial difficulties but such difficulties have been overcome in free countries and India must also face and surmount them."

Concluding Dr. Mookerjee appealed "for the unification of this land of Hindustan through the efforts of men and women trained in universities of today."—*U. P.*

Imprisonment of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru

Before the imprisonment of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru on the ground that he had offended against the Defence of India Act, many others had been similarly thrown into jail. The Pandit's conviction has attracted wider attention because of his personality and his place among the fighters for India's freedom. The very severe sentence passed on him was, perhaps, meant to make an example of him. But he has been an example for a long time, though not in any sense that may be intended by any British court of justice.

It is not contended that the sentence pronounced on the Pandit is not according to the law, made by the British Government in India. According to that law, he could have been sentenced to even a longer term of imprisonment *quite legally*. But it only shows the peculiar character of the British-made law and the British-instituted courts of justice that a man like him should have the same 'punishment' inflicted on him as that inflicted usually on felons. Mr. Amery, Secretary of State for India, has said that the Pandit will have all amenities of life as far as it may be practicable to provide them in a jail. But the Pandit, though nursed in boyhood and youth in the lap of luxury, has voluntarily accustomed himself to the coarse fare of peasants and their bare mat and blanket in their huts. To him freedom is the one thing needful. For him a life of freedom in a hut or under the open sky is preferable to life without freedom in a palace with all possible luxuries.

Punishments are meant as deterrents or correctives. But Jawaharlal's punishment will not deter him, when he comes out of jail, from doing again, if necessary, what he has done; nor can it be a corrective, as the 'offence' was deliberately committed and is not considered by him wrong in any way. His imprisonment will not serve as a deterrent or a corrective so far as men and women of his convictions are concerned.

It will no doubt prevent him from personally propagating his opinions so long as he is in jail. But the imprisonment itself is a greater publicity agent than any single itinerant individual. As Caesar dead was a greater maker of history, so imprisoned patriots may make history more effectively, than patriots outside jails.

Greece and Italy—and Germany

The successes achieved by Greece in her defensive war with Italy have come as a surprise upon the world public. For Mussolini's boastful speeches made on various occasons during many years past must have led many to believe that Italy, under his dictatorship, had grown into a great military power. On the other hand, though there have been during the same period some revolutions, not like the famous French revolutions or the Russian Bolshevik revolution, in Greece, the outside world had not been given any idea of any military preparations made by the Greeks.

They have been fighting with the valour for which the ancient Greeks were famous, and have succeeded in carrying the war into the enemy's own camp and bearding the lion in his own den.

That in spite of calamitous Italian reverses, Germany has not yet come to the rescue of her ally, has roused some curiosity and given rise to some speculation. German inaction in the matter of helping Italy cannot be due to the exhaustion of Hitler's resources or anything like it. For the bombing of British towns by German fighter planes and the pounding of the British coast by German long-range guns continue, and Hitler has sufficient strength left or in any case the reputation of having it to be able to frighten country after country in Europe into joining the Tripartite Pact. Perhaps the truth is, Hitler cannot brook any rival. He will not allow Mussolini to claim any appreciable share of the spoils—only crumbs may be left for him. Hence Hitler may be allowing the course of events to show Mussolini his place without intervention.

Indiscriminate Destructiveness of Modern War

Recently a British authority has referred to the increasingly expensive character of modern warfare. It is also infamous and notorious for its indiscriminate and worse than savage destructive character. India has seen and borne the brunt of many invasions by cruel and ruthless warriors. But, with the exception of a Nalanda here and there, these invaders left famous monuments and edifices untouched. For example Sanchi and Ellora of ancient times still stand. The marvellous Jaina temples on Mount Abu still excite the wonder of travellers from abroad. Akbar's Fatehpur Sikri, Jahangir's tomb at Shahdera, Shahjehan's Taj Mahal remain. The far-famed temples in Orissa were not damaged or demolished by any conquerors. True, some fanatical Mussalman monarchs destroyed many famous Hindu temples. But Mussalman invaders *generally* spared Mussalman tombs and places of worship and Hindus spared Hindu edifices. At present, however, though the warring

European nations all *profess* Christianity, the the Germans have been attacking not only the factories, docks, arsenals, aerodromes, etc., of their enemies, but are trying to demolish or damage their churches, museums, schools and hostels and hospitals, too. For any nation trying to conquer another, it is not at all necessary to destroy the latter's places of worship, mausoleums, museums, and the like; nor is it necessary to kill babies and children. But both Japan and Germany have been displaying this kind of indiscriminate savagery.

The destructiveness of modern warfare becomes evident when we consider that, whether Britain wins, as is likely, or Germany wins, as is unlikely, both countries have been suffering irreparable injuries. So it is not any exaggeration but a certain eventuality that if in addition to the countries engaged in war at present, Soviet Russia and the United States of America, too, become belligerents and the two sides be somewhat evenly matched, human civilization, at least of the Western variety, will receive a serious blow and there will be an unprecedented set-back.

Viceroy's and Secretary of State's Latest Pronouncements

It is rather tiresome, particularly for a monthly reviewer who writes only once a month, to come across the same platitudes and the same specious arguments, refuted many a time and oft, in the long-winded and verbose utterances of the Secretary of State for India and the Governor General of India. Not to speak of humble individuals like ourselves, even great Indian leaders seem to speak and write in vain in criticism of the pronouncements of these august British personages. They go on repeating their stale platitudes and plausible reasons as if nobody had ever shown up their real character.

There may or may not be a *probability* of some impartial men in neutral countries being convinced by the statements of Indian leaders and journalists that the Indian side of the case is worthy of consideration, but there is always a possibility. But this possibility is precluded by the prevention of the despatch of the most pronounced nationalist journals abroad. So the cry of Indian nationalists is a cry in the British Imperialistic wilderness.

The British authorities have graciously declared that the offer (made by the Viceroy in August last) is still open. The door is indeed open for Indians to walk into the British Imperialist parlour. And there is only a condition laid down which is quite easy to fulfil! The lion and the lamb must enter the parlour together cheek by jowl. The Congress being completely non-violent, there is no disrespect implied in referring to it figuratively as the lamb. But when we speak of the Muslim League as the lion, we do not mean any disrespect to the British Lion. Perhaps, however, as Maulvi A. K. Fazlul Huq has said that every Muslim Leaguer is a lion and a tiger combined, it may not be unnecessary to say that no offence is meant in alluding to the Muslim League merely as the lion instead of calling it the lion-tiger or the tiger-lion, whatever that may mean.

British statesmen are determined not to do away with the causes of communal differences and dissensions for whose genesis and existence they are responsible. Yet they lay down the condition that unless these differences are made up, there cannot be any constitutional advance, not to speak of Purna Swarāj. We do not mean to say that there were no causes of Hindu-Muslim differences and dissensions in the pre-British period or that there are none now except those for which the British Government is responsible. But it is illogical and absurd for the British authorities to lay down the condition that all communal differences must be made up and at the same time to seek to give permanence to the British-made causes of these differences. Indian nationalists are entitled to ask Britain to do what she, and she alone, can do to bring about unity among Indians and then ask them to be united.

Of course, British statesmen may assert that so far as sowing seeds of dissension among Indians is concerned, the British Government is as innocent as a new-born babe. But if any British statesman really and sincerely believes in such innocence, he must be an egregious ignoramus. If, however, any statesman who knows the details of Indian legislation and administration, in Britain and India, during at least the last four decades, professes to believe in such innocence, he must be a hypocrite hard to beat.

In one of his latest pronouncements, Mr. Amery spoke of some different kinds of constitutional arrangements which may possibly be made to meet the present situation. But his greatest solicitude was to accommodate the Muslim League—with a thinly veiled Pakistan proposal. The Muslims outside the League do not count, the Congress—the greatest organization in India—does not count, the Hindu Mahasabha is an unmentionable and utterly negligible body, and the vast body of Hindus outside any organization is beneath contempt. But whatever Mr. Amery or any other British

authority may think, they all exist and will have to be reckoned with.

Perhaps Britain is not destined to have the glory of assisting at the birth of a free India. She has not deserved to enjoy such glory.

The freedom of India will probably be brought about by world forces and world events beyond the control of Britain.

Suspension of Present Constitution of Bengal Demanded by Hindu Mahasabha

The *United Press* understands that Mr. Sanat Kumar Roy Chowdhury, General Secretary, Hindu Mahasabha, has cabled to the Secretary of State for India, demanding suspension of the present Constitution of Bengal, as the present Ministry has failed to protect the rights of Hindus of Bengal, religious, social and political.

It may be recalled that a resolution to this effect was unanimously passed at the Bengal Provincial Hindu Mahasabha Conference at Krishnagore.—*U. P.*

Subhas Chandra Bose's Illness

We are sorry to learn that Sjt. Subhas Chandra Bose is so ill that he cannot stand his trial even inside the jail where he now is. He ought to be set free on bail till his recovery.

All-Bengal Census Board

A meeting of the All-Bengal Census Board appointed by the Bengal Provincial Hindu Mahasabha was held on Sunday last. The Board decided to appoint five Divisional Organisers for each of the five Divisions in Bengal. They will tour round the districts and will organise Census work in co-operation with the leading gentlemen in each district.

Every District Hindu Mahasabha is being requested to constitute a District Census Committee and to appoint a Census Officer who will organise Census Sub-Committees in every Thana and every Union in the district. The Divisional Organisers will be in charge of this part of the work and will help the authorities in the correct enumeration of the population within their respective jurisdiction. The Nationalist Press in Bengal is requested to appeal to the public to appreciate the importance of having a correct record of the Hindu population in Bengal.

Mr. N. C. Chatterjee has been elected the President, Professor Hari Charan Ghosh and Mr. Jotindra Mohan Dutta have been elected Joint Secretaries and Major P. Bardhan, the Treasurer of this Board.

BEWARE OF FALSE PROPAGANDA

Sj. N. C. Chatterjee, President, All-Bengal Census Board, has issued the following:

Interested persons are circulating wild rumours that Census enumeration is designed for imposing fresh taxation.

Please do not boycott the Census for the sake of the Hindus.

Gandhiji Suffering From High Blood Pressure

WARDHA, Nov. 25.

Mahatma Gandhi has been suffering from high blood pressure since yesterday. Though there is no cause for anxiety, doctors have advised him not to see visitors and take complete rest for a few days.

It is understood Gandhiji has issued circulars to all Provincial Congress Committees emphasising carrying out of the constructive programme of the Congress including establishment of communal unity and sinking of political differences among the different ranks in the Congress. Gandhiji has also asked those whose names have been enlisted as Satyagrahis not to offer Satyagraha unless approved by Gandhiji.—*U. P.*

Bengal Government's Scheme for Nationalization of Electricity

"It is understood that the Government of Bengal have commissioned a British Electric firm to help them in the matter of implementing their decision to nationalise electric undertakings to develop the province electrically."

'Nationalization' implies that there is *a* nation. But the Muslim members of the Bengal ministry are stalwarts of the Muslim League, which believes in the existence of two nations in India. For the benefit of which nation is the 'nationalization' scheme meant?

Why has a British electric firm been commissioned? Are there no Indian electrical experts in Bengal or in India outside Bengal who could have been commissioned? Perhaps there are, and perhaps they are not Muslims.

Expenditure on Irrigation Works in India and Bengal

In opening the 11th meeting of the Central Board of Irrigation at New Delhi on the 4th November last the Viceroy said:

"My interest in agriculture, and in the welfare of the Indian cultivator in particular, is keen and abiding. The return on the vast capital investment of 154 crores, which has so far been spent on irrigation works in India, is not to be measured in terms of revenue, but in the more precious currency of human life and property."

The irrigation works which had been made had not only removed the threat of famine from wide areas of the country, but year after year, the irrigated fields bore crops of which the value in a single year was not far short of the whole capital cost of the great barrages, canals and distributaries which harnessed the waters and guided them where and when they were required.

We are glad that many provinces have benefited from irrigation works, constructed in them at a cost of 33, 25, or 20 crores, and so on. But why has not, out of the total of 154 crores, even four crores been spent on them in Bengal? Many districts suffer from famine in this province repeatedly and are or about to be in its grip this year. Ever since the beginning of British rule in India, Bengal has been one of the biggest contributors, if not the biggest, to the Indian treasury. But the imperial Government's treatment of it has been extremely niggardly.

Rural Revival at Supur An Example of Successful Visva-Bharati Endeavour

In our last (November) number, page 549, we have noticed "Supur : An Experiment in Rural Reconstruction," being Visva-Bharati Bulletin No. 28. The following resumé will give some idea of the work accomplished in relation to that village, which was once a flourishing town:

Progress of village reconstruction work undertaken by the Rural Reconstruction Institute of Sriniketan in Supur, a village situated on the bank of the Ajoy river in the district of Birbhum is related in the bulletin of the Visva Bharati for September, 1940.

Supur is four miles from Bolpur, the seat of the Visva-Bharati. It has a population of 776, of which 140 are Muslims and 636 Hindus comprising 239 families. A historical survey of the population shows a gradual depopulation. Agricultural labour is the chief occupation of the villagers. There are 79 tanks in the village, of which only 16 were in a tolerable condition. For the 149 boys and 69 girls of school-going age in the village, there are two lower primary schools where 53 children are taught.

It was under these conditions that the Institute took up the work of rural reconstruction, placing Sj. Nishapati Maji in charge of the work in September, 1939. The first effort of the workers was to reduce outside help to a minimum and arouse a spirit of self-help and co-operation among the villagers themselves. A Pally Samity was started with a membership of 130. Roads and drains have been repaired and the village has been changed out of recognition by the cutting of jungle and re-dressing of roads and drains. Five tanks have already been cleared at the owners' cost. Malaria and Kala-azar, which are prevalent in the village, present a formidable problem. In the case of poor and helpless people, diet and medicine are being supplied free and 26 patients are being treated by the medical officer of the Institute. A programme of regular examination of the patients in the village has been arranged and a Co-operative Health Society has been organised with a qualified doctor in charge.

A beginning has also been made in the organisation of rural industries and a comprehensive three-years' programme has been taken up by the Pally Samity.

A bare recital of the results obtained by the Sriniketan Institute during the first year may not have been impressive, but those who have some touch with actual village life will at once recognise the tremendous effort that had to be made to achieve these results. The villagers' deep-rooted objections to changes and innovations that spring from their ignorance and lack of initiative make it quite impossible to obtain quick results or any appreciable results at all. The experiment, therefore, has to be judged from a different standpoint and its results have a great significance for all workers for rural uplift. The three-years' programme on which the Pally Samity and the workers have begun work deserves special consideration by all official and non-official rural uplift organisations.

Bengal Hindu Conference at Krishnagar

From the points of view of attendance and enthusiasm the Bengal Hindu Conference held last month at Krishnagar was a great success. The pandal constructed on the local town-hall grounds for the conference was meant to accommodate 5000 delegates and visitors. It was filled to capacity, and in addition a considerable number stood listening to the speeches outside the pandal on the town-hall grounds. As loud speakers had been fitted, many persons stood listening to the speeches on the public road outside the gate of the town-hall. An appreciable number of ladies attended the conference and, though the second day's session lasted for more than five hours at a stretch and concluded after 8 p.m., they did not leave their seats.

It is to be regretted that in many of our public gatherings all the most convenient seats are monopolized by men, and women have to occupy seats which do not face the dais and the rostrum nor are near them. The Krishnagar arrangements were also defective in this respect.

The addresses of Sir Manmathanath Mukherjee, president of the conference, and of Sjt. Narendra Kumar Basu, chairman of the reception committee, were masterly pronouncements and were well delivered.

"Follow Vivekananda's Lead"

At the Krishnagar Hindu conference Dr. B. S. Moonje unveiled a bust of Swami Vivekananda made by a local artist. It was a good likeness. In the course of the brief speech which the Doctor made on the occasion he exhorted the people of Bengal to follow the lead of Vivekananda and observed : "If Bengal follows the lead of Vivekananda, the rest of India will follow the lead of Bengal." As to "the task" which Vivekananda imposed upon himself, we get some idea of it from a passage in Sister Nivedita's *Notes of Some Wanderings with the Swami Vivekananda* (Authorized Edition, 1913, Edited by the Swami Saradananda, Udbodhan Office, Calcutta), Chapter II, "At Naini Tal and Almora," page 19 :

"It was here, too, that we heard a long talk on Ram Mohun Roy, in which he pointed out three things as the dominant notes of this teacher's message, his acceptance of the Vedanta, his preaching of patriotism, and the love that embraced the Mussulman equally with the Hindu. In all these things, he claimed himself to have taken up the task that the breadth and foresight of Ram Mohun Roy had mapped out."

Though Dr. Moonje was good enough to anticipate leadership for Bengal on her following the lead of the Swami Vivekananda, our ideal is neither leading, nor following, but marching abreast with the rest of India.

Cultural Activities Go On In French Indo-China

We have just received the 2nd fascicule of the 38th volume of the *Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient*, published in 1940 at Hanoi, French Indo-China. It is the usual sumptuous volume containing the records of a mass of work done by the institute in 1938 and further two original contributions, one on comparative Ethnographie by Mlle. Colani and one on the famous "Man with a Shawl" statuette from Mohen-jo-Daro, by Victor Goloubew. It is a great pleasure to observe that this famous institution is courageously attempting to carry on with its cultural mission in spite of the terrible calamities that have befallen the Empire of France. The world would indeed be very much impoverished culturally if the savants and scholars of France were to be totally submerged in the maelstrom of war.

"The Pioneer" on a 'Diluted Pakistan'

The Pioneer writes:

> The fears of the Muslims, he said, might be largely met by a wider measure of autonomy in the provinces —possibly *rearranged* and *regrouped*—subject only to the minimum control necessary at the Centre to secure unity in all-India's foreign, defensive and economic policies. This is "Pakistan," slightly diluted, but we doubt if such a proposal would commend itself to non-Muslim Leaguers. We know what happened when Bengal was partitioned some thirty years ago for "administrative reasons." However, as Mr. Amery was only indulging in the innocuous pastime of conjecture, there is no need to examine the suggestion in detail here, but he must be well aware of the dangers implicit in the division of India into predominantly Hindu and predominantly Muslim States.

There is nothing to show that "Mr. Amery was *only* indulging in the *innocuous* pastime of conjecture." He was really trying to encourage the Pakistanites in their opposition to Indian Nationalism without committing himself. What was 'pastime' to him may jeopardize the cause of Indian national solidarity.

Krishnagar Hindu Conference Resolutions

All the resolutions passed at the Bengal Provincial Hindu Conference held last month at Krishnagar were passed unanimously. As there was prolonged discussion at the Subjects Committee meetings before the resolutions were drafted in their final form to be placed before the open session of the Conference, the unanimity was not a mechanical one due to indifference.

The first was the usual condolence resolution. The second condemned the present repressive policy of the Government and demanded the release of the political prisoners. The third was in condemnation of the Commumunal Decision. The fourth was directed against the Secondary Education Bill. The third condemned and pointed out in detail the anti-national, anti-democratic and anti-Hindu character of the second Calcutta Municipal Amendment Bill and asked all Hindu councillors to resign in case the Bill were passed into law. The sixth resolution demanded that the boundaries of the province of Bengal should be fixed on racial, linguistic, cultural and economic bases, extending its present area. The seventh strongly condemned the Pakistan proposal and requested the Government of India to signify and make known its disapproval of it.

The eighth resolution pointed out the great importance of accuracy in the Census and asked the Hindus to see to it that their numbers were correctly recorded and that the numbers of the Mussalmans were not exaggerated. It asked the Hindus to record themselves simply as Hindus. It condemned the Bengal Government's intention to count Hindus according to their castes and sub-castes while refusing to record the numbers of the different Muslim social groups such as Momins, Bedias, etc. It condemned the Bengal Government's intention to add fresh Hindu castes to the scheduled list and asserted that the Bengal Government had no power to do so. It observed that the difference in the methods of enumeration of the Hindus and the Muslims was due to sinister communal motives and was fraught with evil consequences.

The ninth resolution strongly condemned the firing by the police on the Hindu processionists at Kulti, demanded an impartial and independent inquiry into the affair, and expressed dissatisfaction at the Ministry not showing as much promptitude in the matter as in the case of the Islamia College incident. The resolution expressed deep sympathy with the relatives of those who died as the result of police firing and with the wounded, and appealed for contributions to their relief fund.

The tenth resolution was on the Bengal ministry's policy and stood thus:

> This Conference notes with indignation the ever increasing cases of persecution of the Hindu Minority in the different parts of the province by Muhammadans —desecration to temples, breaking of images, forcible suppression of Hindu religious procession, molestation of Hindu women, etc., having been almost a normal feature creating a situation unparalleled in the history of the province.
>
> This Conference deplores the complete failure of the Ministry to deal with this distressing situation and to

guarantee to the Hindu minority any protection in respect of their time-honoured social and religious observances and maintenance of their religious and economic rights.

This Conference records its emphatic opinion that the present ministry has been systematically pursuing a policy antagonistic to the Hindu minority with a view to bring about their economic ruin and political and cultural enslavement as evidenced by its numerous acts, both legislative as well as administrative.

This Conference recalls in this connection the various statements and reports issued to the press, giving definite cases of partiality to the Muhammedans in the matter of appointment and promotion in public services, and nomination to union boards and self-governing bodies, conduct of the Executive Authorities in dealing with communal matters and cases of women protection, withholding of grants to educational institutions on communal grounds, distortion of text books, defiance of recommendations of Public Services Commission, etc., etc., and rates with great disappointment that the Ministry has not dared to form an open and impartial enquiry or remedy the present state of affairs.

The Conference aserts that the policy deliberately pursued by the Ministry has resulted in untold sufferings to Hindus, systematic deprivation of their cherished rights and privileges and their virtual subjection to a rule of force and highhandedness throughout the province.

This Conference therefore declares that the Ministry has forfeited the confidence of the Hindus of this province and the present constitution has absolutely failed.

The Conference demands that the present constitution be suspended in Bengal.

There were several other resolutions, meant to promote Hindu solidarity and to fight the evil of unemployment and foster the development of the defensive power of the Hindu community. One asked for the establishment of a military college in Bengal for imparting military training.

The last resolution was on Hindu Social Reconstruction ("Sangathan"). It is of fundamental importance. It lays stress on various items of social reform, such as the need of intermarriage between different branches (castes, sub-castes, sections, classes, etc.) of Hindu society; prevention of persecution of those intermarrying and those connected with intermarriages; promotion of the marriage of widows, willing to marry; giving equal facilities to all Hindus as regards entry and worship in public temples and shrines; prevention of child marriages; the eradication of the system of exacting extortionate dowries; all possible reduction of expenses on the occasions of marriages, funerals, etc.; prevention of drinking intoxicating liquors and the use of narcotic drugs; etc.

It will not do to merely say that the Hindu Mahasabha *permits* the social reforms referred to above. It is necessary *to vigorously promote* them. Without them there can be no Hindu *sangathan* and solidarity.

Death of Lord Rothermere

LONDON, Nov. 26.

Lord Rothermere died today at Bermuda.

Lord Rothermere was aged 72. He went to America in May on a special mission at the request of Lord Beaverbrook. His health began to fail and he received treatment in a New York Clinic. Later, he went to Bermuda to recuperate but here he had a relapse.—*Reuter.*

[Born on 26th April, 1868, Lord Rothermere was the Chief Proprietor of the *Daily Mail, Daily Mirror,* and *London Evening News,* etc. He was a younger brother of late Lord Northcliffe and served in various capacities such as Director-General of Royal Army Clothing and Air Minister.]

Practical Training of Geology Students

With the consent of the Government of India a scheme of co-operation between the Geological Survey of India and the University of Calcutta in the matter of training of Post-Graduates in Geology in the Geological Survey Department has been completed.

According to the scheme the Survey will allow students not exceeding three to be attached as field assistants to senior members of the Department during the Field Season. Their touring expenses would not be met by the Government although they would be under the discipline of the Department and would be required to obey orders of the officers to whom they are attached. The opportunity thus provided is solely intended for field experience. Tents for students will be provided by the Department, if available. The Department will also, from time to time, send specimens for analysis in the Laboratory of the University but no payment will be made for these analyses. The members of the Department will, whenever possible, be glad to give lectures at the University. In most cases no charge will be made, but if a course of lectures is desired a charge will be necessary since the lecture will usually be printed.

Bhaja Caves To Be Left To Their Fate

For a sum of about nine thousand rupees which the Central Government are not in a position to provide or could not raise from institutions interested in ancient Indian sculptures, the 2,000-year-old stone relics of the Bhaja caves in Western India are going to be left to their fate to decay owing to their agedness, without leaving any tangible trace of them for future scholars.

It cannot be believed that a Government which spends twenty lakhs a day for the war is not in a financial position to make a non-recurring grant of Rs. 9,000 for the preservation of the sculptures in these ancient caves or taking plaster casts of them. But it can be believed that the authorities do not think the work is of sufficient importance for the incurring of even such trifling expenditure.

Those who have given the Viceroy more than two crores for war purposes are undoubtedly able to give Rs. 9,000 to the Archæological Department.

'Some ruling princes have each given one or more war planes to Britain. Can none of them spare Rs. 9,000?

There are Indian multi-millionaires in Bombay, Ahmedabad, Calcutta, New Delhi, ... Every one of them is in a position to make a donation of Rs. 9,000.

Training Indian Technicians in Britain

Last month Mr. Ernest Bevin announced at Cardiff a scheme for training 'Indian' technicians in Britain. According to it several hundred men from Indian workshops are to proceed to Britain for advanced training. They are to live in the homes of British working-class families and have opportunities to study the British Trade Union movement and other labour organizations.

For what industries in India are they to be trained?

It is yet uncertain what lines of industry are going to be thrown open to Indian enterprise even by the War. The trend of things, as revealed by the activities of the Eastern Supply Group Conference and exposed by the Indian members of the Central Legislative Assembly, point to the fact that in shipping, ship-building, heavy industries, manufacture of engines, aircraft and automobiles, India cannot expect even to make a start now, not to speak of achieving self-sufficiency in future. Evidently, technicians for the manufacture of tanks, anti-aircraft guns, etc., or for aircraft, etc., may be wanting here now. But is it technicians of such a nature that are sought to be trained in Britain for India and for *Indian*-owned and *Indian*-managed, as opposed to European owned and European-managed enterprises in India, industries that are to come into being? Such a belief is hardly warranted by the facts referred to above.

Native skill can rise up to a fineness and perfection that unfortunately is denied even in the 'European-minded' enterprises in India. The Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works, for example, which puts no premium on European or Anglo-Indian birth, produces very fine instruments and at cheaper rates than European firms, with their Indian technicians and skilled labour. Sir J. C. Bose's instruments of the finest character for the Bose Institute were made in India by Indian workmen.

Moreover, native possibilities in this respect are systematically neglected. The Batas were exceptional in sending to Europe their Indian apprentices to acquire necessary technique. What in the matter was done by the jute mills, the gun factory, the iron and steel industry, etc. to tap the potential technical resources or train up the discovered man power in their factories, is yet to be known.

Besides the doubts regarding the British Imperialist *policy* on Industrialisation of India (by Indians), the proposed machinery for selection of technicians is bound to give rise to grave doubts. Evidently, the existing industries that will be asked to recommend names from their factory hands, will be European or at any rate European-managed. As such the hands sent to Europe to live among European families are likely to be Anglo-Indians or of such other 'safe and decent sections' of Indian life. Thus, it may be the beginning of another myth like the military classes of India—a 'technician caste' of India. The import of it to India in general and to the Indian labour movement in particular is too clear to dilate on.

We are not claiming for Indian labour wages *equal* to those of British labour in the same war industries, but only *equivalent* wages. Indian labourers may not require coal in winter, the same amount of meat or fat, etc. too; but certainly they require the same, even better (in tropical life) housing and sanitary conditions, medical aid, educational facilities for the children, leave rules for men and women, pre-natal and post-natal care, not to speak of insurance against old age, sickness and unemployment. Mr. Bevin, it is known, has forced up during the war the wages of labour in Britain. Can he pursuade industrialists in India, those engaged in war industries at least, to grant even a "dearness allowance" to Indian labour? At the highest what Indian labour would claim here is not *equal* wages with British labour, but only *equivalent* increase in *real wages*.

The real remedy for the lower standard of living and wages, and for the lower collective strength of Indian labour is to industrialise India quickly, so that the starving and unemployed millions of India may not be found to sell their labour cheap, to disregard collective bargaining opportunities, and be at the mercy of the employers and their *sirdars* and *sowkars*. Mr. Bevin's hopes of creating an organised labour movement with the proposed Indian technicians trained in British Trade Union methods must remain an illusion so long as the masses are unemployed or under-employed and India is not industrialised. And Indian industrialisation must wait till the advent of Indian Swaraj, it seems.

Mr. Bevin's scheme may have also a darker result. The technicians trained in Britain may

come back to join the Indian labour movement, as he proposes, to develop into 'labour lords,' our Thomases and Citrines. If they come from a particular social section like Anglo-Indians, they can hardly help growing otherwise. It has to be remembered that in most European countries under fascism now, Italy and particularly Germany, the real core of the fascist movement was formed by their technicians, foremen, skilled labour, etc. Indian labour has, therefore, cause to be suspicious of the Bevin scheme in its practical results.

"India of Both Sexes"

"India of today is the India of both the sexes," remarked Mrs. S. Bose, Principal of the Balika Vidyalaya Intermediate College, Cawnpore, and President of the U. P. Secondary Education Association, while addressing the business session of the 19th U. P. Secondary Education Conference, held at Dehra Dun.

"Man's cause is woman's, and, may I say with all humility," observed Mrs. Bose, "that the position to which you elected me (President of the Association) was not so much a personal honour as a compliment to my sex and is due undoubtedly to your sense of chivalry.

"Once it was a dream that a lady would be at the helm of the affairs of an association, dominated by men, but with the liberalizing influences of education, a great change has been brought about in the mental attitude of the intelligentsia of our country. It seems that at long last they are anxious to allow the fair sex to share with them the task of moulding the intellectual life of the nation. Years ago, an American savant, on touching the shores of India, exclaimed to his friends at Bombay: 'Where is the other half of India?' Today, if he comes back, he will have to revise his opinion and say, 'Here is the other half of India active, vigorous and marching forward with bright beaming eyes and full of hopes for them, and for their country.' India of today is the India of both the sexes. The other half, has come forward, not with a vindictive motive, but with the sole purpose of giving a homely touch in all affairs whether educational, social or political. We now observe that the dream of yesterday has become a reality of today and it augurs well for the best interests of the country to which we have the honour to belong."—*The Leader.*

"Provincialism With A Vengeance"

KARACHI, Oct. 16.

Characterising Sind Government's proposal to withdraw their support to Gujarati and Marathi schools as "provincialism with a vengeance" Mr. K. M. Munshi, ex-Minister of Bombay, in the course of a letter to Mr. R. K. Sidhva, M.L.A. (Congress) says, a Provincial Government in India should not try to convert the province into a separate watertight unit. It must realise the fact that people from all parts of India speaking their own languages have been living in what are now called provinces and are entitled to receive education in their own mother-tongue. The departure from this wholesome rule will create unnecessary bitterness amongst a section of the people in Sind without any compensating advantage.

Mr. Munshi dwells on the interests of Gujaratis and Marathis in Sind who, he says, number over a lakh in Karachi alone. They have their social intercourse with their respective people in the province of Bombay and this proposed change will create a most unfortunate situation so far as their social well-being is concerned. He hopes that the Sind Government will see its way to revise their policy in this direction.—*A. P.*

The Bihar Government and Bihar Congressmen and the Assam Government and Assamese Congressmen ought to take note of Mr. Munshi's views, which are reasonable and just.

Details of One Year's Recruitment in India

In the Central Legislative Assembly last month the Defence secretary furnished Mr. Lalchand Navalrai with the following figures of recruitment during one year:

The numbers of recruits from September, 1939 to September, 1940, from the main classes in India were: Pathans, 4,671; Punjabi Muslims, 24,148; Sikhs, 11,605. Dogras, 4,464; Gurkhas, 3,290; Garhwalis, 2,598; Kumaonies, 1,574; Rajputs, 3,997; Jats, 5,307; Ahirs, 1,643; Mahrattas 5,164; Christians, 2,401; Gujars, 853; Miscellaneous Hindus, 15,282; Miscellaneous Muslims, 7,198 and Coorgies, 29.

In the Central Council of State last month Mr. A. D. C. Williams informed Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru that

From the 1st September, 1939, to the 30th September, 1940, 94,228 men have been recruited in the Indian Sepoy army. Of these 48,036 were inhabitants of the Panjab, 12,227 of the United Provinces, 9,898 of Madras, 7,656 of Bombay, 3,346 of Nepal, 137 of Sindh, 5,381 of Rajputana and Central India, 5,506 of the N.-W. F. Province 113 of Bengal, and the rest of other areas.

How impartial Government is to the "main classes," communities, and provinces of India? Why not levy and collect taxes in the same impartial manner?

Journalistic Triumph!

After the conference of some journalists held last month in Delhi, the Government of India withdrew an order of theirs issued under the Defence of India Rules. This withdrawal was spoken of as a triumph for the journalists.

The following official communique gives the reason for the withdrawal of the order:

"Government recently felt it necessary to make it plain, by an order under the Defence of India Rules, that they could not permit the publication of any matter calculated to foment opposition to the successful prosecution of the war or the open support of any movement designed to that end.

"In doing so, they intended no reflection upon the Press, whose consistent support, since the outbreak of

the war in the struggle against the Totalitarian Powers they readily and gratefully acknowledge.

"As the result of friendly conversations in Delhi with representatives of leading newspapers, who have given them an assurance that they have no intention of impeding the country's war effort and that any deliberate or systematic attempt by newspapers to do so would be viewed with disapproval by the Press as a whole. Government now feel that the matter may well be left to the discretion of Editors in consultation with Press Advisers in cases of doubt.

"They are, therefore, pleased to withdraw the order in question.

"They are further pleased to accept a suggestion that a small advisory committee of representatives of the Press, resident at Delhi, shall be set up to advise Government on any matters affecting the Press, and they will recommend to provincial Governments the constitution of similar advisory committees in the provinces."

As Government "readily and gratefully acknowledge" the Press's "*consistent* support since the outbreak of the war in the struggle against the Totalitarian Powers," it is difficult to understand how the issue of the order in question was not a reflection upon the Press.

Let that pass, however.

Before issuing the order Government did not consult "representatives of leading newspapers." But these representatives, as a step towards their final triumph and the vindication of national and journalistic self-respect, hastened to wait upon some representative of Government. As a result, Government had no difficulty in obtaining an "assurance" from them that they would not do what they had never (according to Governments' own showing) done and had no intention of doing. In plain language the assurance was informally equivalent to what lawyers call executing a "muchlekā." Nevertheless we must believe that the representatives of leading newspapers won a great victory, re-establishing the freedom of the press,—though the Indian Penal Code remains, the press laws remain, the Defence of India Act remains, and the Rules framed under it also remain, to bring to book journalistic evil-doers. In addition to the duty of consulting the Press Advisers in cases of doubt, editors must now try to be in the good books of the Central Press Advisory Committee and the Provincial Press Advisory Committees.

A journalist who evidently attended the 'leading' journalists' conference in Delhi and whom we have not the honour to know personally has written to us a 'private and confidential letter' on the subject of the 'assurance.' We must not, of course, divulge his name or address. But we believe it is no breach of confidence to state that in the course of his letter he writes :

"There seems to exist in the public mind an impression that all those who attended the Conference were satisfied with the results or had authorised the giving of the "assurance" referred to in the Government of India's *communique*, dated November 10, 1940. The fact is that the Conference as a whole had no opportunity of discussing the "assurance" and had not even been made aware of its exact nature before the proceedings came to a close. The Subjects Committee might have been told but not the general Conference which was manœuvred into accepting certain resolutions without discussion and, for most of those present, in ignorance, of the exact terms on which the Government withdrew their Order, dated October 25, 1940."

This letter was dated the 21st November. Some days after its receipt, we came across the following in *Hindustan Standard* of November 26 :

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

NAGPUR, Nov. 24.

The consensus of opinion among the Editors of Newspapers here is adverse to setting up of a Press Advisory Committee.

A meeting of Nagpur Editors was held this morning to consider the establishment of a provincial Press Advisory Committee in pursuance of the decision of the All-India Editors' Conference, held recently in New Delhi. The meeting asked for clarification from the President of the All-India Editors' Conference on the following points :

(1) The terms of assurance given to Government on behalf of the Press.

(2) The nature and scope of the functions of the Provincial Press Advisory Committee.

(3) Whether the Committees are expected to share with Government responsibility for administering the Defence of India Rules in so far as they concern the Press.

Discussion revolved round the point whether an assurance of any kind mentioned in the Government *communique* could be given without the knowledge of the Press, and opinions were expressed that the Press did not know practically anything about the assurance till the Government mentioned it in the *communique*.

We read the following on the 28th November last :

NEW DELHI, Nov. 27.

In view of the situation created by the order of the Bengal Government banning news of hunger-strikes of political prisoners and the order of the U. P. Government demanding a security of Rs. 3,000 from the publishers of the *National Herald*, an emergency meeting of the Central Press Advisory Committee has been called at 3 p.m. today in the Statesman Office, New Delhi.

Mr. J. N. Sahni, Convener of the Standing Committee of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference, in a statement said that the order of the Bengal Government and the order against the *National Herald* were a clear breach of the understanding implicit in Government of India's announcement withdrawing the earlier orders relating to publication of reports of Satyagraha, etc. Mr. Sahni said that these Provincial Governments had not even given time for the Provincial Committees to be appointed and to function. He said that after the emergency meeting today, instructions would be sent out to provincial conveners as to the action to be taken by the provincial bodies.—*A. P.*

But, of course, the victory remains a victory.

In our humble opinion, "representatives of leading newspapers" ought to have given the **assurance** that they will not publish any observations or news which may directly or indirectly hinder or frustrate war efforts and preparations, *in fact nothing relating to the war directly or indirectly*, **including war news and news of war efforts.**

Of course, the non-publication of war news would have seriously affected the sales of their papers for a time. They would have also lost for a time the direct and indirect official patronage in the form of advertisements. Perhaps they were not prepared to pay that price. But that was in our humble opinion the only unbending course to adopt and the only way to real victory.

The people of a country are at least equal to its Government—even in a subject country. So, those who are in a way representatives of the people should be able to stand up to the representatives of Government and adopt towards them an uncringing, though perfectly polite, attitude. If this be not possible, the less the two parties meet, the better.

Detenus' Hunger-strike News Not To Be Published

The Bombay Chronicle writes :

> The Bengal Government is on the war path. By an *Extraordinary Gazette* notification, it has declared a "total ban" on the publication of news regarding hunger-strike of detenus in the province of Bengal. It will be recalled that, under a similar ban issued by the Government of India, which was subsequently withdrawn, the Press was allowed to give factual news about Mahatma's then impending fast. But even this small mercy is denied in the Bengal Government order which "prohibits absolutely" any news or comment.
>
> The latest ukase of the Bengal Government constitutes a gross violation of the "Gentleman's Agreement" between the All-India Editors' Conference and the Government of India. The Editors from distant provinces, who assembled in Delhi and dispersed after the public pronouncement of the withdrawal of the restrictions on the Press, never for a moment thought that the Central Government's recognition of the liberties of the Press would be nullified by Provincial Governments. The hair-splitting argument may be adduced that the withdrawal of the ban applied only to anti-war news and could not be extended to any news. But the basic issue raised in the Delhi Conference was the liberty of the Press to publish any news according to the discretion of the Editors. Since the Central Government ungrudgingly granted this demand the Editors agreed to what amounted to a self-imposed censorship by agreeing to set up Central and Provincial Committees to advise Press Advisers on matters relating to the Press. Though the Provincial Committees are not yet set up, the Editors have carried out their part of the contract, and naturally look to the Government to discharge their obligations.

The Indian Express and *The Hindu* of Madras have also strongly criticized the Bengal Government's action and the action of the U. P. Government in demanding securities from *The National Herald* of Lucknow.

Individual Civil Disobedience Becomes British-India-Wide

Individual Civil Disobedience, as approved by Mahatma Gandhi, is no longer confined to any particular province of India. Many Congressmen and women members of the Congress have offered satyāgraha in all the provinces of India. Many of them are now in jail, including ex-Premiers, ex-Ministers, legislators, members of the Congress Working Committee and of the All-India Congress Committee.

Visva-Bharati Famine Relief

In the course of an appeal for funds to give relief to famine-stricken people in Birbhum district Sjt. Rathindranath Tagore, *Karma-Sachiva*, Visva-Bharati, writes :

> The paddy crop has failed almost all over the district. In some areas there was no transplantation of this crop for want of rain. Where transplantation could be made though late in the season, giving hopes of some return, the crop has suffered and at places has even been destroyed by continued drought.
>
> For the same reasons there is little prospect of successful winter crops, on which people greatly depend for the cash they need. Sugarcane, which of late has become the principal cash-crop over a large area, will yield a poor return, so seriously affected it is by the failure of rains.
>
> Famine stares the cultivator in the face. But the class that will be, and, in fact, is already affected the most, is the land-less labour which depends for its livelihood on wages, in kind and cash, earned in the various agricultural operations including harvesting. The employment normally found in the rice mills, of which a large number exist in this area, will also be inevitably curtailed.
>
> Scarcity of water in the district is causing great apprehension. The main sources of water are the numerous tanks; but these the rains failed to fill. At places the little water available is being used up in a frantic effort to save what little can be saved of the standing paddy crop. Scarcity of water both for man and beast in the dry months will cause the greatest suffering. Want of fodder and water will take inconceivable toll of cattle, agriculturist's only capital.
>
> To add to the misery of the people malaria in a virulent form has made its appearance in many parts of the district. The effect will be apalling on people in the grip of a famine.
>
> There is little doubt that the famine which is upon us will be not only severer beyond measure than the famine of 1935-36 but of a much longer duration.
>
> Once again I appeal on behalf of the Visva-Bharati to all to come to our aid in a generous measure, so that we may serve the distressed on as wide a scale as our joint resources would allow.
>
> Contributions should be ear-marked and sent to the Karma-Sachiva, Visva-Bharati, Santiniketan, or to the Artha-Sachiva, Visva-Bharati, 6/3, Dwarkanath Tagore Lane, Jorasanko, Calcutta.

Amounts however small will be gratefully received. All remittances will be acknowledged.

The workers of the Rural Reconstruction Department have for the present begun to help the needy people of 60 villages from four centres. If more funds be made available to them the field of work will be extended, as almost the whole district is affected. The work of relief is not confined to the mere giving of doles. Rope making, husking of rice, re-excavation of tanks and similar other work have been giving remunerative employment to many men and women.

Uniform Scientific Terminology For Modern Indian Languages

In our last September issue, page 260, we wrote a note on "Uniform Scientific Terminology for Modern Indian Languages." In that note we wrote, among other things, that the Central Advisory Board of Education in India had appointed a Committee to examine the question in detail, consisting of 8 members, whose names we printed, with power to co-opt. We pointed out, without meaning any disrespect to the members, that the Committee does not contain a superfluity of scientific men with special knowledge of one or more of the principal modern languages of India. There is no Bengali-speaking scientist or linguist in it. There is, similarly, no Marathi-speaking, or Gujarati-speaking, or Tamil-speaking scientist or linguist in it, and so on. As the Committee has the power to co-opt, we thought that power had been given to be exercised. But we do not know if any new member has been added to it by co-option.

The Committee was to meet at Hyderabad (Deccan) in the first week of October last. Perhaps it met. But its proceedings are not before us.

We are indebted to *The Leader* for a learned note on the subject prepared by Dr. Pandit Amaranatha Jha, Vice-Chancellor of the Allahabad University, for the Scientific Terminology Committee of the Central Advisory Board of Education. He has come to the following conclusion :

> While scientific terms derived from Sanskrit will be intelligible to a very large proportion of Indians, it cannot be overlooked that an important section of the population will be more at home with words of Arabic or Persian origin. The attempt to compel either section to adopt one set of terms based either on Sanskrit on the one hand or an Arabic-Persian on the other will arouse bitter controversies. It is not possible that in all sciences all the terms can be derived from these sources. The attempt to confine newly-coined terms to Sanskrit or to Arabic will cause communal discord. English terms are now in use in India and will continue to be understood and used by all engaged on advanced scientific work. The adoption of these terms will prevent waste of energy and time in the attempt to invent their Indian equivalents. These English terms are practically the same in every European language and a knowledge of these enables one to follow the scientific books and journals published abroad.
>
> For all these reasons, it is advisable to adopt English terminology in all scientilc writings in all Indian languages.

We do not agree.

In a modern Indian language in books, periodicals, bulletins and the like, dealing with advanced scientific knowledge and research, the adoption of European terminology may be advisable and convenient. But even if such terminology be adopted it has to be explained in the Indian language or its newly coined Indian synonym given. For we are to assume that the books, etc., in question are meant to be understood even by those who do not know any European language. In fact, speaking from our knowledge of Bengali periodicals, we may say that they publish many articles on advanced scientific subjects, which find at least some readers who do not know English. If we are to presume that all readers of Indian vernacular periodicals know English and English scientific terminology, why then write in the vernaculars at all on scientific subjects ?—we may as well leave all such literate persons to gain their knowledge of science from English publications.

The great mass of vernacular scientific writings are not those dealing with advanced scientific topics but those which are to be found in vernacular scientific text-books, scientific magazine articles, etc. Long before any glossaries of vernacular scientific words were compiled and published in book form, these publications used numerous vernacular scientific words, either in use from before or coined by the writers. Speaking from our knowledge of Bengali we may say that, long before the Bangiya Sāhitya Parishad and the Calcutta University published their glossaries, Rāmmohun Roy, Rājendralala Mitra, Akshay Kumār Datta, Iswar Chandra Vidyāsagar, Jadunāth Mukherjee, Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, Praphulla Chand Ray and others used or coined such vernacular scientific words. In the seventies of the last century we read at school Bengali text-books in physics, botany, chemistry, hygiene, physical geography, etc., containing numerous such words. Are they now to be discarded in favour of their English equivalents ?

The case of Bengali is not unique. In other vernaculars like Hindi, Gujarati, Marathi, etc., the case must be the same.

A litterateur of international reputation like Rabindranath Tagore has used only a very few English scientific words in his scientific

primer *Visva-parichaya* ("Introduction to the Universe"), the other such words being already those in use and some coined by him.

As regards the question of taking or coining words from Sanskrit or from Arabic-Persian, linguistic communalism is, no doubt, rampant among those whose mother-tongue is Hindi-Urdu-Hindustani. The efforts of the Congress to create a 'new' language called Hindustani has unintentionally supplied fuel to the fire of linguistic fanaticism. Such fanaticism was not rampant among those whose mother-tongue is Bengali ;—it is not so rampant even now. We cannot speak for the future. And it is to be remembered that Bengal contains a larger number of Muslims than any other single province. We presume there is no serious opposition to taking or coining scientific words from Sanskrit in Maharashtra, Andhra, Gujarat. Tamil-land, Kerala, Assam, Orissa, etc.

Sanskrit is the ancient language of India, Arabic or Persian is not. No vernacular spoken by Indian Muslims in any province is derived from Arabic or Persian, though they may use many Arabic and Persian words, as Hindus, too, do, though to a lesser extent.

The original Old Testament, part of the scripture of Christians, and the scripture of Jews, is in Hebrew. But the Christians in Europe and America do not take or coin their scientific terminology from Hebrew. Even the Jews in England, America, France, Germany, Russia, etc., among whom there have been and are many famous scientists, have never attempted to Hebraize English, French, German, Russian,.....scientific terminology. It is not too much to expect educated Muslims to be as reasonable as the Christians and Jews.

Science has made the greatest progress among the European peoples and peoples of European stock in America. That is a very cogent reason why all who, outside Europe and America, wish to be acquainted with or do research work in higher science should be acquainted with Europen scientific terminology. But that is no reason why European terminology should be imported and adopted wholesale in non-European languages. The cogent reason that we have spoken of is as cogent in China and Japan as it is in India. It would be instructive and interesting, therefore, to know how the Chinese and the Japanese have solved the problem of scientific terminology.

Mahatma Gandhi Better

WARDHAGANJ, Nov. 28.

Inquiries made in Sewagram show that Mahatma Gandhi feels better today.—*A. P.*

Lady Honoured for Researches in Astrophysics

Mrs. Bibha Majumdar, M.A., P.R.S., Professor of Mathematics, Victoria Institution, Calcutta, has been awarded the Mouat Medal by the Calcutta University for her researches on Astrophysics. The work was carried out during the last two years after she had obtained the Premchand Roychand Studentship in 1937. She is the first lady to obtain this distinction of the University by scientific researches.

Women's Fundamental Rights

The recommendations of the sub-committee appointed by the National Planning Committee to go into the question of Woman's Role in Planned Economy have been published. Some of these are reproduced below with our full support.

(*a*) In a planned society. woman's place shall be equal to that of man. Equal status, equal opportunities, and equal responsibilities shall be the guiding principles to regulate the status of woman whatever the basis of society in the Plan;

(*b*) Woman shall not be excluded from any sphere of work merely on the ground of her sex;

(*c*) Marriage shall not be a condition precedent to the enjoyment of full and equal civil status and social and economic rights by woman;

(*d*) The State shall consider the individual as the basic social unit and plan accordingly.

Woman shall have the right to vote, to represent, and to hold public office, on the same terms as man. There shall be joint-electorates, based on adult franchise, for both men and women, for election to political bodies, including self-governing institutions.

An identical standard of morality, which harmonises social welfare with individual freedom, should be accepted for both man and woman, and should guide legislation and social convention.

The principle of equal wages for equal work shall be granted practical recognition in such a manner that it does not create unemployment or bar employment to women.

Woman shall not, as a matter of policy, be excluded from any industry or occupation. In the event of any legislation or development causing the exclusion of women from any occupation and thus leading to their unemployment, steps should be taken by the State to provide for their being absorbed in other occupations.

For purposes of recruitment and co-ordination of labour supply in different occupations, a system of labour exchanges should be established.

Trade Unions should consist of both men and women workers. There should be no separate trade unions for women. Statistics of trade union membership should include information about women and young persons on their registers.

Woman's work in the home, as well as her work on the family land, though not easy to recognise in terms of money value, is an essential contribution to the social wealth of the State (community); and shall be fully recognised as such. The aggregate of social wealth under Planned Economy will include all kinds of work, whether recognised in money value or not.

A uniform Civil Code shall be enacted applicable to all citizens of India. This should be based on the fundamental principle of equality as between man and woman. During the transition period, it should apply to those who choose to accept it. Those who are un-

able to subscribe to this Code, may continue to be governed by their personal law. Where, however, anything in this personal law affects the woman's position adversely, immediate attempts should be made to remedy this.

We have no hesitation in endorsing their views and cannot but appreciate their realistic attitude as expressed in the last para.

Finance Bill Passed by Subservient Council Of State

As anticipated, the Central Council of State, which contains a permanent majority of official and nominated members, has passed the "certified" Finance Bill by a majority of votes.

Reorganisation of Supply Department For Promoting Indian Industries

On the 26th November last the Council of State, at New Delhi, passed Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru's resolution recommending that

Early steps be taken to secure that the Supply Department is so organized as to safeguard and promote Indian industry by

(*a*) The employment to important posts of an adequate number of Indians drawn from the services and from business organisations;

(*b*) Proper administrative control of the different sections of the department; and

(*c*) Enforcing the policy clearly laid down in regard to the development of Indian industries when the Indian Stores Department was constituted.

The Indian public will wait to see how and when this recommendation is given effect to.

Importing Muslim Officers From Outside In Hyderabad and Bhopal

The States' People for November 17 last writes:

We hear strange stories about the incredible ease with which certain States cultivate this habit of importing outsiders. In the premier State of Hyderabad, the practice of importing graduates of the Aligarh University and high placed University men of Bihar and U. P. has gone on to such a degree that a new distinction has come into being called the Mulkis and the Gyar Mulkis. In Bhopal, we are told that the practice of importing Mussalman officers from outside has gone beyond all limits of toleration and has provided a subject of complaint by both the Hindus and Muslims alike. This importation except when adopted for unchallengable reasons is apt to create subtle jealousies in the minds of the people which override even those communal biases which are the one main cause of all jealousy in public life.

Massacre of Political Prisoners in Rumania

BERLIN. Nov. 27.

The ex-Rumannian Premier, General Argesianu and ex-Minister of Public Security Marinescu were among the 64 Rumanian political prisoners shot at 01-30 today (Wednesday) by legionaries in the military prison at Jilavy, according to a Bucharest dispatch to the German News Agency.

A REVENGE

The wholesale shooting of prominent political prisoners in Rumania reported from Berlin today (Wednesday) appears without doubt as an act of revenge for the repressive measures applied under ex-King Carol's reign against subversive activities of Iron Guards.—*Reuter.*

Closing of Paris and Leyden Universities and Repression of Students

LONDON, Nov. 28.

The Paris University has been closed following demonstrations by students in which German troops intervened.

Five hundred Paris students have been sent to concentration camps in Germany and others deported to unoccupied France following recent riots, according to information received in Free French circles from the French Frontier. The demonstrations were reported to have begun on Armistice Day, November 11.

The students formed a procession led by youths carrying two poles. In French two poles are "Deux Gaules" pronounced the same as the name of the Free French leader. The demonstrators attempted to eject Germans from a well-known cafe in Montparnasse whereupon German troops intervened and restored order but not before eleven students were killed.

LEYDEN UNIVERSITY CLOSED

Following the closing of the Paris University comes the news that the ancient University of Leyden (Holland), which was founded by William of Orange in 1575 has been completely shut down by the Nazi Commissar for administration and justice.

An Amersterdam message to the German News Agency says that the reason for closing was that "students sided with the Jews" over some new anti-Jewish regulations and absented themselves from College for 48 hours.

The regulations over which the trouble arose bar Jews from holding any public office "in the interests of public order." Though Leyden University in modern times has been primarily celebrated for its teaching in Law and Medicine it is also noted for the National Institute of East Indian languages which is connected with it and for the valuable work of its Egyptian and Indian Departments. In pre-war years its students numbered around twelve hundred.—*Reuter.*

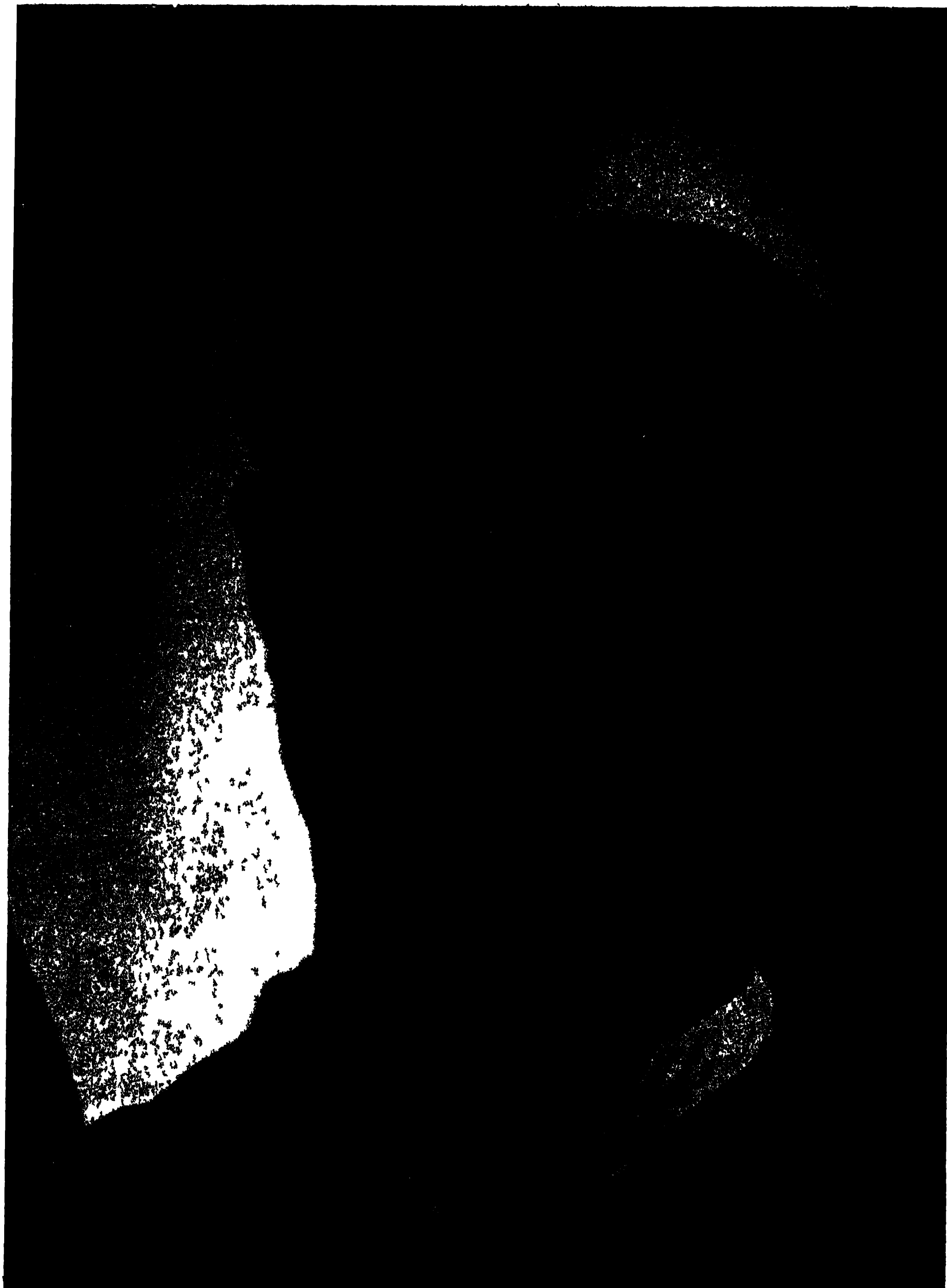
To Our Readers

With the present issue **THE MODERN REVIEW** completes thirty-four years of uninterrupted publication under the same editorship.

Many wish to see in what they read only a reflection of the views of the Party to which they belong. But we hope there are also many others who desire to be acquainted with independent opinions like those which are presented to them in this journal.

We acknowledge the great importance of Politics, to which sufficient space is given in this Review. But due importance is also given in it to Art, Science, Industry, Economics, Literature, etc., Reviews of books by competent authorities are one of its features. Reproductions of works of Art constitute another feature.

We hope all our readers will help us to widen the circle of our supporters and friends.



PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU
Photograph By S. Saha

AGRICULTURAL MARKETING IN INDIA

By RAJANI KANTA DAS, M.Sc., Ph.D.

Agricultural marketing forms an important part of the Indian national economy. Next to production, marketing is in fact the most important question of agriculture. Even in the self-sufficing village economy, the cultivator has to sell a part of his produce for the payment of rent and interest and for the purchase of livestock, implements, seeds and necessaries of life other than foodstuffs. But with the rise of national and international economy, and especially with the increasing standard of living, which requires a much larger variety of goods and services than can be produced on the farm, the need for exchange economy and market production has become increasingly important in agriculture.

Commercial Crops

There is a growing tendency in Indian agriculture to specialise in market production, as indicated by the fact that between 1900-01 and 1936-37, while the area under food crops rose from 191 million acres to 271 million acres or by 14 per cent., that under non-food crops, which are produced mainly for the market, rose from 33 million acres to 51 million acres or by 55 per cent.[1]

The gradual commercialisation of agriculture has a great significance for the national economy of India :—First, the comparative decrease in area devoted to food crops in the face of the growing population implies the increasing efficiency of agriculture in India, as has been the case in most other industrially advanced countries. Secondly, it implies a rising standard of living among the cultivators, as they produce not only for mere subsistence or household consumption but also for purchasing commodities other than foodstuffs. Finally, the production of exchangeable commodities for the market, which is the basis of modern industrial society, requires better seeds and crops and higher qualities of the products, greater care in grading and packing, constant touch with the market conditions and bargaining ability for higher profits, all of which add to the efficiency of the cultivator and to the productivity of the land.

Besides non-food crops, commercial crops include large quantities of food crops, which are sold both in the domestic and foreign markets. Since by far the largest part of the internal trade in agricultural products takes place in the local market, no statistical data are available as to its volume, except for the figures for the import and export trade in some of these products, by rail and river, between different trade blocks. The triennial import or export trade, for instance, of certain important agricultural products between these blocks amounted to 172·87 million maunds in the three years ending 1935-36, as shown below. It is also seen that rice is the leading commercial crop in the internal trade and is closely followed by oil-seeds.[2]

Movements of Certain Agricultural Products by Rail and River between different Trade Blocks of India.*

(Triennial Average, 1934-36).

Article	Imports (million mds.)	Exports (million mds.)
Rice	41·70	41·70
Wheat	22·73	22·73
Sugar	17·18	17·18
Oilseeds	40·42	40·42
Cotton (raw)	21·86	21·86
Jute (raw)	28·83	28·83
Total	172·87	172·87

Agricultural products are also the most important articles of India's foreign trade, and help not only in the payment of India's home charges,[3] interest for foreign debt, and profit on

1. *Agricultural Statistics of India*, 1916-17 and 1936-37.

2. The term "commercial crops" used by the Indian Agricultural Statistics for non-food crops is more or less arbitrary inasmuch as "commercial crops" include large quantities of food crops as indicated by the table below.

* Compiled from *Statistical Abstract for British India*, 1938, Table No. 275. The trade blocks are several Provinces, States, Ports and Cities, the trades between which are regularly recorded. Each quota of import trade has its equivalent quota of export trade, though the destinations of the different items forming the total quota are not the same.

3. Expenditure for maintaining a part of the administration of the Government of India in England. The British Government has recently undertaken the charge of the India Office.

foreign investment, but also in the payment of most other commodities imported from abroad. For instance, out of a total triennial export trade valued at Rs. 168·5 crores in three years ending 1937-38, the value of that in agricultural products amounted to Rs. 109·48 crores, that is, about 69·5 per cent. The most important commercial crop in India is cotton, the value of which amounts to more than one-fifth of the total value of all the products exported. Of other important articles of export, the chief are tea, forming one-eighth, and jute and oil seeds, each forming one-twelfth part of India's foreign trade, as shown in the table below.

CHIEF AGRICULTURAL EXPORTS FROM BRITISH INDIA.*

(TRIENNIAL AVERAGE FROM 1935-36 TO 1937-38).

Products	Volume (1,000 tons)	Value: Total (Crores of Rs.)	Value: Percentage of total
All commodities		168·5	100·00
Cotton (raw and waste)	603	35·27	21·2
Tea (million lbs.)	319	21·52	12·8
Jute (raw)	779	14·39	8·5
Oilseeds	932	14·32	8·4
Food grains	609	6·60	3·9
Hides and skins (raw)	47	4·44	2·6
Wool (raw) (million lbs.)	46	2·53	1·5
Miscellaneous		10·19	6·0
Total	—	109·48	69·5

India also imports certain agricultural products from abroad which averaged in value for the three years ending 1937-38, for instance, Rs. 13·69 crores in grain, pulse and flour, Rs. 1·78 crore in spices, and Rs. 1·50 crores in fruits and vegetables. Only a few years ago, India also imported a large quantity of sugar, which amounted to 937,000 tons valued at Rs. 13·77 crores in 1929-30, but declined to 9,000 tons, valued at Rs. 0·17 crores, in 1937-38.[4]

TRANSPORT SYSTEMS

The first question of agricultural marketing is that of transport facilities, which are supplied by various systems of roads, railways and steamships. By the end of 1935-36 India had 43,118 miles of railways, 82,284 miles of metalled roads, and 224,433 miles of non-metalled roads, giving an average figure of 19 miles per 100 square miles of the territory as compared with 77 miles in Germany.[5] The importance of transport systems cannot be over-emphasised, as they help not only in the marketing of the produce in the neighbouring or distant markets, but also serve to connect the village, the town and the outside world, thus broaddening the cultivator's social outlook and raising his standard of life, and creating in him a greater desire for productivity.

The roads are of the highest importance to agricultural development. The existing roads in India may be classified under several headings, namely, (1) the national; (2) the provincial; (3) the district, and (4) the village. A Road Development Committee has been appointed by the Government of India for the reconstruction and repair of national roads. National roads are provincial subjects and under the charge of the Public Works Department. The roads of local importance are generally under the adminstration of the local bodies or district boards. Village roads in all provinces are the concern of the villagers, and the result is that most of the villages have no roads except mere tracks, which cannot be used except in the dry season. The Royal Commission on Agriculture recommended a liberal grant-in-aid by the Local Government for the construction and improvement of village roads. In some provinces, road boards have been established as advisory bodies, and in the Punjab these boards have a wider function of an ordered programme for road development. But most of them meet with financial difficulties. On 2nd March, 1940, the Standing Committee for Roads approved the grant of Rs. 10 lakhs to Provincial Governments for road improvement.[6]

The most important systems of transport in modern times are the railways, especially in a vast country like India. From the very beginning, the railways have been doing public utility services in India, and have received Government help. In guaranteeing financial help or profit, the Government had, however, reserved the right of purchasing the railways at the end of stipulated periods, and, as a result, the Government of India acquired the ownership of three-fourths and the direct management of over two-fifths of the total route mileage by 1935-36.[7]

*Compiled from *Review of the Trade of India*, 1937-38, Table No. 24. Excluding Burma.

4. Compiled from *Review of the Trade of India*, 1937-38, pp. 7-8, 23, 103.

5. *Statistical Abstract for British India*, 1938, Tables Nos. 223 and 232; *Statesman's Yearbook*, 1938.

6. *Indian Information*, 15th March, 1940, p. 187.

7. *Report of the Railway Board on Indian Railways*, 1935-36 Vol. II, pp. 8 and 9. The Government of India owned 31,783 miles and managed 19,133 miles of railways, on 31st March, 1936.

As far as marketing facilities are concerned, the transport system, including both roads and railways, involves several problems, namely, (1) the increase in route mileage of both roads and railways; (2) the co-ordination of railway services with those of motor vehicles, bullock-carts and river boats; (3) the increasing facilities for the transport of perishable products such as fruits, vegetables and milk for the local and national markets; (4) the adjustment of the railway fare to the needs of agricultural marketing; and (5) provision for village roads and for their connection with marketing centres.

METHODS OF EXCHANGE

There are several methods by which exchange of agricultural products takes place: (1) the local market or weekly bazar, in which by far the largest quantity of agricultural products are bought and sold; (2) the local grain dealer or moneylender or *bania,* who often buys the surplus produce of agriculture from the village for a wider market; (3) the local market for special products, *e.g.,* for cattle; (4) the itinerant buyers, who, either on their own account or on that of their employers, go around in agricultural centres and collect local produce for a distant market; and (5) the commercial centres where the large-scale merchant keeps his establishment for buying the local products and the cultivators from surrounding villages bring their surplus goods.

None of these exchange systems is satisfactory to the cultivator, however important they may be in the agricultural economy of the country as it exists today, inasmuch as they do not offer fair prices and sufficient inducement for greater production, nor do they call for better quantities of goods. Moreover, the success in marketing depends upon several factors, such as (1) information regarding marketing conditions; (2) standardisation of weights and measures; and (3) the standardisation of the produce regarding purity or quality, all of which are more or less lacking at present.

The absence of any information on market conditions is a great handicap to the development of agricultural marketing in most of the provinces. The inability to read and write on the part of the cultivator stands in his way of getting any real information on the market. While steps are being taken to remedy the defect of illiteracy by spreading compulsory education, radio diffusion is at present being applied, though to a very limited extent, for spreading market news, as it has become one of the important methods of diffusion of other knowledge in the rural districts.

Weights and measures in India vary from province to province and even from village to village, and this is a great handicap for the development of agricultural marketing. The Government of India appointed a committee to investigate the subject as early as 1913, but no action was taken. The Royal Commision on Agriculture recommended that Government of India should again undertake an investigation with the object of standardisation of weights and measures throughout India and should lay down the general principles to which Provincial Governments should adhere so far as this is possible without undue interference with the trade or custom of any locality.

The lack of grading of the produce and even the adulteration of crops are still among other great hindrances to the development of agricultural marketing. Some of the agricultural products suffer from both, *e.g.,* bad mixing of cotton, bad grading of cotton, bad retting of jute, dirt and dust in Indian hemp, and excessive moisture in oil seeds, all of which lower the quality of the produce itself. Organisations among the buyers might be helpful in checking the adulteration and securing improved quality of the produce, but it is not practicable inasmuch as a large quantity of goods is exported to foreign countries. The most effective measures for improving the quality of the produce are the control by agricultural and co-operative departments which should lay down a standard grade for each marketable product and educate the cultivator to achieve this standard.

ORGANISATION OF MARKETING

As regards the organisation of marketing, the Royal Commission on Agriculture recommended the establishment of regulated markets for agricultural produce, the beginning of which had already been made in Berar and Bombay for the exchange of cotton crops by the Bombay Cotton Marketing Act of 1927. The Commission recommended the establishment of regulated markets for all crops throughout the country, and also that the markets should be controlled and managed by a marketing committee consisting of the representatives of the actual cultivators and co-operative societies in areas served by the market, and even an official of the Agricultural Department, if necessary, should form an essential part of any ordered plan of agricultural development. As in Berar and

Bombay, the constitution of the market should be regulated by special legislation.

For implementing these recommendations, two marketing Bills are under consideration by the Bombay and United Provinces Assemblies. The Bombay Bill proposes the repeal of the old Act and provision of better regulations for buying and selling of all agricultural produce, including cotton. The United Provinces Bill follows similar lines and also proposes the regulation of smaller markets. Both of them provide for the setting up of a marketing committee composed mostly of the growers of the produce and traders in the market, which is meant to be a body corporate administering the fund and exercising powers conferred on it for regulating trade transactions, settling disputes, etc.[8]

The Royal Commission strongly recommended the appointment by the Government of an export market officer to the staff of Agricultural Departments in all major provinces, whose special duties should be to organise market surveys and to examine the working of the regulated market, and also to make recommendations for improvements wherever necessary. The Central Banking Enquiry Committee of 1929-31 supported the recommendations of the Commission and also pointed out the need of a central agency to co-ordinate these marketing activities. In 1935, the Government of India gave effect to these recommendations and appointed a central marketing staff and gave financial assistance to the provincial Governments for the appointment of similar staffs. The Imperial Council of Agricultural Research also granted Rs. 10 lakhs, spread over five years, to meet part of the cost of provincial marketing staffs.

The agricultural marketing staff of the Central Government consists of an agricultural marketing adviser and six senior and 12 assistant marketing officers. Besides, there are also 47 marketing officers in the British provinces and 36 in Indian States. Their work may be summarised in the following ways: (1) investigation or a close survey throughout the country of the most important commodities in crops and live-stock products; and (2) report on each commodity, describing the methods of marketing and trade, and statistics relating to grades, containers, packing and improvement.

The organisation of agricultural marketing forms at present a special subject of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research. Surveys have already been begun in regard to rice, wheat, linseed, groundnut, tobacco, fruit, millets, eggs, live-stock, and hides and skins, and also in respect of markets and fairs and co-operative marketing. A company has been formed for the erection of cold-storage depots at several places in Northern India; and certain experimental grading and packing stations have also been established for hides, fruits (*e.g.*, oranges, plums and grapes), and eggs in several places. Moreover, an Agricultural Produce (Grading and Marketing) Act was passed by the Government of India in 1937, and rules have been made prescribing grades, designations and standards of quality for tobacco, oranges, grapes, eggs, and hides and skins. A bulletin giving the prices, stocks and movements of wheat, linseed and rice is compiled at Delhi and broadcast in Urdu and English on Sunday evenings and published in the press on Mondays.

Another important method of facilitating agricultural marketing is to establish co-operative societies for the sale of each product and to teach the cultivator the actual process of grading and packing. Madras, Bengal, the Punjab and the United Provinces have co-operative sale societies for such products as paddy, jute, sugar and *ghee* (clarified butter). The most successful co-operative marketing in India is being carried on in the Bombay Presidency where the cotton growers in Gujarat and Karnatak have been successful in marketing their crops and have derived advantages from the control of fraud, the insurance of the produce against risk of fire, prompt payment of sale proceeds, financial accomodation till the produce is sold, information of daily price fluctuations in the Bombay market, and supply of gunnies and genuine and certified seeds. The cotton sale societies of Surat have recently combined in a federation and in undertaking a cotton ginning factory. Among other sale societies in Bombay, mention must be made of those for *gur* (unrefined sugar), tobacco, chillies, paddies, onions and arecanut.[9]

PRICES AND PROFITS

An important factor in the economic welfare of a country is the price level of its most important commercial products. The movement of prices affects different classes of the people differently, and although falling agricultural prices may be directly beneficial to non-agricultural classes, they have an adverse effect upon

8. *The Servant of India*, 24th August, 1939, pp. 414-15.

9. *Indian Yearbook* 1938-39, p. 414.

agricultural classes and their purchasing power and affect ultimately other industries and industrial classes, especially in a country like India, where the bulk of the population is directly or indirectly dependent upon agriculture for its livelihood.

The sharp fall in agricultural prices, which began in 1928-29 and affected the whole world, has had a worse effect upon agricultural countries than upon industrial countries The average wholesale prices for all classes of goods, for instance, fell more rapidly and sharply in India than in the United States and the United Kingdom, where, as compared with the prices of 1929 as base, the index numbers were respectively 69·3 and 75·0 in 1933 and 90·6 and 95·2 in 1937, while in India it was 61·7 in 1933 and 72·3 in 1937. In other words, as compared with those of the United States and United Kingdom, the index numbers of the wholesale prices in India were respectively 7·6 and 13·3 points lower in 1933 and 18·3 and 22·9 points lower in 1937.[10]

The extent of the agricultural depression in India is best indicated by the index numbers of the prices of cereals, pulses, oil-seeds, jute and cotton, and hides and skins, as shown below, and it will be seen that as compared with 1914, the price level rose by 39 per cent. in 1928 and gradually declined from 1929 onwards, though not without some fluctuations. As compared with 1928, the agricultural prices had decreased by more than one-half in 1933 and although there has been some recovery since then, the price level was only slightly over one-half in 1937.

VARIATIONS IN THE PRICES OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS IN BRITISH INDIA, 1928-37.*

(Prices in July 1914=100)

Year	Cereals	Pulses	Oilseed	Raw Jute	Raw Cotton	Hides & Skins	All Products
July 1914	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Annual Average							
1928	133	157	142	100	167	134	139
1929	125	152	155	95	146	113	132
1930	120	119	127	63	91	87	101
1931	78	89	82	49	83	67	74
1932	68	92	76	45	92	50	70
1933	66	84	74	41	80	59	67
1934	69	84	94	39	73	51	68
1935	75	85	107	50	78	59	74
1936	79	77	101	50	89	70	78
1937	77	89	115	56	89	81	84
1938	72	88	106	57	67	64	77

The slump in agricultural prices has a threefold effect upon India :—first, the decrease in agricultural profit or income over and above rent and interest as well as in the purchasing power of the cultivators, thus retarding the development of other industries and affecting their moral and material welfare; secondly, the increase in the debt liability and decrease in the borrowing capacity of the agricultural population, interfering with the flow of capital into agricultural production; and finally, the reduction in the national income and India's credit in the international market, as indicated by the fall in the value of India's imports from Rs. 263 crores in 1928-29 to Rs. 117 crores in 1933-34, although this value rose to Rs. 137 crores in 1935-36.[11]

10. *Review of the Trade of India*, 1936-37, p. 21; 1937-38, p. 59.

* *Indian Trade Journal*, 14th September, 1939, p. 1449.

11. Refers to merchandise only. Cf. *Statistical Abstract for British India*, 1938, Table No. 258.



AUTOMOBILE INDUSTRY IN BOMBAY

By Sir M. VISVESVARAYA

The question of the establishment of an Automobile Factory in Bombay was first mooted in the year 1934. In the first half of the following year, several consultations and conferences took place, and at a meeting of representative citizens held in "Bombay House," Fort, Bombay, on April 5, 1935, under the chairmanship of the late Sir Nowroji Saklatvala, it was resolved that all necessary preliminary investigations should be undertaken with a view to start the industry at an early date.

The purpose of this note is to answer enquiries which are frequently received about this project, to explain what progress has been made so far, and what further action or facilities are needed for an early start.

Investigation in Foreign Countries

2. The first step to take in this matter, after the Bombay meeting in April, 1935, was for some one to visit foreign factories where the industry flourished in full vigour, consult recognised experts, and frame and submit a report to the promoters. This responsibility in the absence of better arrangements fell to my share. I accordingly left Bombay for Europe on 6th June, 1935.

In the course of my travels, a large number of automobile factories in Europe and America were visited, and the directors, managers or technical experts of a good many of them were interviewed. Those visited in England included the Morris Motors at Oxford, the Austin Motor Co., Ltd., in Birmingham, the Dagenham Ford Motor Works, Vauxhall Motors, Ltd., and a number of smaller factories in Coventry. The principal works visited in Europe were the "Fiat," "Lancia" and "Spa" in Turin (Italy), Skoda Works at Prague and a few other establishments manufacturing motor car machinery and parts near Berlin (Germany). A number of experts connected with the industry were interviewed chiefly in Rome and Berlin on the continent; and in London, Birmingham and Coventry, in England.

In the United States of America, most of the principal motor car works in Detroit, including those of the Ford Motor Company, the Chrysler Corporation, the Packard Car Company, the Hudson Motor Car Company and other factories were visited; and also a factory, which made body building plant, in Philadelphia.

Report after the Investigation

3. While the responsibility for views expressed in my reports are my own, I must express my indebtedness to several well-known leaders in the industry for sympathetic advice and encouragement. Among those may be mentioned Sir Herbert Austin (now Lord Austin), Mr. A. R. Smith, General Manager, Ford Motor Works at Dagenham, Mr. Charles E. Sorensen, General Manager, Ford Motor Works, Detroit, and Mr. William S. Knudsen, head of the General Motors in U. S. A. Besides advice of this kind, the opinions of two professional Consulting Engineers on the project, one in London and another in Detroit (U.S.A.) were obtained in writing.

The majority of the manufacturers and experts consulted agreed that an industry like this was overdue in India, and they viewed the Bombay proposal with sympathy. Also, several important foreign firms offered active cooperation if we wanted their services for establishing a factory.

After a foreign tour of nearly seven months, I returned to India on 3rd January, 1936. The proposals while still tentative were discussed with business friends in Bombay and with prominent citizens in several centres outside Bombay. Nearly all the leading men consulted expressed themselves keenly interested in the early establishment of the industry. In April, 1936, a printed report embodying the results of the foreign tour and investigations was placed in the hands of all those businessmen in Bombay who had previously attended meetings or taken an interest in the project. Copies were also submitted to the authorities of both the Government of India and the Government of Bombay.

By the time the report was ready, a wave of pessimism, due it is believed to adverse propaganda, had come over some of the influential Bombay friends who had originally encouraged the scheme. A Committee and a Sub-Committee examined the report and raised a number of ponits. The points raised were all answered both at Committee meetings and subsequently in a printed pamphlet.

It must be remembered in this connection that since foreign interests are likely to be affected by the establishment of the proposed industry, some degree of hostility to the scheme must be expected. There is a tendency on the part of a few persons in the trade to spread the misleading view that it is "better to buy than to build" motor vehicles in India.

Seeking Co-operation and Support from Government

4. The next step taken, in pursuance of a resolution of the meeting referred to in the opening paragraph above, was to submit representations both to the Government of India and the Government of Bombay for co-operation and help. The first representation to the heads of both these Governments was made on 7th May, 1936. The Government of India while expressing sympathy with the project stated that they adhered to the policy of discriminating protection for Indian industries enunciated by the Fiscal Commission of 1921-22 and could not go to the help of an industry that was not started. Neither could they commit themselves beforehand, that is, before a factory was actually in operation, to purchase any of the products ordinarily required for Government use.

In view of the service which this factory is likely to render in the manufacture of trucks and armaments for defence purposes, it is understood, the Government of India are now reconsidering their decision.

5. The Bombay Government were also appealed to. After many explanations, the Hon'ble Mr. B. G. Kher, the Prime Minister to the late Congress Government, obtained the consent of his colleagues to write to me a letter offering provisionally, subject to certain stated conditions, a guarantee of 3 or 3½ per cent. interest on a capital issue of Rs. 150 lakhs for the industry for a period of ten years. Before the concession was finally sanctioned, the Congress Government went out of office; and we are now awaiting ratification, by the present Government of Bombay, of the promise made by their predecessors.

Efforts of Mr. Walchand Hirachand and Mr. Advani

6. The late Premier of the Government of Bombay in promising the concession just referred to, stipulated several conditions, one of which was that the new factory should be run by a firm of Managing Agents. As soon as the provisional promise of a concession by Government to guarantee 3 or 3½ per cent. interest on share capital for a term of ten years was received, Mr. Walchand Hirachand of Bombay, one of the promoters who had warmly supported the proposal from the commencement, offered to start a firm of Managing Agents with himself and two other well-known industrialists, Mr. Dharamsey Mulraj Khatau and Mr. Tulsidas Kilachand, as partners.

Mr. Walchand Hirachand lost no time in taking the next move. He obtained from the Government of Bombay the loan of the services of Mr. P. B. Advani, Director of Industries, Bombay, for the purpose of arranging terms and entering into an agreement with one of the automobile firms of repute in England or America, and obtaining its active co-operation for starting the proposed factory in Bombay.

Mr. Advani left on his foreign tour for this purpose on 1st July, 1939. Mr. Walchand Hirachand also followed him to America a few weeks later. Mr. Advani, in close consultation with Mr. Walchand, first discussed the proposals with the Ford Motor Company of Dearborn, U.S.A., and next with the Ford Motor Company of Canada. As a result of these preliminary consultations, the following cablegrams were sent by these gentlemen from New York to friends in Bombay and these were promptly communicated to the Bombay Government:

Cable of August 11, 1939 :—

> "Your cable—discussed with Ford. Ford Topmen convinced us capital 1½ crores adequate and 12,000 units yearly production economic. Advani."

Cable dated 12th August, 1939 :—

> "Advani discussed matter with the General Manager Ford Detroit who arranged Advani's meeting with the Managing Director Canadian Ford. Advani discussed details several days with the Chief Engineer, Auditor, Managing Director Canadian Ford. All agreed 1½ crores adequate and necessary also 12,000 reasonably economic under Indian conditions and costs. Walchand and Advani."

Since India came within the operations of the Canadian Ford Motor Company so far as supply of Ford Motor Vehicles was concerned, that Company was not willing to co-operate with the promoters unless it was allowed to participate substantially in the capital of the Company by owning 51 per cent. of it. The promoters expressed inability to agree to this, and as a result the negotiations with the Ford organisation had to be reluctantly abandoned.

Understanding with Foreign Companies

7. Mr. P. B. Advani next started negotiations with another large firm, the Chrysler Corporation of Detroit (U.S.A.) with which a

definite agreement has been concluded for manufacturing their motor vehicles in India on a royalty basis, that is, without participation of American capital in the Indian Company.

The promoters are in correspondence with a leading British Motor Car Company for manufacturing in India, on a royalty basis, their low power cars. The British Company concerned has promised cordial co-operation, and negotiations are proceeding satisfactorily.

Both the manufacture of medium power vehicles under license of the Chrysler Corporation and of low power cars under license of the British Company referred to could thus be undertaken if the Government help mentioned in paragraph 16 hereof is available.

PROSPECTS OF THE INDUSTRY

8. Since my original report was issued in 1936, there has been an appreciable change in the public demand in India from medium power to economical low-power cars. When the scheme in its present form as outlined by Mr. Advani is completed and brought into operation, the number of vehicles manufactured yearly is expected to be 11,000 instead of 12,000 and the total capital outlay required for the factory will be the same as in the original scheme, namely, Rs. 2¼ crores. But the same machinery and plant will, with small additions, be able to manufacture even upto 20,000 units whenever demand arises for so many.

The value of the products manufactured yearly at recent normal rates will probably be as under :—

3,000 medium power cars at Rs. 3,500	Rs. 105 lakhs
5,000 trucks at Rs. 3,000	150 „
3,000 low-power cars at Rs. 2,000	60 „
Total	315 „

This will be the approximate yearly value of motor vehicles which a factory constructed at a cost of Rs. 2¼ crores in this country would be able to manufacture at the outset.

9. Authoritative statements have been prepared and published in the United States of America which show that the price of a motor car to the consumer in a foreign country like India is about 2½ times the actual cost, *ex* works in America. A car which costs, say, Rs. 1,400 in a factory in Detroit would be sold for about Rs. 3,500 in Bombay. The difference of Rs. 2,100 is at present spent on inland freight in America, ocean freight, sea insurance, loading and unloading charges in Bombay, import duty, dealer's commission and a few other minor items. The bulk of these charges will be saved if vehicles are made in India.

In the case of a car manufactured in India, the only heavy expenditure to be incurred outside the factory would be the import duty on special parts if no concession is secured from Government and the dealer's commission or profit. A liberal estimate of outlay on these two items will probably be Rs. 750. Taking the price prevailing in normal times, the saving per car would be Rs. 2,100—Rs. 750=Rs. 1,350. Assuming that the working of the Indian factory will not be as economical as in America and the saving not as high as Rs. 1,350 but only Rs. 500 per unit, or one-seventh of the normal price of a completed car, the total clear profit would be one-seventh of the sum of Rs. 315 lakhs (the estimated value of the products of the factory given in paragraph 8) or Rs. 45 lakhs. This will mean, under favourable conditions, a profit of 20 per cent on the initial capital outlay. The profit will vary with changing market conditions but the rough calculations here given should leave no doubt in the mind of the reader that the prospects of the industry are very promising.

MANUFACTURE SIMPLIFIED BY AUTOMATIC MACHINERY

10. A good many people, even among industrialists, are obsessed by the fear that the manufacture of motor vehicles is a very complicated and difficult matter and the Indian workman is not yet trained for this delicate work. But such fears are groundless. The machinery used in the fanufacture of parts is to a considerable extent standardised and its action is largely automatic. The thought and skill required in manufacture has been transferred from the workman to the machine and "although the motor vehicle is a most delicate and finely adjusted machine, the human labour and human intervention utilised in its manufacture is reduced to a minimum."

The experience of automobile assembly plants of which there are a number working in India shows that the Indian workman is quite capable of handling this class of machinery and of producing articles of the required quality, strength and finish.

MOTOR VEHICLES IN USE IN PRINCIPAL COUNTRIES

11. Motor vehicles in use in the principal countries of the world, as on 1st January, 1940, are given in the following table :

Country		Total number of Vehicles	Average number of persons served per Vehicle
United States	..	30,180,225	4
Canada	..	1,420,924	8
Great Britain	..	2,608,501	18
France	..	2,268,985	18
Germany	..	1,951,789	42
Italy	..	475,000	93
Russia (U. S. S. R.)	..	750,000	252
Japan	..	180,000	389
India	..	185,000	1,908

The number of motor vehicles in use in the United States of America is over 30 million for a population of about 130 million souls. The same in India is 185,000 for a population of 353 million. This means that for every 10,000 persons in the United States of America, there are 2,300 motor vehicles in use while the corresponding number in India for the same number of persons is only 5.

Motor Vehicles Manufactured in the Principal Countries of the World

12. The manufacture or production of motor vehicles in the same leading countries in the years 1938 or 1939 was as under :

Country		Year	Motor Vehicles produced
United States	..	1939	3,577,058
Canada	..	1939	155,316
Great Britain	..	1938	477,561
France	..	1938	220,343
Germany	..	1938	328,000
Italy	..	1938	70 388
Russia (U. S. S. R.)	..	1938	215,000
Japan	..	1938	30,000
India	..	....	*Nil*

The maximum yearly production in some of the countries is much higher. In the United States of America, for instance, the vehicles manufactured in 1929 was 5,359,090.

Several leading manufacturers in America have established branch factories in Canada. For instance, the Ford Manufacturing Company of Detroit, U.S.A., has an associated factory in Windsor (Canada), and this Canadian factory as already stated supplies Ford vehicles of the type manufactured in Detroit to all patrs of the British Empire. The Canadian Ford Company has the exclusive right to supply such cars to India. But Ford cars including the low-power ones manufactured at Dagenham, England, come direct to this country from England.

Support given to the Industry in Foreign Countries

13. Before the War there were over 40 factories in *France*, which manufactured automobiles or their parts, and which were maintained in slack times by orders for armaments and defence machinery given by the French Government. Without such support I was assured the factories could not have existed.

Germany being unable to compete with America put up a prohibitive duty. Herr Hitler encouraged the industry in several ways, one of which was to exempt people who purchased German-made cars from paying certain taxes for a term of years. As a result of this encouragement and other facilities given, the industry which produced only 52,000 vehicles in 1932, increased production to 243,000 in 1935, and to 328,000 in 1938.

Russia started the manufacture of motor vehicles some eight years ago. The Soviet Government opened an office in New York and stationed a number of Russian engineers there to export machinery and parts for manufacture in Russia. This, they did, in close co-operation with the Ford Motor Company of Dearborn U.S.A. In October 1935, I met Mr. Hillkoff, the Chief of the Russian engineers stationed in New York, and obtained particulars of the arrangements made and the methods adopted for developing the industry in Soviet Russia.

In the first year, they took all the parts to Russia and assembled them and completed the car. In this way they made 5,000 cars;

In the second year, they purchased 50 per cent of the parts and made 10,000 cars;

In the third year, 25 per cent of the parts were purchased and 20,000 cars were made; and

In the fourth year, they manufactured 40,000 cars.

Mr. Hillkoff also stated that there were 40 Russian engineers working in the United States of America at that time, and the total contact with Ford had worked up to 40 million dollars. Referring to prospects of the industry in India, he remarked : "We manufacture trucks at about the same prices as they do in the United States; cars a little more but not much more. You may have three or four lean years, but from the fourth year it should pay."

As a result of the activities of its Government, Russia which manufactured only about 40,000 vehicles at the time of the above interview in 1935, increased production to 215,000 vehicles by 1938.

Notable Encouragement in Australia

14. The support promised under similar circumstances by the Commonwealth Government of Australia to a local Company, *before it proceeded to make the necessary arrangements to establish the industry in Australia*, is the latest and the most significant instance of the helpful

attitude of modern Governments towards this industry.

On December 19th, 1939, the Commonwealth Government entered into an agreement with a local Company, the Australian Consolidated Industries, Ltd. The agreement stated that a Motor Vehicle Engine Bounty Act had been passed in the Australian Parliament which provided for the payment of a bounty of £1,500,000 for the first 60,000 motor vehicle engines manufactured by the Company.

Some of the other principal provisions in the agreement are :

Two-thirds of the paid-up value of shares should be owned by subjects resident in Australia.

The Commonwealth Government will safeguard the interests of the Australian Company against the establishment of rival manufacturing foreign Companies.

Government will use its power of import control to counteract any foreign trading methods by oversea interests in selling competitive vehicles in Australia.

For five years from commencement of manufacture, the Commonwealth Government will purchase a substantial portion of its requirements from the proposed Factory.

Government will admit free of import duty such machinery as cannot be conveniently manufactured at the outset within a reasonable time.

The Commonwealth Government will be prepared to examine upon request the measure of tariff or other assistance needed for import of any special automobile parts.

Government of India's Support to Foreign Firms

15. In this connection attention is invited to the following Associated Press telegram from Simla published in the Bombay papers of August 20, 1940 :

"The two great American Motor Companies, General Motors and Fords, which possess large assemblage and body building plants in India are co-operating with the Government in the production of vehicles for the Indian Army.

"Although it is not possible to state the numbers or types which are in production at these plants, it can be said that the present initial expansion of the Indian Forces involves an increase of between Twenty and Thirty thousand in the number of vehicles required by the Army. All these are divided into no less than 56 types.

"To assist in coping with these requirements, the American concerns have recently considerably extended certain sections of their works and these extensions, it is understood, will be specially devoted to urgent Government work."

This telegram shows that the Government have been placing large orders with two prominent American automobile companies. A request for such orders was made to the Government of India four years ago but there was no response. No reason, save their adherence to the old policy of discriminating protection, was given for denying similar facilities to an indigenous enterprise.

Specified Help now expected from Government

16. The appeals made to the Government of India and the Government of Bombay for support and co-operation have been already referred to (paragraphs 4 and 5).

The support expected *from the Government of Bombay* is the confirmation of the guarantee (*vide* paragraph 5) of 3½ per cent. interest on capital outlay, provisionally promised by the Premier of the previous Congress Government. This support will be in conformity with the declared policy of the Government of Bombay to grant assistance, specially to new and nascent industries.

The support expected *from the Government of India* according to the latest appeal is reduced to three items :

(1) The factory may be treated as a War measure since it will be able to manufacture and supply Army trucks, armoured cars, and if necessary also armaments. At a few weeks' notice the factory equipment can be transformed into an armament plant; and, with small additions to the plant, the factory will be sufficiently equipped to manufacture aeroplane engines when required.

In view of this prospect, the grant of dollar exchange and import permits for purchases made for the projected factory should take precedence over civil requirements for other purposes.

(2) It is understood, that the Government of India have a programme to purchase annually 5,000 new motor trucks for the mechanisation of the Army. It would not be out of place for Government to promise a substantial part of this order to the projected local factory since its arrangements with the Chrysler Corporation of Detroit, as explained before, ensure that vehicles of the highest quality obtainable anywhere in the world can be supplied.

(3) Reasonable tariff concessions may be granted in connection with imports of parts and raw materials required for the local manufacture of motor vehicles, to the extent commonly done in European countries and in Canada.

Importance of the Industry

17. The potential importance of the industry can be judged from the fact that in the United States of America the prosperity of the people of the country is held to be in direct relation to the volume of automobile sales; they rise and fall together. In the United Kingdom the motor industry is recognised as ranking very near the top as an employer of labour and consumer of raw materials. In the Dominions of the British Commonwealth and even in industrialised countries of Europe, heavy tariff protection and other concessions are readily placed at the service of this industry.

The projected Indian factory will from the very commencement be a manufacturing concern and not a mere assembly plant. Since the outbreak of the War, prices of motor vehicles have risen, and high prices will continue to rule for two or three years after the War. If the factory is started now, it will not only be providing trucks for War purposes and for the Indian Army within some eight months, but it will also be profiting itself and materially benefiting the country as a War time industry.

As explained before, there has been some amount of propaganda carried on, apparently by interested parties, to mislead the public that the industry is not wanted here. While small States like Belgium, Australia and Norway with populations numbering 8, 7 and 3 millions, respectively, are establishing motor car factories, it cannot be said that one such factory will be a superfluity in this sub-continent of ours with its 375 million population.

Appeal for Government Help

18. Two of the largest automobile Corporations in the world have after investigation concurred in the size, scope and estimated cost of the Bombay project as outlined in 1936. We have seen that a leading American Company was willing to put some of its own money into the concern if allowed. Another leading Corporation has actually entered into a working arrangement with the promoters of the Indian project for manufacturing their motor vehicles in Bombay on a royalty basis. The former would not have offered to participate in the capital of the scheme; nor the latter entered into an agreement, unless the prospects of the industry were distinctly bright.

It is evident from this, that the proposals which have been before the business public for the past five years, and before the Central Government and the Government of Bombay for at least four years, are sound from every point of view. Had the industry been started when the project was first mooted in the year 1936, it would have been in successful operation by now, and of special value for War purposes in the present emergency.

With the starting of the factory, a number of subsidiary industries would be springing up and thousands of people will get employment. Local industries of this importance have a legitimate claim on the revenues of the country and on active Government encouragement and support. To neglect the industry under present world conditions would be a discouragement to economic enterprise, a hindrance to progress, and a danger to the country's safety.

It is clear from what has gone before that the industry is in great demand, that its establishment will be eagerly welcomed and that, given reasonable State support, the proposed Company can be successfully floated and the factory established within a few months.

Both the Government of Bombay and the Central Government have been furnished with all the information likely to be needed by them for passing orders, and their early and favourable decision, which is essential for the successful establishment of the factory, is eagerly awaited.

Bombay, 3rd October, 1940.



BRITISH INTERESTS IN INDIA

By ASOKA MEHTA

INDIA is on the threshold of sovereign nationhood. Her demand for a Constituent Assembly and the labours of her Planning Committee show that she is fully conscious of this destiny. Politically and economically she is seeking out her full stature.

Many factors, however, conspire to frustrate these endeavours—among them none more persistent and influential than "the British Interests". They feed on the body of India. Unless their privileged position and their power of obstructing our political and economic advance are destroyed, there can be no full freedom. In accepting them or even compromising with them lies a big danger to our freedom.

I

Britain conquered India for the economic advantages, her occupation offered it. Those that have exploited these advantages and been principally benefited by them are the British Interests. From the days of the East India Company to our times they have made many adjustments to extract fuller advantages from changing circumstances, but their essential character has remained consistently harmful to Indian interests.

They set foot on the Indian soil as a Corporate body with unified control and monopoly rights, in the form of the East India Company. Since then they have always striven to maintain that unity and monopoly and to widen the field of their activities.

In the eighteenth century, trade with India was very profitable. To take advantage of it the Britishers came to India, not individually as merchants or even adventurers, but as a corporate body with monopoly rights. The unity and monopoly helped them not only to make huge profits but gradually to acquire control over the country. The Flag followed the Trade.

The large profits had far-reaching effects on the politics and the economy of Great Britain. The Industrial Revolution swept through Britain and made it "the workshop of the world." This workshop needed growing markets for manufactured goods and later for investments, and expanding supplies of raw materials.

Industrial Britain drew supplies of raw materials from all continents and poured investments into every country. These overseas investments, in Europe and the U. S. A. for instance, hastened the industrial development of these countries and turned them into the rivals of the world's workshop.

Britain determined to keep India an agricultural colony supplying raw materials and absorbing British manufactured goods. The economic development of India could be thus arrested and even reversed because of the political control Britain exercised over her.

Ruralisation of India was adopted almost as a policy. Indian handicrafts were ruthlessly destroyed. Even agriculture was neglected except that sector of it that was needed in Britain's interests, such as, the commercial crops like jute and cotton. In scholarly language all this was called *laissez faire*.

Crores of rupees were sunk in India to open her up for British goods and investments. But scrupulous care was taken to arrest her industrial development. The rules for the purchase of the Indian Government's stores, issued in 1870 and 1875, *forbade* the purchase of most industrial goods in India and required *all* contracts to be made in London. The Gvoernment strangled our industrial expansion to benefit the British interests.

Over Rs. 700 crores were spent on railway construction in India—spanning her vast distances for the quick transport of British goods and troops, but not a bolt or a nut was sought to be produced in the country. Almost twenty years after the railways were built, railway materials and iron and steel products were added to the list of supplies that might be purchased in India. It was an empty gesture. There was then no factory in India manufacturing these goods!

Is there any wonder that in 1870-80, when the average yield on Consols was 3·84, Indian Government Bonds yielded 4·40 and the Railways 6·30 to the British investor?

Indian industries and agriculture were neglected, yet British Interests seeking profits in them were encouraged. In the Tea plantations of Assam and the manufacture of Jute in Bengal, the British Interests were shown every favour and given every concession by the Government.

"The total area in occupation of the tea-planters in Assam is 16,88,733 acres. Of this only 2,75,301 acres are Indian-owned. (The rest of 14,13,402 acres are owned and operated by just 2,700 British businessmen.—*A. M.*). But only 26 per cent of this land is actually under tea; the rest is kept in occupation for future extensions. At least 17 per cent of the area is held fee-simple, and the rest under very much cheaper terms of tenure than the ordinary ryot holds his lands. The average revenue for non-tea-planting land is about Rs. 3 per acre, whereas it is never more than Re. 1-2 in tea areas. The average gross yield per acre in the one-crop lands during the last few years in non-tea-planting areas has never been above Rs. 20 and about Rs. 30 in multi-crop holdings, whereas the average yield per acre in tea areas in terms of tea was Rs. 600—648 lbs. during the last two years bringing the average of Rs. 300 per year. . . . These big concessions were granted to the European planters when the British bureaucratic rule prevailed. It was then a crime to be an Indian and live near a tea garden." (Sri Gopinath Bardoloi, ex-Prime Minister of Assam, in the *Harijan* of June 15, 1940).

By a policy of steep protection Indian manufactures were kept out of Britain in the earlier days. When Britain obtained, thanks to steam-power, industrial supremacy,India, however, was declared a completely Free Trade country and the flood of British goods inundated her, destroying her handicrafts.

To maintain such a one-sided policy, Britain must preserve its grip on India. To continue the hold, every industry of any military significance was consistently discouraged. Indian shipping was destroyed, heavy industry ignored.

In almost every country the Industrial Revolution has meant the building up of heavy industries, such as, iron and steel, machine-making, chemicals. But India has been the outstanding exception—for seventy-five years she nibbled exclusively at light industries. Without heavy industry India must remain militarily and economically dependent on Britain and therefore politically subservient.

II

Till the eighteenth century India possessed a fairly diversified economy. But a century of British rule resulted in a lop-sided dependence on Agriculture. This dependence reached such a calamitous length that by the end of the last century a Royal Commission had to draw pointed attention to it.

The British policy, while it assured a full supply of raw materials and a certain market for British goods, resulted in unbalancing India's economy and throwing millions of her workers out of employment and economic security. The only escape was in her free and full economic development. Swadeshi, therefore, became a persistent demand.

As early as 1887, at its third session, the Indian National Congress had appealed to the Government to foster Swadeshi. It, however, received a real impetus in 1905. A resolution urging the people to use Swadeshi even at some sacrifice was passed by the National Congress, every year, from 1906 to 1916. During those eventful years the emphasis on Swadeshi was no less than on Swaraj—perhaps the accent was firmer.

The war years of 1914-18 created a situation where some industrial development became inevitable. In 1914, the Congress appealed to the Government to take advantage of the war conditions to build up Indian industries. In 1915, however, it had to draw the Government's attention to the factors that *discouraged* our industrial expansion, such as, the adverse fiscal, currency, stores and the railway rates policies of the Government.

The requirements of the war at last compelled the Government to appoint a Royal Commission on Indian Industries—but from the terms of reference of the Commission the fiscal question was excluded !

Notwithstanding the calculated efforts of the Government to arrest India's industrial development, some industries were growing up in India. The Cotton Textile industry was one of them and it was mainly controlled by Indians. Its expansion appeared as a menace to the British Interests of Lancashire. In order not to give the infant industry the least advantage over Lancashire's well-established industry, every customs duty on cloth was accompanied by an equivalent excise duty.

"Early in 1917, the Government (of India) decided to borrow £100,000,000 and present it to the Imperial Government as a war contribution. To meet the recurring charges on the loan it was proposed, among other things, that the Customs duty on cotton cloth should be raised to the general tariff level of 7½ per cent without corresponding increase of the excise duty. The Indian members of the Legislative Council voted in favour of this offer and it was submitted to the Imperial Government for ratification. Although it was not stated in so many words, the issue involved was really very simple: the Government and people of India were willing to make a gift of £100,000,000 (=Rs. 150,00,00,000) towards the expenses of the war on condition that net protection of 4 per cent was granted on cotton cloth. This proposition was so important that it was made the subject of a special debate in the House of Commons. It was bitterly attacked by members from Lancashire without regard to party. They were joined in the division lobby by the Irish Nationalists, and the Government would have been overthrown if it had not been for the Asquith Liberals, who were unwilling to precipitate a cabinet crisis." (William Roy Smith: *Nationalism and Reform in India*, pp. 150-51).

The question was so important that many members of Parliament were not afraid of inviting a cabinet crisis, in the midst of a grim war, over it! Is there any wonder that till the exigencies of the war made it imperative the Government of India was loath to raise any revenues from custom duties even when funds were badly needed for the welfare of the Indian people? The British Interests before the Indian People—that has been the governing policy.

III

When development of some industries in India appeared to be inevitable, the British Interests entered the field themselves. The industries were developed under British control.

As elsewhere industrial development in India could result only from the accumulated profits and knowledge of trade and commerce. Her 'big' commerce was mostly handled by British firms and they were naturally well placed in taking advantage of the impulse towards industrialisation. They further had facilities in mobilising capital. Till recently a British bookseller's firm of Calcutta, Messrs. Thacker, Spink & Co., carried on banking as a side business! But the most powerful reason for their success was the favouritism shown to them by the Government.

When the logic of events at last compelled the Government to concede India some fiscal freedom, the Trojan Horse of British Interests was already safely planted behind the rapidly rising tariff wall.

The luxury of protection has cost the Indian people about Rs. 500,00,00,000 but its main benefit has accrued to the British Interests that dominate Indian industries.

In the railways, not only the nine major lines (Capital Rs. 700 crores) are owned or operated by the British but even of the thirty-one minor railways, twenty-eight (Capital Rs. 11,00,00,000) are in British hands. Of the hundred Jute Mills (Capital Rs. 23,00,00,000) working in India, over 50 (Capital Rs. 17,00,00,000) are under British control. Even in the Cotton Textile industry, which is popularly believed to be a monument of *Indian* enterprise, over 20 per cent of it is in British hands. In coal mines and tea and coffee plantations the British predominance is patent to all. In sugar, cement, paper, matches they have significant shares. The deposits with British-owned and controlled banks are much larger than those with the Indian banks: Exchange Banks Rs. 75 crores, *Quasi*-Indian Banks: Rs. 155 crores, Indian Banks: Rs. 84 crores. In Insurance, 147 foreign companies draw an annual premium of Rs. 7 crores while 232 Indian Companies draw an annual premium of Rs. 8,75,00,000; but not all the latter are Swadeshi. India has thus been reconquered behind the tariff wall.

These industries are controlled by a handful of "trusts": Bradys, Killick Nixons, Sassoons in Western India, Andrew Yule & Co., Martin & Co., McLeod & Co., etc., in Eastern India. Everyone of these trusts has many industrial concerns under it: Andrew Yule and Company, for instance, controls 54 concerns spread out in fifteen different fields of industrial activities. They are:

Jute	11	Hydraulic Press	1
Tea	15	Power Supply	1
Coal	13	Paper Pulp	1
Transport	2	Oil	1
Rubber	2	Aerated Gas	1
Sugar	1	Brick & Pottery	1
Flour	1	Insurance	1
		Zamindari	1

Other trusts show almost the same extent of ramifications of industrial activities coupled with concentration of control. The concentration is further intensified by interlocutory directorships.

But even these giants are not independent. Most of them are controlled by super-giants of London. Andrew, Yule & Co., is controlled by Morgan, Grenfell & Co., McLeod & Co., is under McLeod, Russel & Co., Balmer, Lawrie & Co., is a subsidiary of Alexander Lawrie & Co. With the tremendous resources of these super-giants behind them these Indian subsidiaries are built up. And it is against these that India is denied the right to discriminate!

IV

The British Interests have thus continued their domination behind the protective wall in India. In 1924, after the policy of protection was decided upon, the question of protection for the Iron and Steel industry, an industry of national importance, came up before the Central Legislative Assembly. The Swaraj Party there, realising the danger of British Interests taking advantage of a policy of protection, voted in favour of bounties—to be given to concerns with majority of Indian shareholders, directors and offering facilities to Indians for training. The Tata Iron and Steel Company between 1924-27 got Rs. 2 crores in bounty and Rs. 1,50,00,000 in benefits from duties.

The Government did not relish this cutting

out of the British Interests and in 1927 they proposed the abolition of bounties and the substitution instead of higher protection *coupled with imperial preference.* Since then the British Interests have as much been the object of Government of India's solicitude as the Indian interests—perhaps more. In iron and steel, in cotton textile goods and in many other industries imperial preference has been introduced and pushed forward.

Taking advantage of the tariff wall and to obtain maximum advantage of the policy of protection, British companies are opening their subsidiaries in India, *registered in India.* The giant concerns like Lever Brothers (Soap), Dunlop (Rubber), Imperial Chemicals have their Indian subsidiaries. These non-Indian factories are now starting up with colossal production of matches, cigarettes, soaps, boots and shoes, rubber, chemicals, etc., driving the Swadeshi concerns to the wall. We are threatened with the menace of " (India) Ltd."

No wonder the National Congress has declared :

> **"......The Working Committee are further of opinion and declare that no concern can or shall be regarded as 'Swadeshi' unless its control, direction and management are in Indian hands. The Working Committee would prefer to delay the further development of Indian industries, if it can only result in dumping of foreign imperial concerns who would exploit the natural resources of India"**

This challenge to their dominance the British Interests have sought to meet, in their characteristic fashion, in two ways :

Firstly, their privileged position has been made secure by the provisions of the new Government of India Act (1935). A handful of Britishers have been given extravagant represenation in the legislatures. In Bengal and Assam, where the British Interests are most keenly interested, they have been given, through a clever arrangement of the electorate, the determining voice in the formation of the Governments.

But the important provisions are those against discrimination. They are :

> "No Federal or Provincial law which imposes any liability or taxation shall be such as to discriminate against British subjects domiciled in the United Kingdom . . . or any company incorporated in the United Kingdom, and any law passed or made in contravention to this section, shall, to the extent of the contravention, be invalid." (Section 112).

This section is further amplified in the next four sections. Any company incorporated in the United Kingdom and carrying on business in India shall be deemed to satisfy all requirements or conditions relating to or connected with an Indian Company. (Sec. 113). Every such company shall be entitled to exemptions and preferential treatment granted to Indian Companies (Sec. 114).

> "Not withstanding anything in any Act of the Federal Legislature or a Provincial Legislature, companies incorporated . . . by or under the laws of the United Kingdom and carrying on business in India shall be eligible for any grant, bounty or subsidy payable out of the revenues of the Federation or of a Province for the encouragement of any trade or industry to the same extent as companies incorporated by or under laws of British India." (Section 116).

Section 115 refers to Shipping :

> "No ship registered in the United Kingdom shall be subjected by or under any Federal or Provincial law to any treatment affecting either the ship herself or her master, officers, crew, passengers or Cargo which is discriminatory in favour of ships registered in British India."

These sections statutorily safeguard the privileged position of the British Interests in India. They effectively prevent fostering of Indian enterprises against their most powerful rival, the British concerns. Indian Chemical industry cannot receive any support that is not also extended simultaneously to the mighty Imperial Chemicals. The Scindia Steamships can receive no support that is not also obtained by its powerful rival the B. I. S. N. Company with the vast resources of the P. & O. Co., behind it. Such support to Indian concerns is worse than worthless.

The best commentary on these provisions of the Constitution is found in the resolution, from which we have already quoted above, of the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress.

> ". . . . The Congress has always opposed the new Constitution, not only because it is a negation of political freedom, but also because of the inclusion in the Constitution Act of provisions described as safeguards against discrimination. The Working Committee are of opinion that these provisions are not in the interests of India, but are intended and calculated to preserve to foreign nationals, and particularly to British Capitalists, the exploitation of the National wealth and resources of this country. The Working Committee maintain that India has the right to discriminate, if the word must be used, against non-national interests, whenever and wherever the interests of India demand or require it."

The Government of India continue to show the greatest solicitude for the interests of the British concerns. Even in such critical times of war when vital chemicals are badly needed and are difficult to be imported, when an Indian laboratory offered the Government to produce in the country, at much cheaper rates than the imported materials, certain chemicals, the Government turned down the proposal. "It would adversely affect the Imperial Chemicals"

was their argument! British Interests *versus* the Indian People—that has been the case for the past two centuries.

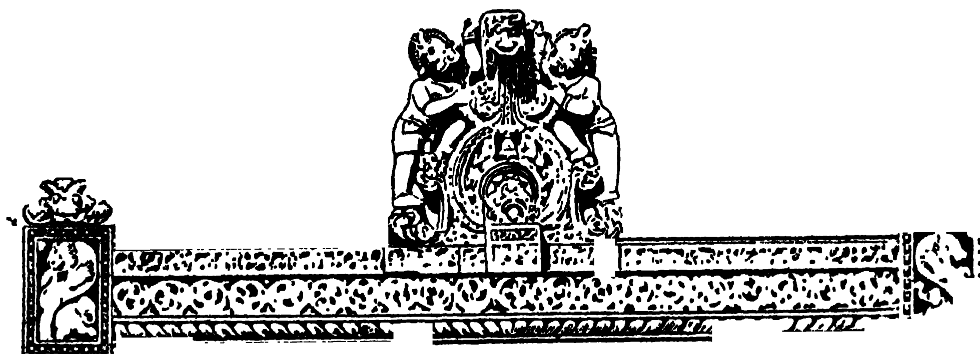
But in spite of these Constitutional safeguards and governmental solicitude, the British Interests are restless about their future. Their second effort therefore is to build up a facade of 'Swadeshi' behind which their power can remain entrenched and impregnable.

They are having some Indian share-holders. A majority of the British-controlled concerns have now some Indians on their Boards of Directors. Andrew Yule & Co., have got Jatia Brothers, Martin & Co., have Mukherjees, and so on. Notwithstanding this inclusion of some Indians in their directorates the control of these concerns remains securely in British hands, their policy remains as indifferent to India and Indians as before. Excepting the concerns managed by Birlas and by Dalmia in Eastern India, by Tata Sons and Company and those controlled by Sjt. Walchand Hirachand in Western India, most of India's major industrial concerns have today mixed directorates. The form changeth, the spirit remaineth the same.

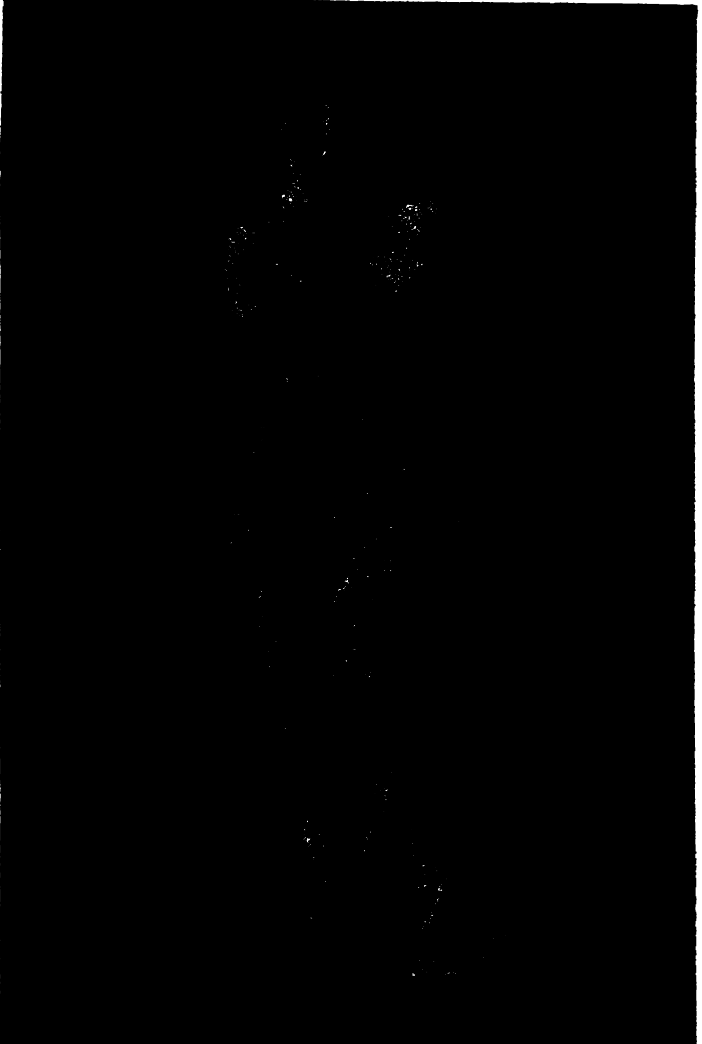
A further step in such consolidation, with a view to more firmly safeguarding the British Interests, has been taken in the Cement industry. The creation of a monopoly trust in the industry—the Associated Cement Companies, Limited—has resulted in the consolidation of the Managing Agencies also. Thirty-five per cent of the Managing Agency belongs to the Killick Nixon & Co., who also control the Selling Agency of the A. C. C. The A. C. C. claims to be a Swadeshi enterprise and thus offers for Killick Nixons a safeguard more sound than any given by the British Parliament. The British Interests thus now entrench themselves behind Swadeshi-ism!

But Messrs. Turner, Morrison & Co., the Managing Agents of the Moghul Lines, are even more enterprising and "modern." They are taking advantage of the communal divisions in India. The Mughal Lines have agreed to pass on a part of their shares to Muslim shareholders, to elect Muslim directors and to employ Muslims. Islamisation is the word! Actually, behind this stage-playing the control remains securely in British hands and the Government continue to favour them as against the purely Indian Scindia Steamships.

The British Interests are thus trying to take advantage of every possibility to safeguard and further consolidate their positions in the country. They possess a strangle-hold on the industrial economy of India. To leave them in their privileged position is to stunt our stature. The British Government will fight to the last ditch to preserve their privileges intact. But there can be no compromise with them, because behind most of them stand the resources of their British superiors and because they remain basically anti-Indian. Swadeshi enterprises cannot prosper and energise our economy until the British Interests are removed from their privileged position in Indian economy. The provisions of the new Government of India Act show what desperate efforts they will make to safeguard their position. They are enlisting powerful Indian allies by sharing some of their profits, though little of their privileges and power, with them. Indian people will have to reckon with these facts—including their playing with communal forces. When the hour of India's emancipation strikes, the British Interests will have to be grappled with and disarmed. In their context there can be no freedom. Freedom means to emancipate ourselves from the strangle-hold of British Interests.



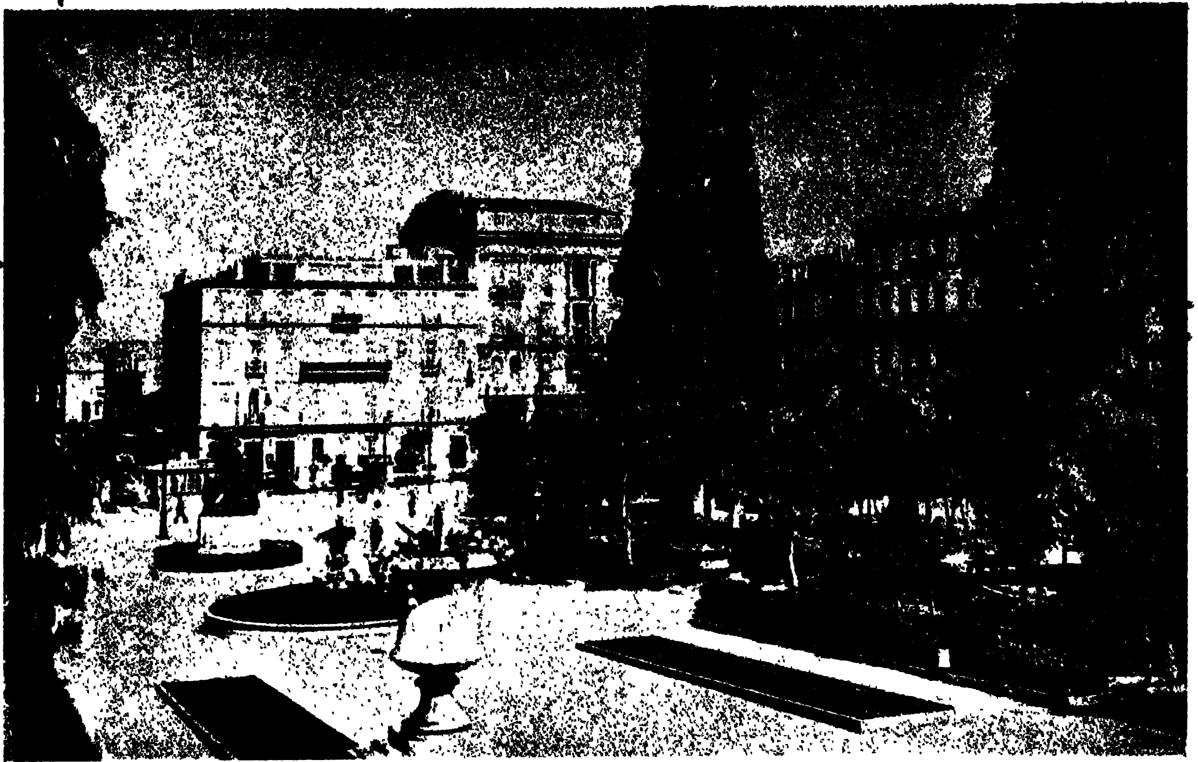
GREECE



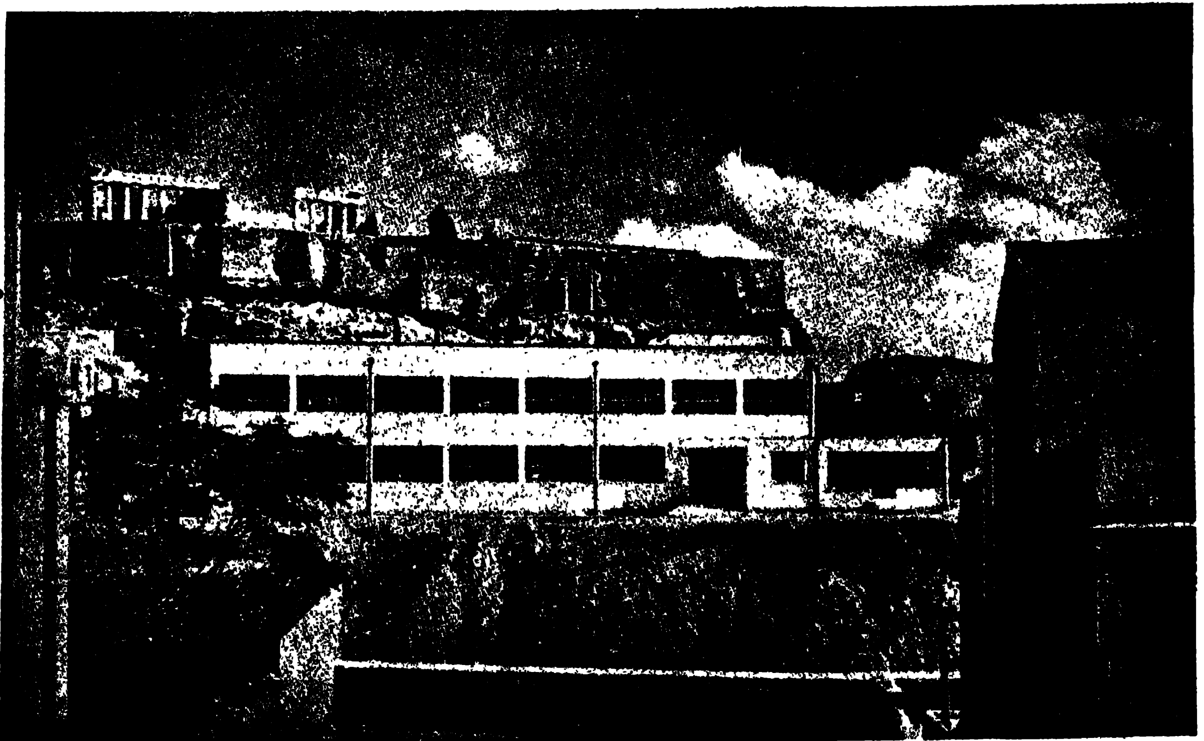
The Aphrodite of Meles
Louvre



The Laocoon Group
Vatican, Rome



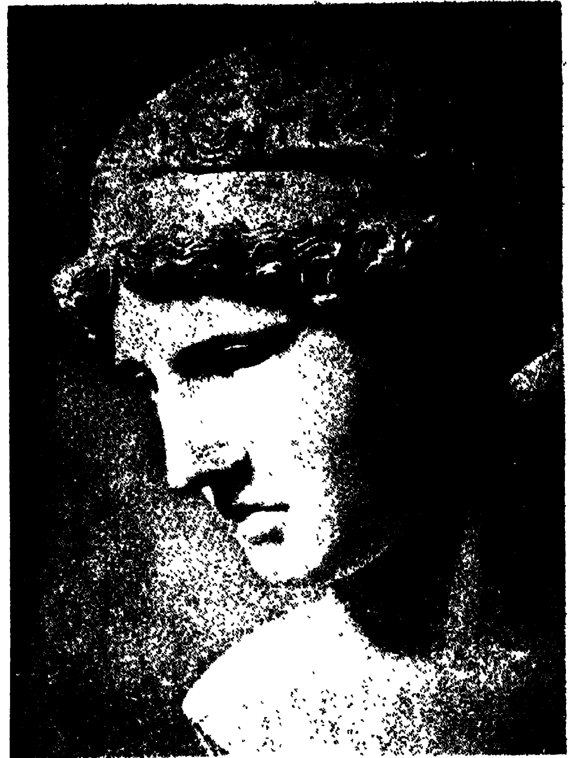
The House of Parliament, Athens



A modern Primary School in Athens amid ancient ruins

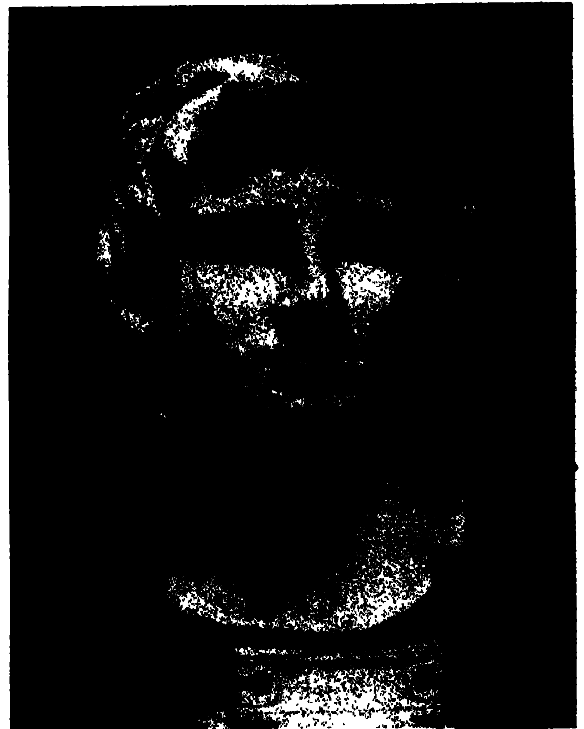


Head of Apollo
Athens

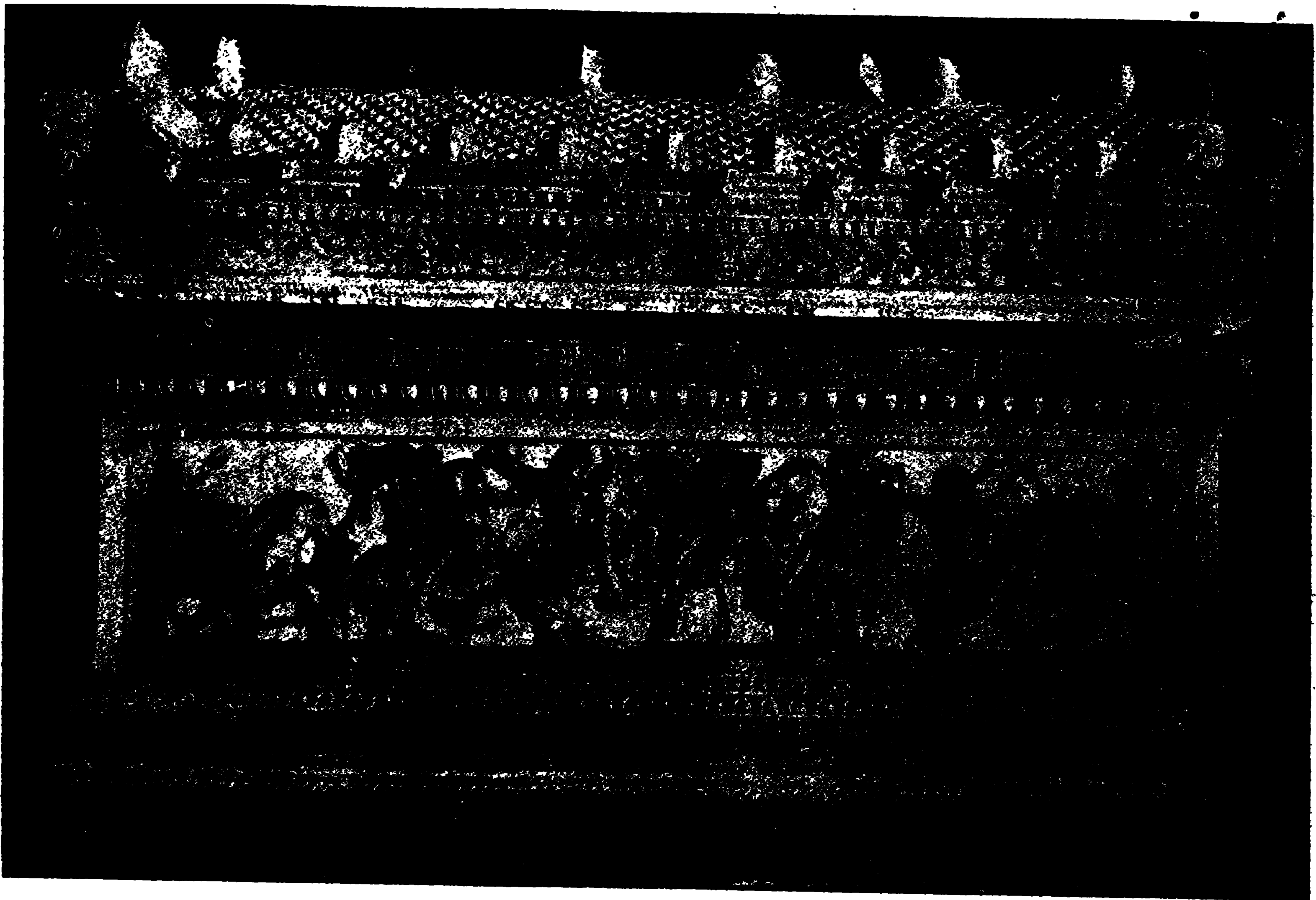


Head of Athena
Bologna

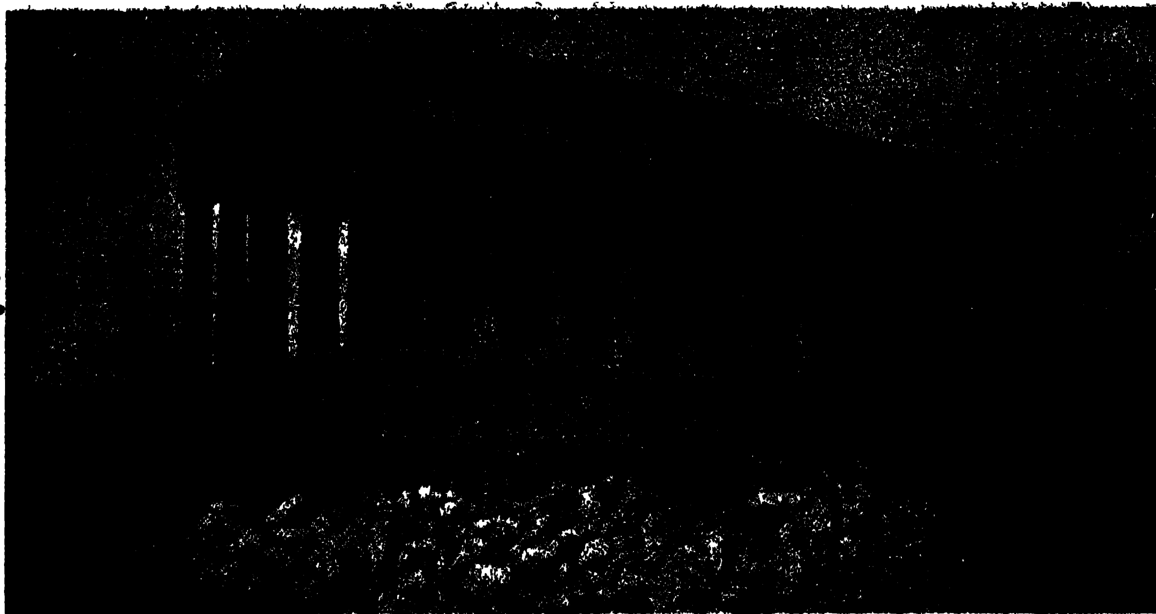




Busts of Pericles and Alexander the Great
British Museum



The "Alexander Sarcophagus"
Constantinople Museum



The Theseion, Athens
Its real name is uncertain, as also the date of its erection, though it is known that the building called the Theseion by ancient writers was erected to receive the bones of Theseus by Kimon about 469 B.C.

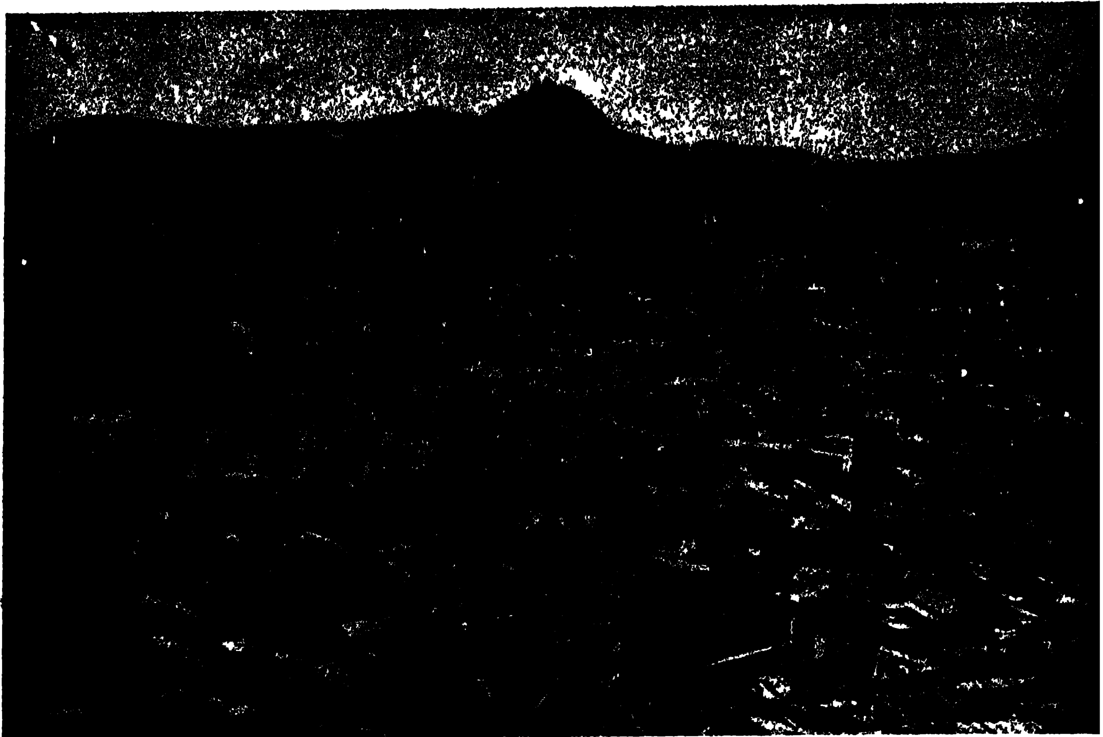
HELLENIC SILHOUETTES

By MONINDRA MOHAN MOULIK, D.SC., POL. (Rome)

WESTERN civilization has its roots deeply embedded in the culture of ancient Hellas. No other people have influenced modern European civilization more profoundly than that magnificent race of warriors and thinkers, artists and philosophers, merchants and scientists who inhabited the ancient Hellenic world and dominated its culture for nearly one thousand years preceding the birth of Christ. That the vengeance of modern science should fall also upon its most primitive ancestor is indeed a matter of pity, and that the invader of today should be Italy contrasts sadly with the spirit of Carducci's poem eulogizing the Italian volunteers who fought for Greek independence more than a hundred years ago. Nevertheless, looking back to the remoter past one may find parallels for a struggle between Greece and Rome at some of the most critical moments of European history. Greece became, after she had reached the apex of her political supremacy and cultural ascendancy, a province of the Roman Empire.

The far-reaching consequences of this event on the history of subsequent times will be presently discussed. The modern West has derived from the ancient world that thought and spoke in Greek its science and philosophy, its drama and lyrical poetry, its standards of sculpture and architecture, its medicine and mathematics, its theory of humane education and the form of its Christian theology.

It is the view of modern Hellenistic scholars that about 1000 B.C., the migrations of the Achaeans and Dorians to the coastlands of Asia Minor, to the islands of the Aegean and to the mainland of Greece, correspond roughly to the dawn of Hellenic history. These people, generally supposed to be of Aryan stock, descended upon the Mediterranean coasts after passing through a long series of tribal infiltrations, and found in their new homes flourishing culture already in existence. The invaders took freely from the early Minoan and Mycenaean settlers, but imposed everywhere their own rich and flexible language, their political ideas and the worship of Zeus. Recorded history has no evidence of this great age of conflict, migration and discovery, and we owe our knowledge of these misty and distant times more to legend and conjecture than to certain proof. It is only



A panoramic view of Athens

in Homer, whose epic poems are the earliest serviving specimens of European speech, that we find recorded the characteristics of the Aegean civilization of the bronze age and of a heroic world from which a triumphant civilization was to spring. The fundamental characteristics of the Greek genius such as the joy of life, a sense of the dignity of man, the eager desire for personal pre-eminence, curiosity and love of adventure are to be found in Homer.

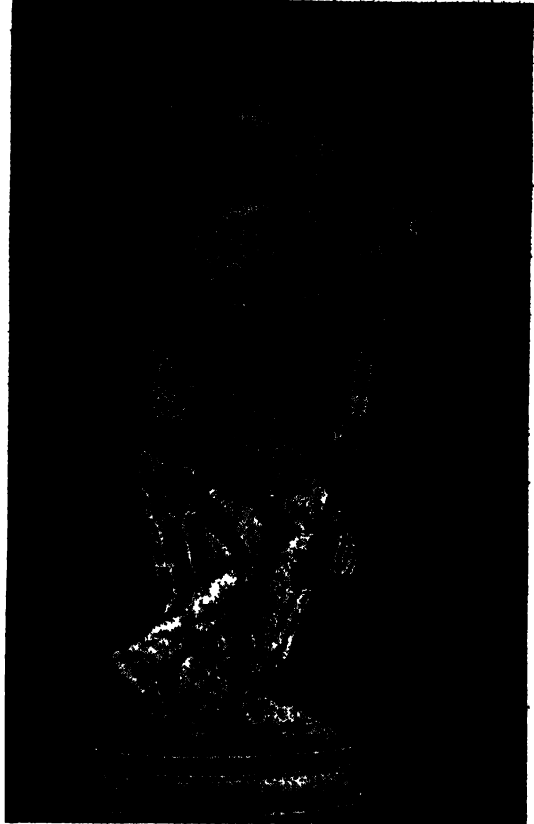
Geographical situation and climatic conditions were largely responsible for the peculiar type of civilization that the ancient Greeks built up. Their sea-faring nature was due to the comparative barrenness of the soil, their open-air life was conditioned by the short intervals of fine weather between the extremes of heat and cold, the character of their political institutions was determined by the isolation imposed upon the cities by the tumbled mass of unfriendly mountains alternated with expanses of sea-water. Even their art and architecture were influenced by the dry and rocky soil, the hard line and colour of the mountains, the azure sky, the clear and bright sunshine. The Greek temples, amid barer hills of less elevation, simple in form and bounded by clear lines looks as much as in place as the gables and chalets in Switzerland which match the pine-clad slopes and lofty summits of the mountains. Beneath the seductions of a lovely landscape was concealed a harsh discipline for man. The barren soil never allowed the Greek settler to dismiss the possibility of want and famine. Plunder and piracy were frequently the natural adjuncts to his normal agrarian pursuits, particularly when the crops failed. The necessity of getting rid of a part of the population which appeared to be redundant was thus responsible, to a certain extent, for the Greek colonial movement. The greatness of the Athenian navy and the Greek mercantile marine of those days was due primarily to the requirements of trade and colonial expansion. The open-air life which promoted political liberty and civic pride among the citizens gave to Greek society all the aspects of modern life. Yet during the long period of their cultural supremacy, the Greeks attained such excellence in political wisdom, speculative thought, fine arts and scientific investigations as was beyond the influence of environments, and was mature enough for universal consumption. The political idealism of the Greeks has never been surpassed. It was the Greeks who first separated religion from secular politics. The great wars of ancient Greece were fought not

upon religious but upon secular issues. The roots of European political philosophy are to be found in the treatise on Politics in which Aristotle recorded the experiences of his study of a hundred and fifty-eight Greek constitutions. The origin of the decision by majority vote that revolutionized the political practice of civilized countries in later times was a discovery of the Athenian democracy.

"The Greeks loved beauty and pursued reason. They lived closed to nature. Their taste in art was austere and simple. They thought greatly about great things. The profound question of the ultimate constitution of matter, which vexes the minds of modern physicists, was raised as early as the sixth century B.C. by Thales of Miletus (c. 585), who regarded the four elements as states of one substance. Our theory of numbers is traced to Pythagoras, our moral science to Socrates, our biology to Aristotle. The spirit of free enquiry, which we sometimes describe as rationalism because it leads men to search by the light of reason for natural causes rather than to acquiesce in popular superstitions, was distinctively Greek. The curiosity of the Greeks was lively and universal. No problem suggested by the contemplation of the mysterious universe was too remote, too sacred, or too abstruse, to abash their refreshing audacity. Centuries before Copernicus discovered the heliocentric theory a Greek thinker had inferred that the earth was a globular body revolving round the sun, and had reached conclusions, differing little from the reality, as to its exact girth." (H A L Fisher : *A History of Europe*, London, 1936, p. 49)

The style of Greek architecture was simple but austere. The temple combined all that was grand and noble in the Greek technique—their predilection for symmetry, rythm and balance. In sculpture it was the custom to study and copy the forms of the finest of the young athletes in every pose and every variety of strain. Anatomical perfection of the body beautiful was the ideal of Greek sculptors, an ideal which was often pursued with a mixture of ideality and fidelity to nature such as has seldom been reached by the sculpture of any other people. Public taste was cultivated to the levels of extreme delicacy. Some of the finest specimens of Greek sculpture of this period may still be found in some of the famous museums of the world particularly in the National Museum of Athens, the Museo delle Terme, the Vatican and Capitoline Museums of Rome, the Louvre of Paris, the National Museum of Naples, the Uffizi Gallery of Florence, the British Museum, the State Museums of Berlin and Munich, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek of Copenhagen, Hermitage Museum of Leningrad, the Metropolitan Museum of New York, at Constantinople and Alexandria. The famous Venus of Melo is in the Louvre and the Venus of Cyrene is in the Museo delle Terme, Rome.

Side by side with these virtues there existed in ancient Greece certain vices as well. The Greeks were superstitious. Their religion and polytheistic Olympus were primitive. They exposed their new-born children. Some of them tortured slaves. But by far the greatest vice of ancient Greek society was the lack of any



The Diskobolos of Myron

power of combination. In spite of their great wealth of political ideas they perfected themselves in the art of conspiracies and atrocities, as has been recorded by Thucydides. In spite of their deep love of freedom, they sometimes persecuted honest thinkers, such as Socrates, who found it necessary to assail or criticize their cherished conventions. This factious spirit of the Greeks, engendered perhaps by the isolation of the Greek cities, has been responsible for many a tragedy in the history of this people. The national life of modern Greece has also been impaired, to a considerable extent, by the continuous recurrence of this spirit among irreconcilable political parties and factious groups. The ancient quarrel between Athens and Sparta symbolizes the perpetual discord in Greek political life from the earliest times to our own day. Who knows if this factious spirit was not



"Effort": An example of Modern Greek Sculpture

responsible, at least in part, for the decline of Hellenic civilization ?

It is hardly possible to give in this article even the briefest account of the various manifestations of Hellenic culture from Homer to Alexander the Great. These manifestations are recorded in the volumes left by the greatest authorities on Hellenic civilization, some of them historians, others orators, demagogues and rhetoricians. Herodotus, Thucydides, Diodorus, Plutarch, Xenophon, Isocrates and Demosthenes are some of the immortal names connected with the history of classical learning.

The conquests of Alexander the Great opened up a new chapter for the expansion of Hellenism in the East, and are as much significant historically as the later Roman conquest of Greece which gave Hellenism to the West. The legions of the Persian Empire had through centuries tried in vain to crush the structure of Greek civilization, and the Persian wars which began with Xerxes and Darius continued till Persia was finally conquered by Alexander the Great. The military triumph of Alexander was followed by the arts, the Greek way of life, language and thought. The use of Hellenistic Greek spread through the wide domains of Alexander's successors. It became the official language of Egypt, Asia Minor, Syria and other countries, and held that position under the Roman Empire. Pontius Pilate spoke to the Jews not in Latin but in Greek. Roman civilians like Cicero had to learn Greek and use it for the administration of Eastern provinces. Yet in the long run Greek lost more ground than Latin, giving way to Aramaic in Asia Minor, and to other languages farther east. New centres of civilization were developed at Alexandria in Egypt, Pergamum in Mysia, and Antioch in Syria, which rivalled Athens with their libraries and learning. Yet eventually Arabic and then Turkish drove Greek back to its ancient boundaries and even encroached on those. In spite of the dominant position of the Greek in the Eastern empire, a linguistic and national uniformity such as formed the foundation of the old Roman *Imperium* never existed there. The Greeks did not possess that enormous political energy and force which enabled the Romans to assimilate foreign races. The permanent influence of Greek culture was nowhere very great. Copts and Syrians retained their language and their national characteristics when Greek culture had disappeared from the Eastern Mediterranean. The Greeks did not as well leave a lasting print of their culture on the people of the conquered Indian provinces.

"To what extent Greek was spoken, or to what extent the Greeks learnt Prakrit, we can only guess. The coins were bilingual. Heliodorus, an ambassador

from the Greek King of Taxila to the King of Vidisa, was a follower of Vishnu, as his inscription in Prakrit testifies. So it appears that these Greeks, isolated from the main stream of Hellenism, were on the way to become Hinduized and not in a position to impress their language on any but their closest associates." (A. C. Woolner: *Languages in History and Politics*, London, 1938, p. 100).

In literature as well Hellenism did not produce anything that could match the old masterpieces. The epics of Homer, the tragedies of Aeschylus, Euripides and Sophocles, the dramas of Aristophanes and Menander, or the historical prose of Herodotus, Thucydides and Xenophon, and the philosophical prose of Plato and Aristotle were not to be written again after the period which ends with Alexander. Hellenism means the adoption of Hellenic ways not necessarily by the Hellenic race. The literature of Hellenism has, therefore, the Hellenic form without the Hellenic soul. A Greek writer is always more than an individual. Thus Sophocles may be said to include Periclean Athens, Virgil, Augustan Rome, Shakespeare, Elizabethan England, but Hellenistic writers, subjects of empires not by any means their own creation, had no longer a community which they could symbolize. (c.f. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 14th Edition. Article on Greek Literature). It is in this that the fundamental difference between Hellenic and Hellenistic literature lies.

Greek culture penetrated Italy even before Greece became a Roman province. During the third and second centuries before Christ, the literature, religion and philosophy of Greece were extending their influence in Rome. From Southern Italy the first Greek writers came to Rome. A Greek of Tarentun, Livius Andronicus, in the period of the first Punic War, translated the Odyssey into Saturnian verse, and gave the first productions of Greek tragedy and comedy in Latin versions. A Campanian, Nevius, during the Second Punic War, not only translated Greek tragedies but wrote others on Roman subjects. He wrote comedies with elements of political satire, and above alll he was the author of the first national epic, the subject being the First Punic War. A more robust and original writer was Ennius, a native of Apulia, who was among the friends of Scipios Africanus. Cato led a reaction against the Hellenic influences that penetrated the circle of the Scipios which included also the famous comedian Terence, a reaction which failed utterly. The original religion of Rome was very different in its outward semblance from the anthropomorphic, individualistic and aesthetic religion of Greece. The Roman divinities were at once abstract and utilitarian, and every action and motive had its special deity: *Educa* and *Potina* taught children to eat and drink, *Forculus* guarded the



The Hermes of Praxiteles

door of the house, *Bubona* protected the cattle, *Epona* the horses, *Silvanus* the shepherds, *Mercurius* the merchants. The *Lares* and the *Penates* were the tutelary genii of the family and the home. There were countless personifications of moral qualities; Peace, Faith, Liberty, Victory, Fortune. Above all there were agrarian deities; Saturn, Liber, Ceres, Venus. The Greek influence brought about a transformation in the Roman religion. Greek divinities were introduced, such as Apollo and Artemis and the great Grecian deities, so that the latter acquired the anthropomorphic and aesthetico-literary character of the former. The cults came to be closely connected with the State; the whole public life was penetrated by religion and marked by an accompaniment of religious gestures; and the state even supervised the religious observance of the family. The purpose of the religious



The stadium in Athens

ceremonies was to ensure that the gods fulfilled all their functions as protectors and promoters of the Roman State, and the official cult had the absolute pre-eminence in the religion of pagan Rome. (c.f. *A Concise History of Italy* by Luigi Salvatorelli, London, 1940, pp. 42-43).

Christian religion itself was profoundly influenced by the Greeks. Paul of Tarsus who brought Christianity to the Gentiles belonged to a society which spoke and thought in Greek. During his long missionary journeys in Asia and Europe he preached at Athens, Salonika, Corinth and Rome, and established little communities of Christian men and women bound together by common ties of worship, self-surrender and affection. The early Christians of Greece and the Mediterranean basin whom Nero singled out for persecution in Rome were recognized to be distinct from Jews. For nearly thirteen centuries the theology of the Christian Church in the West was moulded by the thought of Plato. It has thus been rightly observed :

"The teaching of Christ was a sublime and original contribution to the moral improvement of mankind. But it is doubtful whether the Christian religion would have made the conquest of Europe had it not been of all oriental religions the most Greek and the most nearly akin alike to the best thought of the Greek philosophers and those popular notions of purgatory and purification, of eternal bliss and eternal torment, of a divine mediator between God and man, and of some sacramental ceremony whereby the sinner might be cleansed of his sin and assured of his salvation hereafter, which were already current among the Greeks, and the basis of solemn religious observance over that wide tract of the Mediterranean basin in which Greek civilization prevailed." (H. A. L. Fisher : *A History of Europe*, p. 53).

The Roman Empire which assimilated the Greek ideals of religion, art, sculpture and philosophy disseminated them throughout its dominions. It was also classical ideals and virtues that inspired the artists of Renaissance in the 15th and 16th centuries. Greece left her mark on the civilization of the East as well as of the West, but in two different ways. In the East Hellenism came in the train of the conqueror and Rome was content to build upon the foundations laid by Alexander. In the West Greek influences were diffused by the Roman conquest of Greece. It was through the ascendency which Greek literature and philosophy and art acquired over the Roman mind that Greek culture penetrated to the nations of Western Europe. The civilization of the East remained Greek. The civilization of the West became and remained Latin, but it was a Latin civilization that was saturated with Greek influences.

The ultimate division both of the Empire and the Church into two halves finds its explanation in this original difference of culture.

II

The history of modern Greece starts with the Greek Revolution and Greek War of Independence in the twenties of the last century. At the beginning of the nineteenth century Greece was still under the Turkish yoke. The decadence of the Ottoman Empire, the encouragement from Russia and the influence of the French Revolution awoke in the Greeks a deep sentiment of nationality and an ardent desire for political freedom. Russia coveted Constantinople for herself and had a hand in the Serbian revolution of 1804. The Greek Revolution which broke out in 1821, owed no less to Russia. The Greek cause was helped more by the impolitic reprisals of the Turks than by the heroism of the insurgents. When Patriarch Gregorios of Constantinople was executed (April 22, 1821), a shudder of indignation ran through entire Europe. The Greek cause became that of Christendom. European liberalism, gagged under Metternich's "system" recognized in the Greeks the champions of its own cause. Like every national movement of the nineteenth century, the Greek movement for freedom was preceded by a literary revival. The *Philomousoi* society of Athens, the philological endeavours of Adamantios Korais, for long a resident in Paris, which led to the creation of modern Greek—a tongue intermediate between the august origin and the argot of the common speech, helped to spread the revolutionary propaganda of Greek nationalism The establishment of *Philike Hetairea* (1815), or friendly society, a secret insurrectionary organization with centres at Moscow, Bucharest, Trieste and in all cities of the Levant, prepared the ground for the coming revolution by collecting subscriptions, issuing manifestos and distributing arms. Rhigas of Valentino composed the fiery national songs which were on the lips of Greek legionaries as they marched to the battlefields.

The Greeks who made the war of independence were not connected either in blood or in culture to the countrymen of Plato and Aristotle any more than modern Italians are descended from Augustus and Julius Caesar. During the long period of foreign domination the Greeks had mingled freely with Slavs and Albanians, not to speak of Turks. They spoke Romaic which, though using the Greek script, had a vocabulary which drew freely from the Turk, Latin and Slav tongues. It was extremely fortunate that England was persuaded to support the Greek cause against Turkey in spite of the fact that the latter was an official ally and a counter-weight against Russian designs in the East. But for the British intervention not only the trend of Greek revolution but also subsequent Greek history might well have been completely different. When



A young peasant woman of the Aegean Islands in her native attire

Byron, the greatest of Philhellenes, died at Missolonghi, a martyr to Hellenic liberty, the romantic enthusiasm of the English for the Greeks spread out far and wide into the streets and taverns. The financial resources and naval might of England were placed at the service of the Greek cause. Two English names, Lord Cochrane and General Church, are associated with the naval battle of Navarino (Oct. 20, 1827) where the Egyptian and Turkish fleets were

utterly destroyed by the fleets of the Triple Alliance (France, Russia and England), and which did not include even Thessaly and Crete, cause. Money flowed to Greece from all European countries, and volunteers came to the aid of Greek rebels from all over Europe, including Italy. By the Convention of London (May



A young peasant woman of Macedonia in her native attire

7, 1832), Greece was declared an independent kingdom under the protection of Great Britain, France and Russia, with Prince Otto, son of King Louis I of Bavaria as King. Since that time till today British alliance has been the keynote of Greek foreign policy.

The establishment of the independent Greek kingdom did not materially alter the European balance of power, but was significant from the point of view of European nationalism. Besides, Greek independence signalized the birth of Balkan nationalism, which was not established in the peninsula till the conclusion of the last Great War. The newly established kingdom, which did not include even Thessaly and Crete, was an extremely small area. The greater part of the lands where Greeks predominated in the population and where the Greek mode of life was the best adapted to natural conditions remained outside. This made the economic basis of the new State extremely weak and gave rise to the Greek irredentist movement. It was natural under these circumstances that the despotic rule of King Otto should have been shortlived. The next King, George I, selected by the British Government, was accepted by the National Assembly. The youthful parliamentarism of the Greeks did nothing to suppress the factious spirit and constitutional quibbles of the political parties. Already during the wars of independence at least three major civil strifes broke out. A new constitution was evolved in 1864 which remained in force till 1911. Greek parliamentary life was for a long time dominated by Charilos Trikonpes, the greatest statesman whom modern Greece has yet produced, against whom Theodore Delyannes organized the opposition rallying a number of parties. The revolution in Crete, the irredentist activities of the revolutionary society known as *Ethnike Hetairea*, the Graeco-Turkish war, the institution of an international financial commission at Athens are the principal landmarks in the confused political career of this land till the outbreak of the Balkan wars. Venizelos, the Cretan politician, was called by the "Military League" in 1910 as its adviser. Venizelos who was hardened by the civil wars of his own island became Prime Minister and convened the National Assembly which revised the constitution and remodelled the army and the navy on British and French patterns. Venizelos realized the importance of including Greece in the new grouping of powers in the Balkan wars, and Greece declared war on Turkey in 1912. Greece emerged out of the Balkan wars with a very large acquisition of territory in Epirus, Macedonia, Crete and the Aegean Islands, with a total population of over 1,800,000, or almost as much as that of "old Greece." King Constantine dismissed Venizelos from premiership several times on account of his distinctly pro-Ally sympathies. Venizelos went to Macedonia and brought about the state militant in Salonika. It was very much through the endeavours of Venizelos that Greece joined the Great War on the side of the Allies and declared war on Turkey and Bulgaria on June 17, 1917.

It was through his services that Greece was entitled to a high reward at the Peace Conference in Paris. Thessaly, Macedonia, Eastern Thrace

returned to Greece. The redemption of the Greek-speaking population in Asia Minor, however, presented serious difficulties. The refugees numbered over 1,400,000. The admirable speed with which the Refugee Settlement Commission of the League of Nations settled more than half a million refugees in the new villages and urban districts in the course of eighteen months, commanded universal admiration. A loan of ten million pounds was raised for Greece the administration of which was guaranteed by the League of Nations. The homogeneity of Greek frontiers was established and non-Greek population in Greek Thrace and Macedonia was reduced to a very small figure. The most outstanding event in post-war Greek politics is the establishment of the Hellenic Republic in March, 1924, after a plebiscite. The insurrection at Chios by the disbanded army under Plasteras in 1922 led to the exile of King Constantine who died at Palermo the following year. His eldest son, George, became king.

Greece had an open dispute with Italy when on August 27, 1923, an Italian member of the Graeco-Albanian frontier commission was murdered, which led to the bombardment of the city of Corfu by Italy. The dispute was settled by the League of Nations but Greece paid a heavy indemnity. Venizelos, however, who returned in 1927, signed a Pact of Amity with Italy the same year, but Italians and Greeks continued to hate one another.

Although the area of modern Greece is almost equal to that of Great Britain, its population is only 6·4 millions. The main Greek populations abroad are in Istanbul, Cyprus, Egypt, Dodecanese and the United States. Three-fourths of the population are engaged in agriculture and allied occupations. Greece does not produce enough cereals to meet the requirements of her population. Two valuable productions are tobacco and currant. Figs and oranges are plentiful. Cotton and rice are cultivated on a small scale. Industrial development in Greece has been hindered by lack of capital and insufficient coal but has recently received an impetus on account of the high protective duties and influx of refugee labour. Main industries are olive oil, wines, spirits and confectionery. Minor industries are represented by cotton, wool, silk, jute and other textiles such as carpet. Labour is protected by special legislation.

The culture of independent Greece has been steadily tending to be westernized and ceasing to be Byzantine. In literature as well as in art and sculpture, the modern Greek genius has accomplished a virtual renaissance. In literary revival the Phanariote families of Constantinople have played a very significant part. The names of Adamantios Korais (1783-1833), the father of modern Greek, and Constantine Rhigas (1754-98), the patriotic poet, have already been mentioned. The most outstanding figure in



General Metaxas, head of the Greek Republic and Madame Metaxas

modern Greek literature is, of course, Kostis Palamas whose *The King's Flute*, *The Immutable Life* and *Longings of the Lagoon* have a place in contemporary European literature. French intellectualism and western symbolism are marked in the literature of Palamas. The Frankish influence is in general writ large upon the literary production of modern Greece. John Gryparis, Laurence Mavilis, Peter Vlastos have all been more or less influenced by French ideals. Paulos Nirvanas introduced Ibsenism into Greek literature. Sphyros Melas and Pandelis Horn are well-known social writers, Psuchares and Lambros have distinguished themselves in history, Politis in folk-lore, Andreades in political and social economy, and Xenopoulos and Cambanis in literary criticism. In spite of the westernisation, modern Greek literature breathes the refreshing aroma of Greek folk-songs of Crete, of the Aegean Islands and of the Klephts. The imageries of *The Fair Shepherdess*, the Cretan folk-song *par excellence*, are never nearly absent from the Greek popular poetry which lends a voice to the trees, the rivers, the rocks, the mountains, which sings the prowess of the Klepht (who in their mountain fortresses maintained a struggle against their Turkish oppressors), bewails his death and comforts his disconsolate wife or mother.

POET'S PICTURES

A Review *

By O. C. GANGOLY

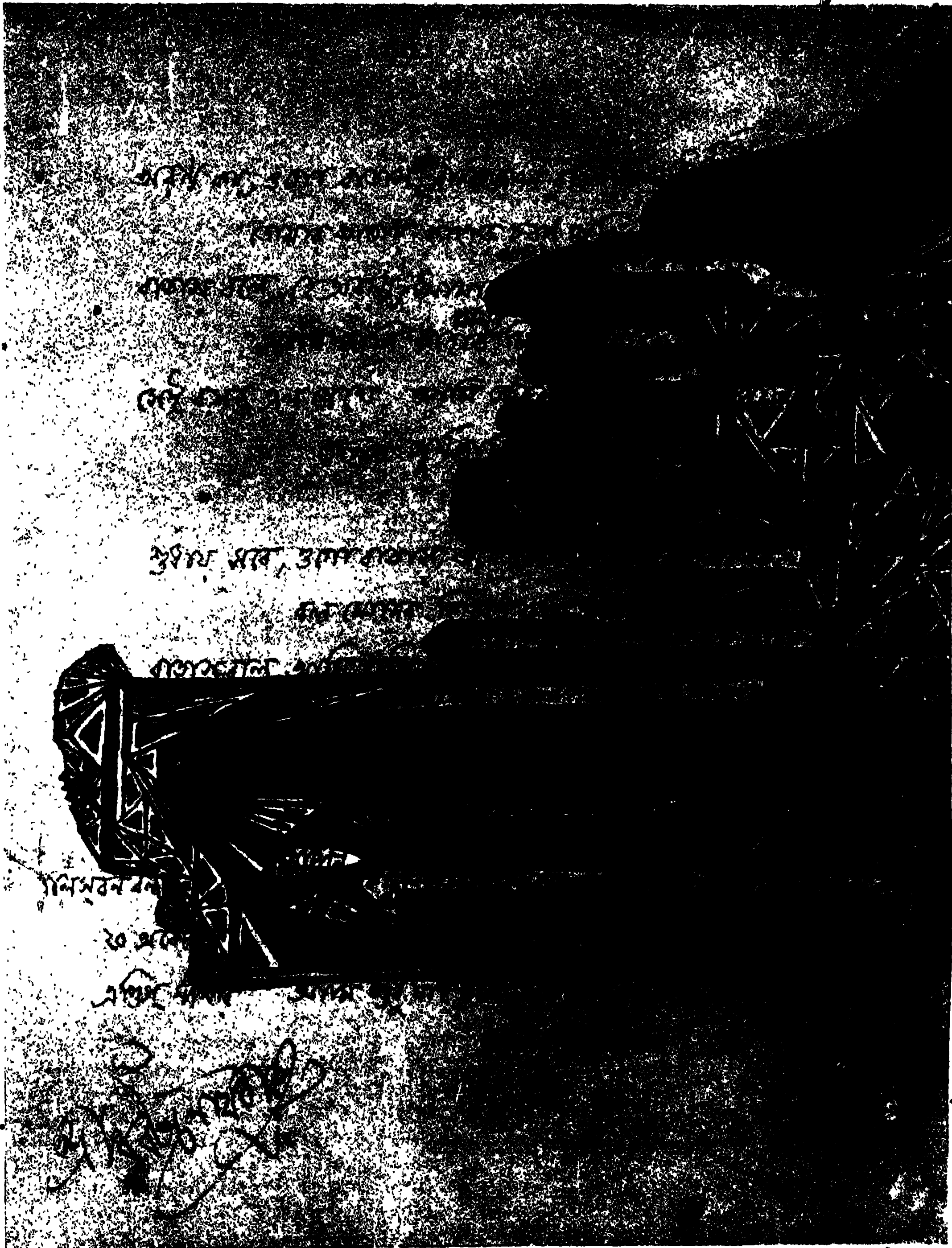
His excursion into the spheres of Pictorial Art so late in life has been one of the enigmas of the many-faced genius of Rabindra Nath Tagore. The products of his brush have been still more matters of wonder. Particularly his peculiar manner of pictorial expression has been a marvel of paradoxes. They created a sensation, when first exhibited in Europe in May 1930, and extracted from expert critics murmurs of admiration and applause. The paradox consists in the fact that the artist's poetry and the poet's pictures have no connecting link, direct or indirect. It is a problem in Psycho-analysis. One cannot even suggest that his pictorial creations are on the border line of the two Arts—having two different mediums of expression. His poetry with their lofty thoughts, with their perpetual budgets of highly philosophical ideas, original and creative, with their graceful and rhythmic patterns of perfect expression put into infinite varieties of metre and cadences has excited the wondering admiration of the world. His other literary compositions also reveal a highly cultured and sophisticated mind, bubbling with a variety of experiences in life and sparkling with transcedental wisdom. But his pictorial experiments reveal a new personality which contradicts his poetical genius, his highly developed intellectual talents. The poet's wonderful drawings are the expression of a naive primitive mind—of an untrained childlike vision —which does not derive any of its quality from his highly developed poetical imagination. Somehow the 'boy' in the poet with his childish delight in rhythmic expression—has survived in some subconscious region of his mind. When his poetical mind takes a holiday—the pictorial imp plays pranks with paper and ink—and creates marvels of rhythmic forms—and calls up a new world of dreams,—different from his poetic creations. These drawings have a childlike simplicity and a spontaniety of vision and imagination. But they are really the products of a mood of unsophisticated indulgences,—in spells of "insane" hours, when the conscious intellectual powers go to sleep and when the latent sub-conscious impulses of artistic creations mobilize their army



The Artist at work
Photograph By S. Saha

of fairies and imps, who, in course of their boyish pranks playfully weave out original aesthetic cobwebs of fantastic dreams. The author of these drawings has no pretensions to any claim for trained draughtsmanship—they are the automatic and impulsive creation of forms in a mood of naive playfulness—characteristic of the Primitive Man. As he has himself put it : "I have searched out the cave of the primitive in my mind with its etchings of animals." They

* Chitralipi by Rabindranath Tagore, 18 Plates with an Introduction and Comments by the Author. Visva-Bharati Bookshop, 210, Cornwallis Street. Plates printed at the Prabasi Press, and the Bengal Autotype, Calcutta. Price Rs. 4-8. Autographed Limited Edition Rs. 10.



A page of manuscript in which the erasures are linked together into a harmonious design : The starting point of the Poet's first drawings

have no ulterior significance or message except as a revelation of the play-instinct of his mind. "They are not pictures about things but pictures about himself." Their quality lies in their



A Drawing by Rabindranath Tagore

rhythmic and original creation of forms—without any definite aim to represent anything. As he has explained :

> "My pictures are versifications in lines. If by any chance they are entitled to claim recognition it must be primarily for some rhythmic significance of form which is ultimate, and not for any interpretation of an idea or representation of a fact."

The pictures require no comment or interpretation, as they explain themselves, and, lest the suggestive 'words' that the poet has added as accompaniments to this Collection of 18 drawings, are mistaken for verbal interpretations, the poet is careful to apologize for the words he has printed as parallels to the pictures :

> "Lady of Lines, these words are not an alien invasion come to set a limit to your realm. They are but noisy birds that for a moment flit across your garden while your meaning lies far beyond their chirpings."

Yet the poetic comments on the plates which are a special feature of this album, even if they are irrelevant or unnecessary for the understanding of the pictures, are of exquisite literary charm, and are endowed with an elusive grace and blessed with profound thoughtfulness and philosophy. Incidentally, his verbal accompaniments to his pictures suggest a theory of the Morphology of Forms, offer very shrewd suggestions on the Fundamental Principles of Form, which we hope he will be able to put together in a consistent thesis. But we are not concerned, here, with his poetical or philosophical thoughts or his theories of Form,—but with the creations of his pictorial imagination. We have some examples of Poet-artists or Artist-poets in the East as well as in the West, who expressed themselves in words as well as in line and colour. William Morris made pictures as well as verses. So did Molaram, the Indian Artist of the Kangra School. But the closest parallel is the case of William Blake and some of the Chinese poets. Like Blake, Tagore is also a mystic poet—and like him, has created forms which are reproductions or repetitions of natural forms. The analogy holds good also in the distance and disparity between his poetical and pictorial creations.

We have a criticism to offer to the selections

made in this album. Excepting two examples (9 and 14), the others do not typically exemplify the poet's original creations of forms. Most of the other examples cited in this album have more or less recognizable or representative elements, whereas the most characteristic of his drawings are fruitful experiments in the creations of novel and original patterns of forms. The most incoherent and meaningless shapes when put into rhythmic patterns achieve a validity of form of significant aesthetic flavour which delights the eyes as well as the mind. And the poet's typical drawings—his versifications in line—however weird or fantastic,—never fail to attain this quality of Beauty, the rhythmic life pulsating with a novelty of design made out of strange or 'fantastic' shapes. His linear creations (colour is a minor aid to his compositions) justify his suggestive confession : "I have dived into the Sea of Forms in order to fish out the jewel of the Formless" (*āmi rūp sāgoré dub diyechi arup ratan pāvo bolé*). His hunt after the 'jewel of the formless' is not the will-o'-the-wisp of abortive shapelessness—but an achievement of definitive creations of great aesthetic values and significance and of profound suggestiveness of the mystery of creation. Whether this has been achieved consciously or sub-consciously—is a matter for the investigation of psycho-analysis. To us they appear to be sub-conscious products created in moments of subjective trance, when his adult personality takes rest, to make room for his child personality to romp and play. Three experiments in landscapes (Plates 3, 5 and 16) would have done credit to Van Gogh or even to Turner, but, from the poet's philosophy of Forms, they descend to a lower level than the heights attained by his so-called 'fantastic' creations. It will be advisable to put together a second Collection of his typical Drawings of the 'weird' and 'fantastic' type, which appear to have been left out in this Collection, perhaps in deference to the tender feelings of his Indian admirers. The volume contains a sheaf of wonderful drawings of no particular meaning, but each is suggestive of some profound signifinance. Two of them (Plates 6 and 13) stand out from the rest and have particularly appealed to us by their daring compositions suggestive of patterns in black and red. The 'Bird of the Fairy Land' and the 'Gazing Couples' are really masterpieces which tempt us into regions of dream very far from our mundane existences. The Volume is very neatly got up and will offer a new angle from which to study a new and surprising phase of the Poet's manifold genius. It is indeed a new and valuable contribution to Pictorial Art.

THE BATTLE OF BRITAIN

By Major D. Graham Pole

We are at the height of the attack on Britain and it is now possible to say that. Hitler has had a major defeat. His attacks on our air fields on the south coast did little damage that could not be repaired very quickly and his daylight attacks on London have certainly been major defeats. Of course it is quite impossible to prevent stray bombers getting through the barrage—especially at night—and with a target of the size of London and so closely packed, it is impossible not to hit something when a bomb is dropped. The military damage done has been very small indeed, but the wreckage of working class dwellings has been comparatively great. Even the West End of London, that cannot by any stretch of imagination be said to contain any military objective, has been considerably damaged in places, although what military advantage Hitler can have gained by bombing West End houses, furniture, jewelry and clothing stores, in addition to smaller shops and workers' houses it is difficult to imagine. Several museums have also been considerably damaged and twenty or thirty churches—some of them seventeenth century gems of architecture. The civil casualties have of course been very much larger than those in the fighting forces and it is literally true that the fighting line runs through the homes of the workers. Even Buckingham Palace, with its mythical oil stores, has been bombed on three separate occasions and the House of Lords itself did not escape when an incendiary bomb was dropped on it, although the damage done is comparatively small. As it is only a stone's throw from my office, one feels that the bombs are coming uncomfortably near ?

The German Press writes glibly about reducing London to a mass of ruins, but this is a much more difficult job than it might appear because London stretches over about four hundred square miles in every direction and even a big fire at one part leaves the rest quite unaffected.

The London County Council are to be congratulated on the magnificent fire fighting services that they have got together. Even the worst fires started by incendiary bombs are brought under control and put out, usually in an hour or two. Fires in the dock area are of course serious wherever they are, but the docks also are so extensive that in relation to their size the amount of damage done by a bomb is comparatively slight. It is necessary to look at a large map to get any real idea of the small amount of damage done in relation to the whole. Of course to those who suffer, those who have their shops, warehouses or homes wrecked, the damage appears almost irreparable. But taken in comparison with the tremendous extent of London that is undamaged, the loss is really slight. Professor J. N. Keynes, in a broadcast talk the other night, pointed out that if the Nazis did a million pounds worth of damage to London every night for a year, it would only amount to about four per cent of the whole and it could all be restored within a couple of years.

It is a strange kind of war however that in the first fortnight of September causes a loss of ten thousand casualties amongst civilians as compared with only two hundred and fifty in the fighting forces. It looks as if it were much safer to be in the fighting forces than to be a civilian when engaged in a war against Hitler. Even at my home in the country we hear German 'planes droning over every night—probably on their way to London—and occasionally a few bombs are dropped by 'planes trying to lighten their load in order to escape from the search lights that have caught them. Some of these bombs have fallen uncomfortably near—quite near enough to shake our house although they had fallen harmlessly in open ground far from any military objective of any kind.

There has been much outcry for reprisals and very wisely the authorities have not given way to this. It does far more damage to the enemy to destroy, as the Royal Air Force is doing, the air-fields, aerodromes, munitions, factories, oil stores and plant—and so make it more difficult for Germany to wage war—than merely to descend to the German level and wage indiscriminate war against civilians and their homes. Indeed, American critics have said that the consequences of Germany of the R. A. F. bombing is at present the greatest unknown factor in the situation. And the Secretary of State for Air, Sir Archibald Sinclair, has himself stated that the fall in industrial production, *in the Rhineland alone*, amounts to as much as thirty per cent.

Reprisals are not far removed from hatred and hatred seems to lead to nothing but chaos. Just look at the misery and confusion Nazi counsels have made of Europe. They betray and distort whatever they touch and especially their so-called friends. Spain should be Catholic and so should Italy. What can they have in common with a State that worships itself? What a relief, I suspect, it will be to Italy and Spain when we have defeated Germany and they need no longer go against their natures! Italy, and now Spain, are the victims of Germany's need to have "friends" so that Germany's so-called new order in Europe may look more like an *order* and not just Germany....What a contrast is Turkey. She has stuck to her principles and she is a living witness to the truth that a country that does so is the most likely to ride out the storm. It can't have been easy for Turkey during the past year. She has had earthquakes to contend with apart from the upsets in the political sphere. But all the Balkan countries now must realise that she saw the farthest when she tried to forge them into a Balkan alliance—and that in sticking to Britain and the democratic cause she stuck to the Powers that would have welcomed Balkan independence. Turkey has stood up to Axis threats, and remained friends with Russia without kow-towing to her. In fact, she may yet have an influence on Russian policy.

This week-end the papers have been full of Ribbentrop's visit to Rome and Suner's visit to Berlin. Germany is evidently trying to persuade them that the time has come for Italy and Spain to take up a bigger share of the burden of making war. (Though Spain, it is said, is pushing her price up, on the plea that she was the first to strike a blow for the "new order" in Europe!) Spain, impoverished Spain, is to try to recover Gibraltar and stop the rot towards General de Gaulle in North Africa. (But General de Gaulle has sprung a surprise on them by going to Dakar.) And Italy, who according to one correspondent spent more than £40 million on the Abyssinian campaign and entered on this war with less than £25 million in hand, is to conquer Egypt and reach Suez on the one hand and on the other help herself to parts of Greece and parts of Jugo-Slavia. It all seems so windy and grandiose. But the Italian General, Graziani, is a proved soldier and seems to have got over quite a number of natural handicaps already. So I imagine real war is going to develop there. I can't see, though, that there can be any health in it for the Axis. They have to bring all their supplies over—and we hold all the key naval base and we have redoubled our forces in the Mediterranean. (I wish we

could redouble our land forces. But large reserves of man power we have not got, or have not sufficiently tapped.) But above all, of course, the whole future of that part of the world is against them. The countries around Suez, the oil countries, all knew that the war must move their way, that the Axis would be after their oil (as well as after cutting England off from the Empire). They also knew—thanks again largely to the independence and influence of Turkey—that there is nothing to be gained by adopting Fascist "protection." Graziani, incidentally, is a bird of ill favour in these parts. The Arabs have not forgotten that he threw their leaders from great heights out of aeroplanes.

As the war proceeds, Germany is getting progressively weaker. She has only a blockaded and exhausted continent to draw on while we have the resources of all the rest of the world at our gates. Aeroplanes, munitions, guns, are arriving in a steady stream across the Atlantic to swell the production of our own factories. It must never be forgotten, moreover, that Germany has been planning war and living under a war strain for at least the last five years. Whereas England is only now getting into her stride. Home production is as yet nowhere near its peak.

It is too early yet to say that Hitler will not try invasion of this country. But without command of the sea and without command of the air, it would be a desperate and suicidal venture. Our Navy is still intact while our Air Force, although probably not yet as large as Hitler's, is man for man and machine for machine a much better weapon both of offence and defence. It has often been said that Britain is now an armed fortress and this is literally true. One can only regret that the madness of Hitler should have necessitated the waste of so much money. It could have been so much more usefully expended on social services instead of on this entirely unproductive purpose.

It is again a major defeat for Hitler that the time scheduled for the invasion of Britain has come and gone and he is no nearer to the achievement of his object. We have had two "preludes to the great amiss"—two massed air attacks—but they ended in disaster only to the attackers. It may be that the invasion will never be attempted now. Anyway the Nazis seem to hesitate and procrastinate and dally on the brink until I am sure the heart must have gone out of the venture, especially for all those poor devils in barges who have to put up with our nightly bombings. They seem to be waiting for the opportune moment which never comes. The Nazi Press too reflects the same indecisions. At times they say the invasion will take place on October 15th—or in the Spring—or that it is no longer necessary since they can reduce England with their air war on London and their (so-called) blockade.

The time is drawing near when we shall no longer stay merely on the defensive but when an attack will be launched against Hitler. Preparations for this are steadily going ahead. The overrunning of Europe, from the Arctic Circle right down to the coast of Spain, makes an extended line which must be very vulnerable in places. There is also this factor to be taken into account. Hitler in his invasion of Norway, Holland, Belgium, and even France, relied to a great extent on a Fifth Column inside these countries. (Poland, incidentally, to her eternal honour, was unique in having no Fifth Column). But he cannot rely again on help from the people of these countries. Owing to his treatment of them they will form for us a much stronger Fifth Column than any that ever helped him.

The Germans indeed, who affect the title of herrenfolk or master people, are because of their own nature incapable of reaping the benefit of the conquests they make. Their "mastery" of Europe will be one of the great fiascos of history. They have no plan because they have no *wish* to consolidate as they go. Their idea of the victorious role is to burst into a new land and carry off all they want. The herrenfolk must be served first. Every unoffending country around them must lower its standard of living in order to support that of the Germans. And if any of these martyred countries should ask : But what is to happen to us next year, now that you have killed our live-stock and taken all our stores ? The German reply is always the same. There is to be a "new order" in Europe. And what they mean by a new order is that all Germany's neighbours must become agricultural countries, which must feed the ever-increasing German master race, and take in exchange the industrial products of the German tyrants. That is their machine-made, short-sighted, arrogant idea of a balanced European economy ! What a mushroom it will prove—or perhaps it will turn out to be more like a toadstool, full of poison.

The Nazis must often feel disappointed with the results of their conquest of Europe. After all they were all taken as steps towards the conquest of England—yet that climax is still as far off as ever. Indeed it is receding, as England re-arms as never before and as help streams in from all parts of the Dominions. A new worry, too, is the attitude of the United States. General Smuts, probably the greatest statesman alive today, sees in the recent agreement between

Britain and the United States "a little cloud which would one day let loose a thunderstorm that would overwhelm Hitler." And Germany, with her fatal trick of always choosing the psychological moment for doing herself the greatest injury, chooses this moment to torpedo a ship without warning in mid-Atlantic, six hundred miles from anywhere and, as it happens, with a cargo of children on board. Germany, the one nation who leaves its enemies to drown, sank her cause in the last War when she torpedoed the LUSITANIA. It can safely be said that her latest outrage will draw on the same nemesis. Already the United States is saying that it is interested in the fate of Dakar. The torpedoing of a ship without warning, in a raging storm and without hope of succour, is such a startling index to German inhumanity. No one can shut his eyes to it.

This leads one to reflect upon neutrality. Will neutrality, as we understand it now, survive this war? It was assumed at the end of the last war that neutrality had been killed. The League of Nations was designed specially to do away with neutrality and to ensure that each nation was its brother's keeper. The League failed for a variety of reasons—chiefly selfish—but it had only a stunted life after the United States refused to become an integral part of it. If civilisation, freedom, and all that we value as most precious in life, are to continue and grow, it can only be by a realisation of the oneness of all and seeing clearly that neutrality in face of oppression, plunder and carnage, is a crime.

In the ancient Indian scripture, the BHAGAVAD GITA, it is written :

> "What is action, what inaction ?"
> "Even the wise are herein perplexed."

And in another ancient Indian writing *The Book of the Golden Precepts*, much of which is pre-Buddhistic, we read that

> "Inaction in a deed of mercy becomes an action in a deadly sin."

These quotations are very apt when one thinks of the rights and wrongs of neutrality.

Neutral nations seem to assume that they are taking up a high moral attitude for the purpose, of course, of keeping their people out of war. But are they? Is neutrality a moral basis of a nation's life? I am gravely inclined to doubt it.

When a burglar breaks into a house and steals, is a neighbour entitled to sit still and watch, and do nothing to prevent it? In other words, is he entitled to be neutral? If that were the case, burglary would be at a premium as the burglar would know that no one seeing him at his nefarious enterprises would make any endeavour to stop him for the common good. "The common good," that is the criterion. Is it for the common good to allow a burglar to carry on with his burglary unmolested? In other words, should one remain neutral? Or should all agree that it is everyone's business to have him stopped? The case was very well put by Lord Parker, a very eminent Judge, in the House of Lords during the last war, on 19th March, 1918 : "The true line of development lies, not in regulating the dreadful thing (war) but in bringing about conditions under which it becomes increasingly difficult and ultimately impossible, not in consulting the welfare or selfish interest of neutrals but in abolishing neutrality. Murders would increase if the murderer could count upon the neutrality of bystanders, and it is the same with war. The neutral, in fact, shirks his share of the burden of humanity."

If civilisation is to continue : if freedom is a thing to prize and fight for, then neutrality must go. We are all our brother's keepers. An injury to one is an injury to all and it is the duty of all to prevent it in so far as they can. There cannot again be conditions under which nations will stand aside as neutrals and allow one nation to pillage another. All must agree that it is the duty of all to prevent it—even if the prevention means war. War in such a cause is a much nobler thing than standing aside as a neutral. These are world questions that must be seriously considered and adequate action agreed on when once this war is a thing of the past. If, therefore, this war puts an end to selfish neutrality Hitler will have been the means to bring about this most desirable end and out of evil will have come good.

Meanwhile life seems in a way unreal and one carries on until peace comes and with it a rational mode of living. Serving in France as a combatant in the last War one got accustomed to bombs falling around one day and night, but it is very different to have these conditions of uncertainty in one's home in the country with no military objectives near. It is like a bad dream out of which one expects to wake up and find it is all illusion. The shattered houses and homeless poor are only too real however. What Germany must be enduring at the hands of our Air Force we can only imagine. But it will end, and then must come the building of a better world, and the freedom we have fought for must be extended to all parts of the world so that out of all this evil may come good.

London, 25th September, 1940.

[Received 18th November, 1940.]

MASS EDUCATION

By AMALESH GHOSH, M.A., B.SC., B.T.

Heavy Wastage in the Lower Stage

The Hartog Commission estimated that during the years 1922-26, no less than a sum of Rs. 14·4 crores representing about 60% of the total expenditure on Primary Education in British India, had been wasted. The money has been spent on account of education which has been, in every sense, ineffective. It was found that large numbers of scholars leave the schools after 1, 2, 3, 4, or 5 years of schooling and only about 10% of those entering the Primary Schools are found in the Fifth Class. The wastage is heaviest in Class II. The present figures for this wastage have improved a little, and now, from 15% to 20% scholars fail to reach Class V. The total expendiutre on education has also gone up and the annual waste of money spent in the name of Primary Education is roughly Rs. 3 crores, out of a total of Rs. 8·5 crores for British India. In his book *Education in India* Mr. Arthur Mayhew drew attention to this fact and the Linlithgow Commission on Agriculture referred to this glaring wastage of men, money and energy.

It may be assumed that those scholars who stay on up to the Fifth Standard of a Primary School, retain what little they have learnt in reading and writing. Those who leave the schools earlier possibly do not care to keep up their knowledge of the three R's. Since, the number of those who leave school in the early stages is very much larger than those who go up to Class V, such facilities should be provided which will enable them to retain their knowledge, and serious attempts should be made to see that those, at least, who have some sort of schooling, do not relapse into illiteracy. About 14% of the total population of India are of school-going age and only 5·2% of the total population attend the Primary and other schools. So, about 8·8% of them have to be educated besides millions of illiterate adults who have had no education, and who are a great weakness in the body politic and the State.

Masses Faced with A New Responsibility

Today, the masses of India have a wider responsibility and they have in their hands greater power of which they are unaware. They have now to exercise their right of citizenship to their best advantage. In spite of the efforts of the responsible Ministers, the Montford Reforms could not appreciably move up the percentage of literacy. About 8% of the total population in British India can read and write. It stood at about 7% before the Reforms of 1919. The Reforms of 1935 have placed us in a position whence we have to look round to find people who may judiciously guard their interests. That means that the adult should have that education which will comfortably adjust him with the world outside, which will develop his abilities to a conceivable capacity and which will give him that knowledge that may help him to live the best life of which he is capable. Adult education in India need move on with electric speed so as to achieve the object of educating the grown-ups in the shortest possible time. The question is a grave one and it has to be met with equal reservation.

Adult Education in England

In England, Adult Education gained greater success since 1850 with the growth of political consciousness. When the franchise was extended in 1867, it received more stimulus and, with the introduction of Universal Primary Education in 1870, the movement stood on a sound footing. We have, perhaps, to wait for the time when Universal Primary Education would be introduced in our country.

The history of Adult Education movement in Britain is linked up with something else. With the expansion of the industries in England, a demand, or rather a desire, grew up in the minds of the workers themselves to improve their knowledge and status. They, however, insisted on their right to have a hand in the shaping of the curriculum and in the choice of the tutors. The essence of the movement is, therefore, its voluntary character, its freedom from external control and the initiative of the students themselves. The standard of instruction in the industrial areas, at present, is as high as the Honours Degree of a University, but in the rural areas the course of studies centres round the life and immediate surroundings of the villagers. We may not find a parallel of this in our country. We may not

be in a position to see workers in the industrial and rural areas in thousands, to demonstrate a desire to have schools to spend their leisure hours profitably, but we may be in a position to show those who have not the benefit of a liberal education, how they can utilise their spare moments to live their best lives by enlarging their scope of knowledge.

Adult Education in India

Apart from grappling the problem of the extension of Primary Education in the right manner, the existing arrangements of the expansion of the Adult Education movement in India, is far from satisfactory in so far as organisation and direction are concerned. There are night schools and part-time institutions in our country in the urban areas only. Although these schools are primarily meant for the adults, they admit those children also, who, for some reason or other, cannot attend the day schools. In 1936-37, there were 2,016 schools with 62,691 male students and 11 schools with 946 female students, for the adults only. The Hartog Commission estimated that there were 6,700 schools for the adults in British India.

Mass Education During the Montford Reforms

It appears that there is no system in their expansion and no central organisation to control them, and so, without a definite policy, the official and non-official attempts are bearing no tangible results. During the Montford Reforms, the Ministers in some of the provinces, tried to tackle the problem and to keep up this branch of educational movement, as best as they could. Knowledge and information used to be propagated through the various departments on such subjects as Health and Sanitation by means of lantern lectures, by opening village libraries and village schools for men, and zenana classes for women, and by helping qualified medical men to settle down in the rural areas. There are societies in almost all the provinces of India for propagating knowledge to the masses.

Public Health and Social Service Institutions

The Depressed Classes Mission Society and the Y. M. C. A. of the C. P., the Central Co-operative Institute of Bombay, the Depressed Classes Education Society and the Social Service League of Calcutta, and a host of other big and small Welfare Institutions which are primarily meant for doing social service, are the bodies which are doing useful work in educating the masses. The special characteristic of the movement is, however, its lack of co-ordination.

The Departments of Public Health of almost all the Provinces get films produced for propaganda purposes on subjects like the prevention and the cure of epidemic diseases. Attractive posters and placards are also utilised for the purpose. Lantern lectures and moving exhibitions are arranged to tour in the interior parts of the country. It is noteworthy that these activities of the government which do a lot in rousing the interest of the villagers and give them the requisite knowledge, have been regularly carrying their work.

Activities in India Since 1937

There has been tremendous activity evident in all the provinces for the re-organisation of the Central Co-operative Banks and the Departments of Rural Reconstruction. These are no doubt good signs. Apart from the essential duty of the Co-operative Banks of carrying on their administration of the Central Banks, they may be entrusted with some of the duties of educating the masses. It may not be possible to have the duty of supervising the work of educating the villagers in the schools, transferred to them for obvious reasons, but they can be allotted a certain part of the work in this field of supervising the progress of education of the masses. In that case, the process of instruction and the propagation of knowledge will be more systematic and the courses of instruction may be uniform, in a particular area, at least.

There are well-organised institutions for the training of the officers serving under the governments in the principles and methods of rural reconstruction. "Uplifting the Masses" and "Educating the Masses" may be combined together, in the training, so that these officers who are drawn mostly from the subordinate Executive and Co-operative Departments may be able to do some useful work.

Various methods have been tried and many schemes and plans have been prepared in the course of the last three years, to increase literacy in every province. Literacy drives through "weeks"; through (mildly forced) voluntary efforts of the school and college students, during their long vacations; through Adult Education Committees; through the agency of Registration officers of the Government; through the Central Co-operative Banks and through posters and Radio broadcasts and other modern methods of publicity, have been tried. They may have given a limited amount of success. Leaving aside the educative value of these efforts, one may ask,

how far they are capable of achieving results. Instances have been known of people, who though illiterate in all other respects, could sign their names only when accepting the monthly pay, and remained so, till their death. Would that cause any advance of literacy in any way ?

Rural Broadcasts, the Hartog Commission and Mr. Braynne

Following the examples set by Mr. F. L. Braynne of the Punjab, as early as 1930, Broadcasting has been tried as a means of serving the double purpose of entertaining the masses and giving them some knowledge at the same time. Almost all the stations of the AIR (All India Radio) set apart a certain period, specially in the evenings for rural programmes. As in the West, so in our country also, its utility may be questioned. The reasons are not far to seek. There is a dearth of Receiving Sets in the villages, and, unless they can be provided with them free of cost, the purpose may not be served at all. Besides, the nature of these Talks—taking for granted that it has taken the places of 'kathakatas,' 'majlis,' 'parties' etc., of the days of yore when they were the acceptable forms of spreading adult education amongst the masses—the programmes may be put to the test and if found unsuitable, may be improved. Any way, the Talks, if they are regularly attended to by the villagers, will improve their knowledge considerably and may gradually foster in them the desire to know more for improving their worldly affairs.

The Hartog Commission submitted their Report in 1929. At that time they thought that it would be futile to adopt Broadcasting as a means for educating the adults of India, or even any section of the rural population because of the multiplicity of the problems which appeared to them insurmountable. Mr. Braynne had shown that it was possible even with limited resources to take to this as a means of educating the villagers. The Madras Corporation had evolved a scheme and had prepared estimates to start the work, and they were about to launch upon their programme of work, when the Broadcasting Service, was taken over by the State. It was in 1932, and since then many big and small stations have been installed and the programmes relating to the village Broadcasts have been improved to conform to the tastes of the village-folk in the evenings and the service may be said to have been organised in the course of the few intervening years.

In one of the districts of Bengal and in the villages around Delhi, the rural programmes have produced encouraging results. We may find public parks and other places in the cities, and villages, fitted with loud-speakers for the enterainment of the people of that locality. The voice coming through the "air" may have its charm and may lend renewed enthusiasm to the inquisitive villagers, assembled together to listen to what was coming. They may not take the places of the extension lectures which are meant for educationally advanced people in the cities, but they may, when properly conducted, with a well-thought-out plan, serve the purpose of propagating knowledge to the masses.

What May Be Done to Get Good Results

Our Municipalities may instal the Receiving Sets for the benefit of the citizens. The villagers may contribute a certain sum collectively to procure a Set for the use of villagers themselves or even the Central Co-operative Banks and the Primary Societies may secure the Sets by setting apart a portion of their profits. Then, with a net-work of Receiving Sets in a certain area, it might be possible for the Broadcasting Station serving that locality, to cater for improved and increased hours of programmes as a necessary corollary. That will, of course, involve extra cost to them. That licence fees may not be enough to cover the increased expenditure, and the import duty on the Receiving Sets which is now being utilised to meet the recurring and other expenses of the Service, may not be sufficient to defray the extra cost of educating and entertaining the rural population in that new arrangement. Other sources of increasing the revenue may be looked for. The American way of making the advertisers pay for the extra cost may be worth giving a trial. Broadcasting as a means of entertainment, information and education, has come to stay, and we have to make the best use of this instrument of modern household necessity.

The Cinema and Mass Education

Then, there is the other and perhaps more effective instrument as a means of instruction than the Radio of the modern age. The Cinema, which is so frequently utilised by the Departments of Public Health to educate the people in the principles of Hygiene and Sanitation, has similarly become a thing of necessity. The Talkies have revolutionised their scope of work. With the help of them, the eyes and the ears, may be simultaneously utilised to stamp the subject-matters having any educative value, on the minds of the audience. The function of the cinema is to impart a certain amount of polish in manners, customs and thoughts to the

public. It may be made a more useful medium for educating the masses. The minds of children are plastic and they may be assuredly moulded as desired by this form of amusement with a fairly good and properly directed material. Every film may not be found to achieve good results, and if they are not properly selected, they may fail to achieve the desired end. Only those pictures may be exhibited to the children which have been produced with a distinctively educative purpose in view and which may form, so to say, a definite adjunct to the work in the class-room. The films should be produced by directors who have studied their subject thoroughly, and, above all they should be "educational."

Cinema in Other Countries—for Education

France, Italy, Germany, Russia, Japan and England have made arrangements for producing and exhibiting films of educational value. Germany may be said to be the pioneer in this field. Japan has made provisions for exhibiting the educational films to the children at school once a month at least. In each of these progressive countries of the West and the East, there are arrangements for not only producing first class films of educational subjects, such as, History, Geography, Literature, the Sciences and Medicine, etc. but also of finding the requisite apparatus and the places for giving the shows regularly. These films are made use of by every type of educational institution, be they Elementary, Secondary or the University, as each of them finds a graded subject suited to the needs of their students. The Adult Education Movement has necessarily received a great fillip to its progressive advancement with the help of these shows, and this method of imparting knowledge has been found the most effective and the most instructive. In these countries also, the question of projectors came in their way of development in the early stages. It was soon solved by procuring the projectors by a group of surrounding institutions and having the shows in turn by previous arrangement. The schools, not being fortunate to avail such an opportunity, used to get one on hire.

A method similar to that may be tried in our country also. The Teachers' or the School Associations in the districts, the District Educational Councils or even the Local Bodies may get such projectors and may send them round in their area according to a scheduled time-table. That will only be a question of mutual understanding and agreement in a desire to share the expenses.

How the Films may be Prepared

As regards the question of the production of these films the governments of those countries have either given the lead by subsidising the companies or have monopolised the industry by starting a branch of Educational Film Production attached to the administrative Departments of Education. There are experts who have studied the subject and the technique of film production and they go along an organised programme for each subject. Either of these methods may be followed in India. There are film producing companies here who may be asked by the governments to produce educational films on their behalf and under their guidance. If that arrangement does not work satisfactorily, the provincial governments may start their own departments of Educational Film Production. Here also, the activities of the different departments may be consolidated to have films of educational interest produced. Besides the films required for the regular schools and colleges on subjects directly bearing on their instruction, special films for the education of the masses may be prepared by that department.

The Indian Cinematograph Committee of 1928 had pointed out the urgency of having educational films produced by the Indian companies producing films for entertainment; and the recent conference of the Directors of Information of the provincial governments, recommended that the production of such films should be insisted upon Indian companies which are operating in India at present, before granting them the requisite permission to carry on their business. It is time perhaps, for the amendment of the Indian Cinematograph Act accordingly. Almost all the provinces in India levy an amusement tax on the cinema houses, and this does not bring in a substantial sum to the governments. Besides, the Boards of Film Censors charge a certain fee for certifying each film as suitable for exhibition. The amusement tax and the excess of fees received for censoring the films over the normal expenditure, may be utilised for producing educational films by the provincial governments and to establish the Department of Educational Film Production. The initiative may come from the Central Government by setting up such a department.

Need for the Co-ordination of Efforts on Mass Education

Such films may be the ideal instruments for educating the adults by the least possible

effort by the instructor as well as the scholar, whatever his mental content. If the provincial governments produced the films, it would be far easier for them to co-ordinate the activities of the instructors of the different bodies by arranging to send round the films to the local centres in the districts. The question of projectors may also be easily tackled, as they would be controlled by an organised department. The services of the workers in the field of Adult Education and of those engaged in the duty of uplifting the masses and the villages may be requisitioned as and when necessary, according to the needs of each centre and according to the requirements of the villagers.

In the Broadcasting Service also the same may be applied. In both these fields, until and unless the villagers themselves, either by example or by education, demonstrate their willingness to have the Receiving Sets for themselves and to see the films, it will be futile to make any arrangement for them. Failing that, even if they are supplied with the Sets free and given the shows free, they will not care to listen to those Talks or may show an aversion to go to the shows as soon as they are aware that they are meant for educating them. In a place where the people are preponderantly illiterate and whose minds are undeveloped, a suspicion of that sort may not be purely imaginative. The Talks delivered and the shows proposed to be given should be graded. A fairly educated and informed set of persons will need a different kind of subject from what may be meant for the illiterates.

Hence arises the question of the co-ordination of diverse efforts. The various official an non-official bodies, doing any work in the direction of educating the masses, should have an organised course of studies and they should be made to conform to the provision of a certain code, similar to that prevailing in England, fo the purpose of receiving grants-in-aid from the provincial funds. In England, the expenses of organisation and direction, and of the fees of the tutor, which are the main items of expenditure, are met partly from the funds of the voluntary bodies and the universities, but mainly from the grants of the Boards of Education and local educational authorities, and it amounts to about £70,000/- annually. The introduction of a code, will necessarily mean proper inspection of the institutions. The present Inspectorate of the Departments of Education in India, have much more work to do than what may be reasonably expected of them. Some other organisation may be created or found out in the existing organisation of administration to carry out the work. So long as voluntary effort does not manifest itself to take on the responsibility, it may be assumed by the government, and so long as Universal Primary Education has not been introduced, the burden has to be borne by the State.

Who will Give the Lead?

It has been found that the most profitable types of propaganda are those which reach people through the groups of which they are members and which link on their existing interests. This principle which has been tried in the progressive countries and is recommended as the best, may be applied in our country also. In the urban areas, it may not be difficult to find people who have, by their own efforts, derived some benefits from further education. Such persons may be given the charge of educating their fellow brethren, in their spare moments, in the areas inhabited mostly by working-class people. Similar efforts may be made in the rural areas also. Enthusiastic villagers having some education may not be wanting there, and they, having gained some knowledge by their persistent application, industry and perseverence, would willingly volunteer their services to do some good to their fellow brethren.

Co-ordination of the Existing Organisations

The Institute of Rural Reconstruction at Santiniketan and the Co-operative Institute at Gosaba (24-Perganas) founded by Sir Daniel Hamilton, are doing some work in training the workers for uplifting the villages but they have not received as much patronage and support as they deserve. The students coming out of these institutions have not been able to find suitable employment to enable them to make use of the principles and the practices for which they received special training. The Graduate School of Social Service at Bombay give training in an advance form. There exists a demand of having a statutory body or organisation for this particular domain, instead of loose and flexible bodies which only give rise to a tendency to multiply schemes and experiments without any visible results coming out of them.

The Bengal Social Service League carry on a good part of propaganda work in the districts of Bengal, and the Bratachari Movement founded by Mr. G. S. Dutt has given a fillip to the revival of folk-dances and folk-literature through rhythmic exercises. To these efforts and to the others already mentioned, may be included the activities of the Boy Scout Movement, the Girl Guide Movement, the Hindustani Seva Dal,

the Junior Red Cross Work, the St. John Ambulance Brigade's activities, etc., whose field of work may be said to have been confined to the training of the school and college students for greater responsibilities as individuals to society and for a training in discipline. The salient features of the activities of these bodies may be enlarged and utilised in the furtherance of the cause of Adult Education movement, by instilling in the minds of the workers and scholars, the idea of a duty to the State, and of the little sacrifices they are required to make for that cause. The activities of the various bodies may be co-ordinated with the co-operation of the central provincial organisation in order that useful work may be done in this domain.

The Need of a Sure Foundation

The task is enormous. Funds are required. Nothing can be expected out of the normal education budgets, and perhaps, much can not be allotted out of the provincial revenues, and in the face of this great handicap, a big enterprise has to be undertaken with slender resources. Therefore, the greater part of this very urgent movement has to rely on voluntary efforts of the officials and of the non-officials. Teaching the adults, who may have gone beyond a certain age when the learning process is slow, requires the devoted attention of the teachers; and a good supply of special books, charts, models, diagrams, etc., which should be available in order that any result may be appreciable. That also indicates the urgency of having a good foundation to start with and co-ordination of the diverse efforts now being made throughout the country. The problem of Adult Education in India differs essentially from that of the countries of the West. Here the question is to teach the Adults to read and to write their own language, on a large scale and then to enlarge upon their knowledge in gradual stages. The process of education will move along the desired track by presenting suitable materials to them when they are literates.

COMMENT & CRITICISM

THE CONDITION OF THE WORKERS OF THE DALMIA SUGAR MILLS

Dear Sir,

We beg to invite your attention to the following extract from an article entitled "Oligarchs of our Industries" appearing in *The Modern Review* of October, 1940:

> "From the workers' point of view an Indian Trust is often a worse master than a British Trust. The condition of the workers of the Dalmia Sugar Mills, for instance, is much inferior to that existing in the Belapur Mill of Brady & Co."

We object to the statement made in the extract quoted and to the comparison made between us and Messrs. Brady & Co., not merely because an unjust and unfair imputation has been made against us, but also because it casts a slur on the uprightness of Indian businessmen in general. It is a sheer travesty of facts to state that an Indian Trust is often a worse master than a British Trust; in your own publications (the works of Major B. D. Basu), you have laid bare the tortures suffered by Indian artisans at the hands of British Trusts.

You have won great fame for upholding the fair name of India; the pages of *The Modern Review* have been soiled by the publication of such a statement and it deserves immediate contradiction.

If Mr. Mehta, the writer of the article, takes the trouble to make enquiries, he will find that most of the amenities of life provided to our workers in each of our factories are generally denied to workmen employed under foreign trusts.

At Dalmianagar alone we have built for our operatives over 700 quarters laid on with water and fitted with electricity. We provide free medicines and medical aid to all our employees and their dependants and also free education to their children. Since the outbreak of the war, we have granted substantial war bonus to our workers.

The aforesaid statement appearing in *The Modern Review* is grossly libellous. When, however, Mr. Mehta finds that he had been misinformed, we expect that he will acknowledge his mistake and contradict his remarks.

We invite you to visit Dalmianagar at your convenience, and see for yourself how this concern is being run under purely Indian management. We are sure that when you have seen the place, you will be perfectly satisfied.

Yours faithfully,
for Rohtas Industries, Ltd.,
N. Sharma, *Secretary.*

THE WAR AND THE CINEMA

By JOHN ALEXANDER

Now that the war has been in progress for a year, it is perhaps of interest to pause and examine its effect on the cinema in various countries directly and indirectly involved in it. At the beginning of hostilities there was a widespread feeling that the cinema was going to play a leading part in belligerent propaganda; that, as part of the nation's war effort, the British film industry would be enlisted in the service of the Ministry of Information. To a certain extent this has been done; we have had straight propaganda films like "For Freedom" and "The Lion Has Wings," and a few documentaries have been produced in England under the aegis of the Film Section of the Information Ministry, such as "Squadron 992," "The Warning," and "Spirit of the People." Yet the flood of documentary propaganda has not been terrific. Basil Wright, film critic of the London *Spectator*, mentioned this in the *Spectator* of June 14th;

> For various reasons (most of them highly mysterious) documentary films have not been largely to the forefront since last September. The gaps in public knowledge which this type of production can do so much to fill have remained regrettably void, and the talents of a large group of film-makers have been only tentatively employed, if they have been employed at all.

One can only speculate about these mysterious reasons; I think they are rooted in the nature both of the war and of the British and American systems of society.

The collapse of France, a liberal capitalist democracy of the same pattern as Britain and America, has been now generally ascribed to the military and political betrayal engineered by the pro-Fascists, summed up as the "two-hundred families of France". The aged Marshal Petain, Catholic, Conservative, and a Franco fan, has been labelled as the figurehead in this betrayal, the reactionary who preferred the Fascist sense of order to a people's war. Writing in a recent issue of Stephen King-Hall's *Newsletter*, a correspondent pointed out that many lessons can be learned from the French collapse, not least that the British equivalent of the two hundred families can do the same thing in Britain. The American *New Republic*, in its issue of July 1st, has commented similarly about the American Fascists.

Such an interpretation of French politics is the natural product of the distrust of the Allies which arose before the war owing to their (apparently) pro-Fascist policy in the last five years. Before the fall of Mr. Chamberlain and the formation of a popular government in Britain, it was widely felt that the issues of the war were not clear; that the war "for democracy" was in reality a manoeuvre before a compromise peace: the long period of the "sitzkrieg" seemed to bear this out.

I seem to have wandered a long way from the cinema; but the political background is an index to the national social atmosphere; and the cinema, whether Government-controlled or not, relies on this atmosphere for its existence. The point is this. While there was this uncertainty about British war aims in Britain, there was also uncertainty in the propaganda world; the issues of the war were not clear, and the makers of films were uncertain of their public. It appeared of no value to explain the virtues of democracy if the democratic cause were to be once again betrayed in another and greater Munich.

Yet now the situation as I say, has changed. Churchill and the Labour leaders are in power in London and the British nation has no alternative but to fight, with its back to the wall, for freedom. There could be no better time for film producers to restate in clear language the principles of a people's freedom and the necessity for its maintenance. Yet are they doing this? Let us take a look at Hollywood. Clearly the problem would not be so urgent in neutral America; yet Uncle Sam's future is not so stable that he can afford to neglect propaganda for democratic principles; in the not-so-distant future he may have to persuade his people to fight for them.

At the beginning of the war John Grierson, the Canadian Government Film Commissioner, gave a broadcast in which he said:

> Hollywood (when war broke out) was so nervous that it had a new idea every day. The first reaction was to draw in its economic horns, make cheaper pictures, intensify its American market. . . Give them more fluff" was the way Hollywood described it. But not for long. The more modern school of production, the younger men, argued vehemently in every studio. They said, I think wisely, that people would be asking more ques-

tions in this war, and that this policy of froth and fluff would be an insult to the intelligence of the people.

Thus his impression of Hollywood was that the war would bring more critical and thoughtful films, because, when men were fighting for democracy, people would be asking what exactly democracy was.

Yet the average American war-time production has been lamentable. Films like "All Good Girls go to Paris," "Winter Carnival," "Holiday," etc., have hit a new low level in entertainment. Perhaps of more significance than Mr. Grierson's broadcast is the following extract from a review issued by the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce in Washington:

> It is interesting to note that the war has already brought about a marked change in film tastes in the belligerent countries. There is now a keen desire for pictures such as comedies, mystery stories, or any kind of light but engrossing entertainment that is likely to afford escape from war-time anxieties. In some markets of the warring nations sad and morose scenes are actually barred by the censorship boards. It goes without saying that our American producers are pre-eminently well-equipped to supply films that will satisfy these tastes which are now dominant in great regions of the earth.

Hollywood's reactions to war are related to its status in capitalist society. The fundamental fact is that it is a major industry with an enormous capital investment and a vast network of international organisation. Thus its first reactions to the social upheaval a great war necessarily entails would be apprehension; fear of an alteration, such as the last war produced in one-sixth of the world, in the social systems of nations. In Russia the film industry is controlled by the state; in America it is in the hands of a few wealthy people. Thus the tendency will be, while the uncertainty produced by war prevails both in its markets and nearer home, for Hollywood to produce covert or open propaganda for the sake of maintaining the social *status quo*. As John Grierson also said, in his broadcast, of the Hollywood producers, "They were all for going into propaganda of some kind." The change in outlook from Frank Capra's "Mr. Deeds goes to Town" to his "Mr. Smith goes to Washington" is significant. It will be remembered that Mr. Deeds went to Town with an army of unemployed and produced a radical plan for their settlement; Mr. Smith went to Washington with no more formidable a backing than a gang of youthful Boy Rangers and was agitating for nothing more radical than the establishment, in the teeth, be it said, of opposition from vaguely "vested interests," of a Government camp for their education.

While the average Hollywood film does not encourage analyses other than those of entertainment value, it is remarkable that from few of the recent pictures I have seen have the white tie and tails been absent. The themes of "Over the Moon," (British), "Holiday," and "In Name Only" have all been on the "pity the poor rich" line—the emphasis being on the fact that the acquisition of wealth brings its own punishment. The implication is that it is not worth trying to alter the class system in order to get into the upper class, since the upper class has such a hell of a bad time.

The effect of this short-sighted policy has made its mark on the British documentaries. This is not necessarily the fault of the British producers; they rely for their backing on other sources than their own industry. As the April issue of the London *Documentary News-letter* put it:

> At present no matter how popular the subject or treatment, or how wide the distribution, virtually no British quality short costing £1,000 a reel or more can hope to make a profit. Thus most good shorts today are subsidised by one interest or another.

This brings us back to where we started. This article is at once an analysis of the reactionary interests that hold back a proper treatment of present day social issues and a hope that something will be done to ginger them up. The direct propaganda of "For Freedom" and "The Lion Has Wings" which, at best, is purely being negatived by the hazy indirect propaganda of the froth and fluff pictures, which set out to prove that nothing is happening in the world and that nothing should. The political scene in England and America is changing rapidly; it is a crime that the film industry, which could be a powerful force in the moulding of those ideas essential to peace, should be lagging behind with the reactionaries. As Mr. Bevin, British Labour Minister, has said:

> "The feeling of the British people is not so much that this or that person has let them down, but that the system based on a monopoly by big business has failed to deliver the goods."



PLIGHT OF THE JUTE MARKET

BY BIRENDRA KISHORE ROY CHOWDHURY, M.L.C.

THE price of jute has become depressed beyond expectation. Last year, after the war was declared, it shot up for a while; but most of the cultivators had already disposed of their produce and it was only the middlemen who reaped the benefit of this rise. It provided a windfall for them and not for the actual producers of the province. The latter were both disappointed and hopeful at the same time. They were disappointed that they had already parted with their produce and could not have the advantage of the high price that the war brought in its train. They were hopeful because they thought that the demand for jute would remain uniformly high during the war and they would reap the benefit of higher price in subsequent years. So in their optimism they brought more of their acres under jute cultivation. Unfortunately, however, the war took such a turn and the circumstances became so unfavourable that the demand from outside, both for raw jute, and also for jute goods reached the lowest ebb.

Ordinarily about 60% of the jute produced in this country is consumed by the jute mills in and around Calcutta and the remaining 40% is exported abroad by the pucca balers for consumption by the jute mills in different countries. As a result of the war not only the export of the 40% of raw jute by the balers has virtually been stopped, but what is more, the Calcutta mills also are without sufficient orders and consequently are not in a position to absorb the remaining 60%.

In normal years, although the mills abroad consume nearly 40% of the jute produced, it is the Calcutta mills consuming the remaining 60% which control the price of jute. The pucca balers are, no doubt, a competitor but they are closely associated socially and otherwise with the Calcutta millers. It is on this account that jute mills in India are the determining factor in the fixation of price for raw jute in this country. Now, when the export market has absolutely collapsed it is inevitable that the Calcutta jute mills should alone be the determining factor in raising or lowering the price of jute.

Even in normal years, when the demand from abroad was steady and the demand from the Calcutta jute mills was high, the price of raw jute was hardly determined by the law of demand and supply. The jute mills invariably kept some stock of old jute with which they could continue their day to day work for some time. This stock has always been an uknnown quantity. Its exact amount has never been divulged to the public. The result was that when the new jute was on the market, the jute mills would never rush to purchase the new produce. Their actual demand would not be known to the growers or even to the middlemen. They would buy only casually and idly, with, in fact, an appearance that it was not absolutely essential for them to buy at once. Meanwhile, the growers, poor and absolutely dependent upon the sale of jute, would be eager to dispose of it at as small a rate as the middlemen would offer.

While this was the state of things when, as I have said, the demand, both from abroad and from the local mills was steadily high, it can be imagined how unfortunate may be the condition of things when the foreign demand for raw jute has absolutely become nil and when the demand for the manufacture of the local mills has also fallen low.

In this connection it is pertinent to refer to the jute futures market, which has had some influence on the determination of price. This market has its drawbacks, which need not be emphasized here. But it cannot be gainsaid that it has proved to be an important instrument in keeping the price-level higher than otherwise it would be. It has been really a healthy check upon the cut-throat method of purchase pursued by the jute mills. It was in a sense rather unfortunate that this market was kept closed for several months. The Government fixed on paper a minimum price and the jute mills entered into a gentleman's agreement with the Government not to buy at a rate lower than this minimum, provided the futures market did not disturb the market rate. The Government accordingly closed the market. It has been, however, found by experience that while the benefit of the futures market was denied to the growers, they did not profit in the least by the agreement between the Government and the jute mills. This agreement was cleverly circumvented and the price of jute at which the growers have been required to sell their produce has actually been, in many cases, only 50% of the price agreed

upon. From this standpoint it is good that the futures market has been re-opened. But it should be emphasized that although it may do some service to the growers, it cannot be of appreciable help to them in the present crisis. The Government of Bengal has tried to tone up the depressed price-level by announcing that in the next year only one-third of the present acreage under jute will be open to jute cultivation. The Government expects that as a result of this announcement of drastic restriction in the next year, the demand for jute, now available, will grow and the price will correspondingly mount up. This expectation is not, however, likely to come true. The millers, who are now actually the ultimate buyers, are not expected to rush into the market even as a result of the recently enunciated Government policy.

The policy of restriction has, undoubtedly, its utility. That will adjust supply to possible demand. But there are certain factors because of which the full benefit to this policy of restriction cannot be available to the growers. In the first place as we have said already, because of the unknown quantity of old jute stock, the mills do not come forward to buy immediately their necessary amount of jute. Secondly, the growers, who are so abjectly poor in most cases cannot hold their jute for long. So the situation comes to this, that while the growers are eager to dispose of their supplies, the manufacturers are unwilling to make manifest their demand at once. The inevitable happens, as a result. The price is not determined by the law of demand and supply.

If the Government are eager at all to do permanent benefit to the growers they must make immediate arrangements for regulated markets, in which, the growers may not only deposit their produce in properly equipped godowns but, in which, they may get immediate credit for this deposit. For the last three years the Indian Central Jute Committee has been exploring the possibilties of regulated jute markets in jute growing areas. But so far we have not heard of any practical scheme of such markets being drawn up. It is regrettable also that although the Government of Bengal has talked of much in regard to regulated markets for all agricultural produce, it has not paid sufficient attention to the urgency of setting up regulated markets for jute.

As regards the credit for the deposit of jute in the godowns of regulated markets there are many, who may raise the question of finance. But finance need not be a serious obstacle in the way of accomplishing this reform. In average, the total jute production in Bengal is about one crore bales. In other words, the Government is to make arrangement for credit for five crore maunds of jute. If the minimum price is fixed at seven rupees and eight annas per maund and if two thirds of the price are to be given as credit to the growers on deposit, the Government is to find Rs. 5/- (five) for every maund, or, in other words, twenty-five crores of rupees in all. I do not think that the raising of this sum will be impossible for the Government. It is to be noted in this connection that a section of the public is demanding the provincialization of all the rent-receiving rights in Bengal, which will involve the Government in a loan of nearly one hundred crores of rupees. If any responsible section of opinion may actually put forward such a proposal, it need not seem incredible that the Government may raise a sum of rupees 25 crores for the holding of jute, so that it may be disposed of at the right moment at the economic price.

The chalking out of some such scheme, as alluded to in the previous paragraph, will be an earnest of the Government solicitude for the interests of the peasant population of the province. It is no use posing as a friend of the people while virtually doing nothing for their real benefit. I have my doubts if with regard to the regulation of jute price the Ministry of Bengal will have as free a hand as a popular ministry should actually have in respect of such a vital and pivotal matter. We remember how in the twenties a Registrar of Co-operative Societies came to grief because of his well-meaning attempt at the co-operative regulation of jute sale in Bengal. The jute sale societies which he organised threatened to undermine the profiteering of the European firms and as such became the *bete noire* of the European Chamber of Commerce. Sufficient influence was brought to bear both upon the Government and upon the bank, whose credit facility made the running of the societies possible. On the one side this credit was suddenly withdrawn and on the other, the Government attitude towards the policy of running the societies became hostile. The result was that the whole scheme fell through. It has been given out that the Government of Bengal is contemplating a loan for financing the purchase of jute as a part of its policy of regulating the price. This is a right move but one should be highly optimistic to believe that the Government will be allowed to have its way and that it will be allowed to take the right action even if the loan is actually undertaken. We have still reasons to think that the vested interests

will soon be engaged in pulling the wire from behind.

That the demand for jute has considerably fallen is written on the wall. So long as the war will continue it is unlikely that it will be more than 50% of the normal purchase of jute. In view of this fact the Government of Bengal has announced that in the next year the jute cultivation will be restricted to one-third of the normal acreage under jute. Possibly in the year after next there will be some rise in this acreage but still so long as the war lasts it is not expected to be more than 50% of normal cultivation. The question is what will be done with the acres released from jute cultivation? This is a problem, which has not been solved. Cultivation of cotton and sugar-cane has been suggested. But without going into details, it may be said at once that for years the suggestion will remain mostly impracticable.

Even when the war is over and the world settles down to peace, it is not expected that the demand for jute will be as it had been at one time. The discovery of substitutes and the new methods of shipping articles have permanently decreased the demand for jute and they are likely to decrease it further in post-war world. In view of these facts the Government should set about thinking as to what should be done for maintaining the old level of demand for jute.

The laboratory of the Indian Jute Mills Association as well as that of the Indian Central Jute Committee were reported to be experimenting as to the new avenues of profitable utilisation of the surplus jute. But so far we have not heard of anything tangible being suggested by either of these laboratories. The Indian Central Jute Committee began its work in 1937 and its laboratory was in operation in the following year. But so far it has not given any lead as regards the way that the jute may be commercially used for any purpose other than the manufacture of hessian. We know that when the production of rubber far exceeded the existing demand, the question of restricting the output was considered no doubt but all attempts were made at the same time to put rubber to new uses. We know now from experience to what extent these attempts succeeded. It is unfortunate that in regard to jute we have been satisfied with the limited use which has been made of the only cash crop in Bengal. We have been importing artificial silk from Japan as well as Europe. Could not our scientists and industrialists see to it that manufactures from jute are substituted for such silk wears? I need not point out also that jute goods may be good substitutes for durries and cheap varieties of carpets. Will the laboratories cease to be a mere show and become centres of serious and earnest work and will our industrialists rise to the occasion?

PARTITION SCHEME
An Examination

BY LAKSHMI NARAYANA, M.L.C.,
Ex-Parliamentary Secretary, U. P.

INDIA is physically, historically and culturally a unit and the Indians are a Nation. It is undisputed, but is, of late, being disputed by the Muslim League Communalists under Mr. Jinnah's inspired lead. The two-nation theory that the Hindus and Mussalmans are separate nations is proclaimed and the partition or vivisection of India into Hindu India and Muslim India is proposed.

It is the outcome of communalism in India, given rise to by the British rulers since Lord Minto's days. Separate electorate, separate representation, weightage in legislatures and services and the Communal Award have been widening the gulf. The Partition Scheme is the culmination of that communalism. Communalism is no cure of communal difficulties. The Ahrars, Shias, Momins, Jamait-ul-Ulema and the Azad Muslims have already raised their voice against it and held it to be anti-national, anti-Muslim and anti-Islam. Still the Partition Scheme is there and sailing under the Divide and Rule device and direction, of course, to be ultimately smashed when it strikes the rock of Indian Nationalism.

But, it may not in that way be evaded, dismissed or explained away. It has to be studied and examined in full relief in all

its bearings, applications, and repurcussions it might have, in order to establish its futility and impracticability.

India, as at present constituted, consists of British India, Native India and Foreign India (French and Portuguese possessions). The Partition Scheme is not to apply to them separately by dividing British India into Hindu British India and Muslim British India, or Native India into Hindu Native India and Muslim Native India. Foreign India does not fall into that Scheme and if it would, should go with Hindu India. The Partition Scheme would, if at all, unavoidably apply to the whole of India, within the British Empire and without the British Empire. The sponsors of the Partition Scheme propose provinces with Muslim Majority to compose Muslim India and provinces with Hindu majority to compose Hindu India. Their basis of partition is the province. On that basis Hindu India shall be 2·9 and 2·1 times as big as Muslim India in population and in area respectively, or Muslim India population and area shall be 25·56 p.c. and 31·3 p.c. respectively of the total population and area of the whole of India. In Hindu India Muslims shall be 11·06 p.c. and in Muslim India Hindus shall be 42·3 p.c.

Should the partition basis be the provinces (political units) or regions, *i.e.*, regions with Muslim majority should compose Muslim India and regions with Hindu majority should compose Hindu India ? In case regions be the partition basis, Eastern Punjab and Western Bengal with Hindu majority would pass to Hindu India and Western Punjab and Eastern Bengal with Muslim majority, would pass to Muslim India. The Punjab shall have to be further partitioned into the Hindu Punjab and the Muslim Punjab and Bengal into Hindu Bengal and Muslim Bengal. Those who demand partition of India into Hindu India and Muslim India cannot possibly refuse or resist partition of the Punjab into Hindu Punjab and Muslim Punjab and the partition of Bengal into Hindu Bengal and Muslim Bengal. Any resistance to the partitioning of the Punjab and Bengal will justify resistance to the partitioning of India and that with greater force.

The regions with Hindu majority and regions with Muslim majority shall have to be fixed.

On region-basis partition Hindu India shall be 4·2 times as big as Muslim India in population. In Hindu India, Muslims shall be 13·3 p.c. In Muslim India Hindus shall be 36·5 p.c.

On province-basis partition Muslim India shall be 33 p.c. bigger in population than Muslim India on region-basis partition or Muslim India on region-basis partition shall be 25 p.c. smaller in population than Muslim India on province-basis partition. In Muslim India on region-basis partition Muslims and Hindus shall be 17·2 p.c. and 35·1 p.c. respectively smaller than the population of Muslims and Hindus in Muslim India on province-basis partition.

But the Hindu majority or the Muslim majority in a region or province could not decide whether that region or province is to fall within Hindu India or Muslim India. The majority of the total population of that region or province could finally decide it, for example, Sind where the Hindus form 27 p.c. and Muslims 73 p.c. of the total population, would not automatically go with Muslim India, the majority of the total population in Sind shall decide it, *i.e.*, if Hindus who are 27 p.c. along with another 24 p.c. Muslim population decide to remain with Hindu India, Sind shall remain with Hindu India. The voice of the other 49 p.c. Muslims in that case shall not prevail. Also if 27 p.c. Hindus along 24 p.c. Muslims wish to remain with Hindu India, Sind shall go with Muslim India. The question whether a region or province is in favour of casting its lot with Hindu India or Muslim India shall have to be put to referendum in that region or province.

Neither on province-basis nor on region-basis can India be partitioned into purely Muslim India and purely Hindu India. Hindus and Muslims in India are a mixed population.

The exchange of populations even on a small scale is not practicable or profitable. The Muslims in Hindu India and Hindus in Muslim India are living generally in urban areas. 26·5 p.c. of the total Muslim population in Hindu India lives in urban areas while 9·9 p.c. of the total Hindu population in Hindu India lives in urban areas. 11·1 p.c. of the total Hindu population in Muslim India lives in urban areas while only 7 p.c. of the total Muslim population in Muslim India lives in urban areas. Hindus and Muslims have great stakes in Muslim India and Hindu India respectively. An average Hindu in Muslim India or an average Muslim in Hindu India, it may be said, is financially better off than an average Hindu in Hindu India or an average Muslim in Muslim India.

Besides, a Muslim in Bengal or Madras is more akin in manners, dress, customs, ways of living and language to a Hindu in Bengal or Madras than to a Muslim in Baluchistan or Sind. Similarly a Hindu in Baluchistan or Sind is more akin to a Muslim in Baluchistan or Sind than to a Hindu in Madras or Bengal.

The love of land where one is born or dies binds him to it in the strongest ties. In the last census hardly 10 p.c. of the population were enumerated in districts where they were not born. A Muslim is not less home-attached than a Hindu. The Muslim culture, civilization and language in India have flourished in Hindu India. Aligarh University, Deoband Arabic Madrassa, seats of Urdu learning and places of Muslim historic importance are in Hindu India. It is more difficult for a Muslim of Hindu India to migrate from the land of his culture and civilization to Muslim India than it is for a Hindu of Muslim India to migrate to Hindu India, the land of his culture and civilization. Exchange of population is not easy, for, of all sorts of luggage, Adam Smith remarks, 'man is the most difficult to be transported,' and if at all it be possible, it may to a certain limited extent take place on Hindu India and Muslim India borders, between the Hindu Punjab and Muslim Punjab and between the Hindu Bengal and Muslim Bengal only.

It would not, in the least, solve the problem of Hindus in Muslim India or the problem of Muslims in Hindu India. Nor is it thinkable that the Muslims in Hindu India or the Hindus in Muslim India can be concentrated in purely Muslim or purely Hindu tracts in Muslim and Hindu India respectively and then further subdivide Muslim India into Muslim-Muslim India and Hindu-Muslim India or Hindu India into Hindu-Hindu India and Muslim-Hindu India. The absurdity of partition proposal becomes self-evident if it be extended to its logical end.

Hindus in Muslim India shall have to live scattered among Mussalmans and Mussalmans in Hindu India shall have to live scattered among Hindus. Hindus and Mussalmans shall have to create mutual good-will and faith, which are on the wane, and create it now.

The partition proposal or the Two-Nation theory entails many a complication. The communal problem which they claim and seek to solve, shall not be solved, but shall be aggravated in different other fields and directions, whose solution would baffle all efforts.

The Hindus in Muslim India and Muslims in Hindu India shall not have the status of national minorities. They shall have the status of extra-nationals and the privileges and weightage, if any, they enjoy in National India they shall have to forego.

And thereby, in so far as the Provincial administration is concerned, the position of Muslims in Hindu India, where they do enjoy undue privileges and weightage, shall suffer, and the position of Hindus shall improve to the extent the position of Muslims thereby suffers, while in Muslim India the position of Hindus and Mussalmans shall remain almost status quo.

But, in so far as the Central Administration is concerned, the position of the Muslims in Hindu India shall suffer to the extent they enjoy weightage and privileges and the position of Hindus shall automatically improve to the extent the Muslims shall suffer, but the position of both Hindus and Muslims in Hindu India shall suffer to the extent the scope for central functions in National India will be narrowed down by the separation of Muslim India from the National India. In Muslim India the position of both Hindus and Muslims shall improve to the extent event their representation percentage increases as compared with their representation percentage in the Central Administration of National India but the position of both Hindus and Muslims shall suffer to the extent the scope for central functions in National India will be narrowed down by the separation of Hindu India from National India.

The Hindu India and Muslim India, shall not, if and when created, be equal in status. The Hindu India shall be, as pointed out, 4·2 times as big as Muslim India and many a time bigger in other respects, *e.g.*, in economic and natural resources. It is difficult to define or assess in concerete terms the loss the Hindus and Muslims shall suffer in the Partition Scheme.

The Partition Scheme, based on Two-Nation theory, does not divide the two nations. The two nations would exist side by side in Muslim India and in Hindu India. The Partition Scheme does divide the Muslims of India into Muslims of Muslim India and Muslims of Hindu India and the Hindus of India into Hindus of Hindu India and Hindus of Muslim India.

Hindu India shall be one integral whole, Muslim India will not be so. Muslim India could be further sub-divided into North-West Muslim India and North-East Muslim India, they being situated at a distance of more than a thousand miles from each other and there being very little in resemblance between the two. In that way the Muslims and Hindus of Muslim India shall be further sub-divided into Muslims and Hindus of N.-W. Muslim India and of N.-E. Muslim India.

The population of Muslims of N.-W. Muslim India and of N.-E. Muslim India on province-basis shall be 44·8 and 55·2 p.c. respectively of the total Muslim population of Muslim India on province-basis and the population of Muslims of N.-W. Muslim India and of

N.-E. Muslim India on region-basis shall be 48·8 and 51·2 p.c. respectively of the total Muslim population of Muslim India on region basis. The population of Hindus of N.-W. Muslim India and of N.-E. Muslim India on province-basis shall be 35·7 and 64·3 p.c. respectively of the total Hindu population of Muslim India on province-basis and the population of Hindus of N.-W. Muslim India and of N.-E. Muslim India on region-basis shall be 41·5 p.c. and 58·5 p.c. respectively of the total Hindu population of Muslim India on region-basis.

The partition would cause greater disintegration of the Muslims of India than that of the Hindus of India. It would more adversely affect the solidarity of Muslims of India.

The Partition Scheme is not only anti-national, it is anti-Muslim and anti-Hindu as well.

Further, as a final solution of the communal problem in India on the partition basis is sought, Hindu majority States are to form part of Hindu and Muslim majority States are to form part of Muslim India. Hindu majority States like Hyderabad in Muslim India and Muslim majority States like Kashmere in Hindu India shall be misfits. Their rulers might change places, for if Hindu-majority rule in Hindu India and Muslim-majority rule in Muslim India are held reasonable by the Partition patrons, Hindu rule in Hindu majority States and Muslim rule in Muslim majority States shall be all the more reasonable.

The days of autocracy or aristocracy are over, nor can theocracy, (Muslim-theocracy rule in Muslim India and Hindu-theocracy rule in Hindu India) be substituted for democracy in the 20th century. Democracy, the sponsors of the Partition Scheme hold, is unsuited to the conditions in India, as it, according to them, consists of two nations. If democracy is unsuited to India, it shall be all the more unsuited to the conditions in Muslim India and Hindu India, where two nations shall persist, and, in case democracy could suit Muslim India and Hindu India, it would suit National India as well and with greater justification.

The form of constitution best suited to India is unilateral but, in order to let Muslim majority provinces enjoy complete provincial autonomy and thus solve the communal problem in India, the federal form of constitution has been adopted. But Partition, not Federation, satisfies the partitionists.

The constitutions, the Hindu India and Muslim India will evolve, shall be different in form. Hindu India, which is a consolidated compact unit will have unilateral constitution and Muslim India, which has component parts in N.-W. Muslim India and N.-E. Muslim India, widely separated from each other, shall not have unilateral constitution. It shall have federal constitution.

Hindu India shall be more centralized and consolidated, Muslim India shall be more decentralized and disintegrated.

In Muslim India confederation, on province basis or on region basis, N.-E. Muslim India shall predominate. It shall have 59·01 p.c. and 53·8 p.c. of the total population of Muslim India, on province or on region basis, respectively. N.-W. Muslim India shall have only 40·99 p.c. and 46·2 p.c. of the total population of Muslim India, on province or on region basis, respectively. The total population of Hindus of Muslim India shall be almost equal to the population of Muslims of N.-W. Muslim India and the Hindu population of N.-E. Muslim India shall be almost equal to the Muslim population of N.-W. Muslim India.

In N.-W. Muslim India, the Western Punjab shall predominate. The position of Sind, Baluchistan, N.-W. F. P. and Kashmere, all put together shall remain secondary in N.-W. Muslim India. The position of N.-W. Muslim India in Muslim India shall remain secondary in relation to the position of N.-E. Muslim India.

The Muslim India constitution under these circumstances shall not satisfactorily function without facing great difficulties.

Also, Muslim India will not be financially as well off as Hindu India. N.-W. Muslim majority provinces financially, in National India, are better off than they shall be in Muslim India. The total approximate annual direct financial relief provided by the Central Administration to the provinces of Sind and N.-W. F. P. under Sir Otto Niemeyer Award comes to Rs. 105 lacs and Rs. 110 lacs annually. It would be difficult for these provinces to have sound finances in Muslim India and it would be much more difficult for the N.-W. Muslim India to have sound finances at Centre. The contributions by the N.-W. Muslim majority provinces to Central India finances is much smaller than their consumption of the Central India Finances. The communications, transport and military arrangements in N.-W. Muslim majority provinces are maintained, in National India, on all-India basis and carry great importance. In Muslim India they shall lose much in scope and importance. As an illustration, only it may be shown that the modern Bituminuous or Cement mileage

as it existed on 31st March, 1940 was 3,640 in the Punjab, 884 in the N.-W. F. P., 1,263 in the U. P., 662 in Bengal, 596 in Bombay and 534 in Bihar. If compared with other provinces the best modern road mileage in the Punjab and N.-W. F. P. is far ahead. The money that flows into these provinces on military and other Central accounts will to an appreciable extent cease to flow and the finances of N.-W. Muslim India would be adversely affected.

The partition would not affect the N.-W. Muslim India only financially it shall also have political effects. The N.-W. F. P. which is the N.-W. Frontier of the whole of India shall not then remain the frontier of the whole of India. Also shall Khyber, Karachi and Peshawar lose in all-India importance. The Muslim martial races of N.-W. Provinces, who, along, with Hindu military races of India, have the privilege of defending India shall no longer have the privilege of defending India. They shall be defending only the N.-W. Muslim India from Muslim countries and Hindu India. The Hindu India shall be a vast state, with vast resources, very long sea-coast and great land forces. It shall be equal to all the Muslim countries in the world.

The only one advantage that the Muslim India may enjoy shall be her final voice in foreign matters or in her relations with the Muslim world. In National India Muslim voice in foreign affairs shall be in a minority, in Muslim India Muslim voice shall be deciding. But Muslim India shall enjoy that one advantage only when Muslim India is not under the British Empire for both Hindu India foreign policy and Muslim India foreign policy, so long as they are under the British Empire, will be uniform and guided by the British Empire considerations.

The Muslim India foreign policy shall be independent only when Muslim India is independent. In Independent Muslim India, the foreign policy shall be dictated more by the N.-E. Muslim India, that has majority of the Muslim India population. It has no direct contact with Muslim countries, being surrounded by Hindu regions and it has itself a very substantial Hindu percentage of its population. These factors would go to make a difference in the view-point of N.-E. Muslim India and of N.-W. Muslim India. The N.-W. Muslim India view-point in foreign affairs shall also be influenced by its Hindu population and that to the extent the foreign policy of National India can be influenced by the Muslims of National India. The Muslim population of National India can to a substantial extent influence the foreign policy of National India.

The Muslim voice in Muslim India shall force it to have cordial relations with the Muslim world. The Muslim voice in National India can also force it to have cordial relations with the Muslim world. Muslim world would many a time prefer to have cordial relations with the whole of India than with Muslim India alone. A friendly National India would be a great asset to the Muslim world and the Muslim world statesmen, if consulted, shall favour National India rather than Muslim India cut off from India. The Partition Scheme goes against Muslim world interest.

Just as National India with a substantial Muslim minority can not be anti-Muslim world interest, Muslim India with a more substantial Hindu minority can not be anti-Hindu India interests still, when the one nation basis shall be cut off by the Partition Scheme, it is probable that Muslim India might develop purely Muslim outlook and Hindu India might develop purely Hindu outlook and ultimately the Partition Scheme may mean parting of the ways between the Muslims of India and the Hindus of India and Muslim India may create deeper relations with Muslim Asia and Hindu India may create deeper relations with Hindu or Budhist Asia. The partition of India might thus lead to the partition of Asia into Muslim Asia and Hindu or Budhist Asia. May it not come to pass !

The world from time immemorial has recognised India as one whole and the Indians as one nation. In foreign countries where Hindus and Muslims are living side by side as Hindustanis and where it would become tedious to distinguish them as Hindus of Hindu India or of Muslim India and Muslims of Muslim India or Hindu India, the Partition of India shall create for them new problems, difficult and intriguing.

The other Indian minorities, Parsis, Sikhs, Christians, Jains, Budhists, Anglo-Indians and Domiciled Europeans shall not tolerate partition of India and if partition comes they shall go with Hindu India and Hindu India would welcome them as her own.

The partition of India when attempted would present unsurmountable barriers, difficult to forsee and meet. Nations, communities or countries can not easily be divided and if divided, divisions are not easily maintained. The Jews demand partition of Palestine, the Arabs resist it to the last breath. What Palestine is to the Arabs, the Punjab is to the Sikhs and India to the Indian Nationalists, both Hindus and Muslims.

The partition of India will serve no Muslim or Hindu purpose. It shall never be and the day is soon to come when Hindus and Muslims in India shall realize that they have to sink or swim together. The Hindus and Muslims in India could take lessons from the Budhists and Muslims of China who are fighting shoulder to shoulder for the freedom of their country. Buddhists and Muslims in China are not divided for there is none to divide them. Let not those among Muslims who are partitionists help in the creation of an Ulster in India and retard the growth of Indian Nationalism at a time when truth and justice stand challenged in the world by the evil forces of Imperialism and Nazism.

National India shall not be the cradle of purely Hindu culture or purely Muslim culture, it shall be the cradle of the Indian or Eastern culture that may give light to the Western Nations of the world who, in the hope of bringing Heaven on Earth are bringing Hell on Earth.

AN OLD POEM ON THE SUTTEE

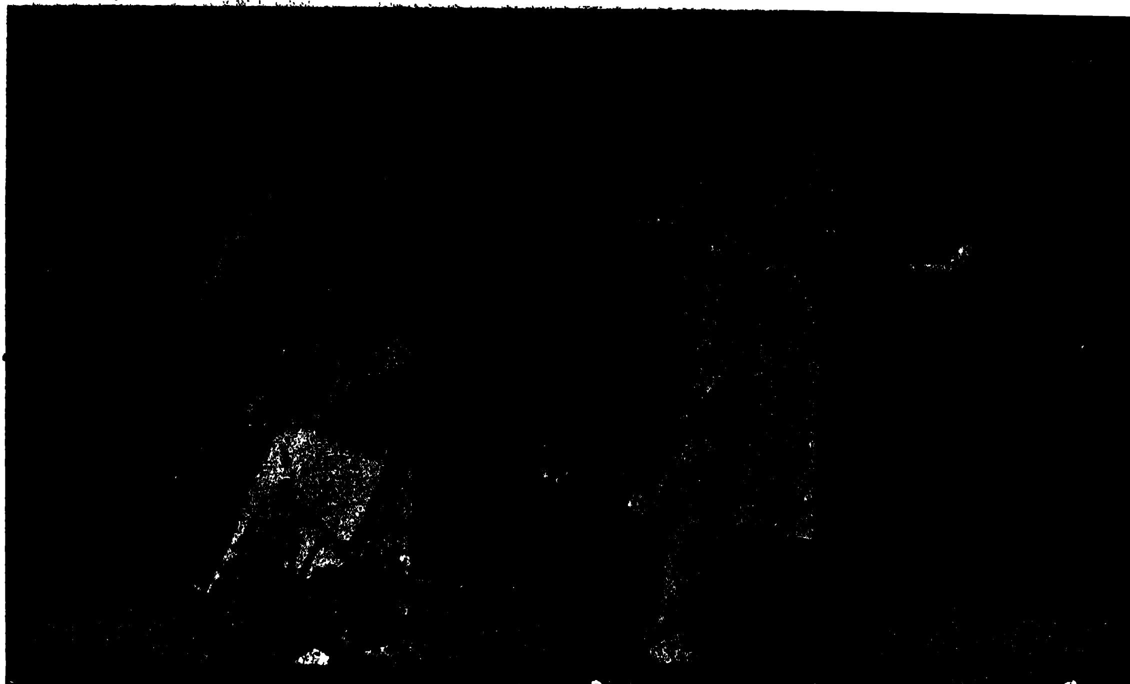
By Prof. ROMESH CHANDRA BANERJEE

The following poem entitled "The Suttee" was published in *The Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register for British India* (London) in its issue of December, 1826, over the initial "R." It consists of fifty lines—25 rhyming couplets of iambic eight-syllabled lines. It is a striking poem, full of pathos and picturesque imagery, with a note of human love, running from end to end. I make a present of it to the readers of *The Modern Review*. As I have not been able to find out the name and particulars of the author, the discovery of the same by any one else interested in the matter will be welcome.

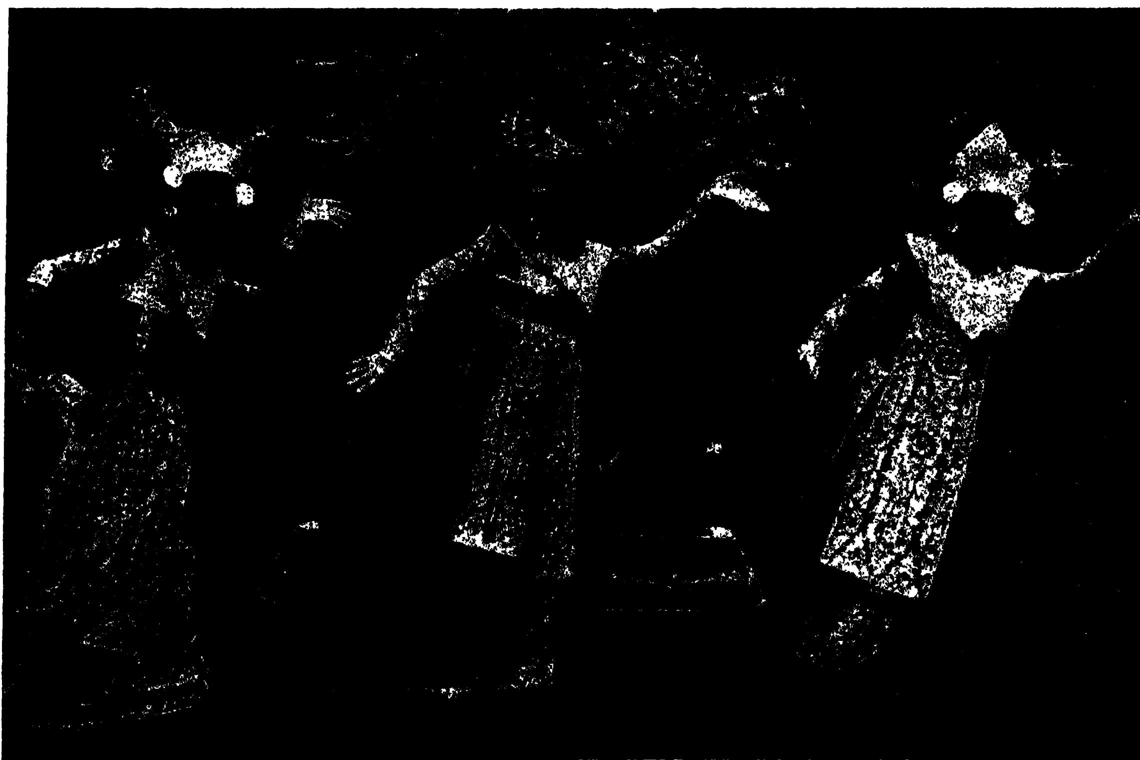
The Suttee

O ye who faint at fancied ills,
Whose eyes the tear of pity fills
When Shakespeare pictures human woes,
And with his magic pencil throws
A semblance of reality
O'er scenes of mock mortality :—
Can feigned grief and pain alone,
The acted pang, the mimic moan,
Extort the sympathizing sigh,
And fill with trembling dew the eye ?
O come, lament along with me,
O'er the sad fate of the Suttee.
See from yon corpse the infuriate throng,
With cymbals shrill and rumbling gong,
In frantic mirth their numbers pour,
Whilst hellish shouts and wild uproar
Tear heaven's vast concave, and proclaim
No deed of virtue—but of shame.
See in the midst the victim move,
Bent t'wards the pile that bears her love;
Loose is her long and raven hair,
Her jet black eyes with frenzy glare;
Her looks, her pallid lips, reveal
The secret she would fain conceal;—
The war that racks her throbbing side,
'Twixt nature and rebellious pride.
Alas ! that beauty, such as thine,
Should decorate grim Moloch's shrine !
But lo ! she tends to Ganga's side,
And plunges in the sacred tide,
Where sins (so wily Brahmins say)
Like dingy stains, are washed away.
See, she ascends the fatal bier,
The bed of him she held so dear :
"Quick, hurl the torch," the Brahmin cries,
And swift the flaming weapon flies.
On all sides burst discordant sounds,
Which, as the curling flame surrounds
The hapless victim, drowns her cries,
The shrieks of mortal agonies;
Whilst upwards to insulted heaven
The yells of brutal joy are driven.
Monsters are they, in human guise,
Who calmly view such sacrifice,
Or triumph at the appalling sight,
With all the signs of mad delight !
O outrage to Religion's name,
O blot upon a nation's fame !
Not Scind's nor Brahma's mighty flood
Could cleanse it from this stain of blood.

R.



Legong dance, Bali



Three young girl dancers in remarkable poses
Dancing is an indispensable feature in the life of the Balenese, not only as a social entertainment but as an integral part of every ceremony. No worship can be complete without it.



The artistic costume, the rhythmic steps, the beautiful poses and the peculiar music all combined create a dreamland atmosphere

STATISTICS OF THE BENGALIS IN BIHAR

By S. N. DATTA, *Barrister-at-Law, Patna*

ONE of the objects of the annulment of the partition of Bengal of 1906 was to bring under one administration the predominantly Bengali speaking tracts. As the province of Bihar, which was constituted soon after the census operation of 1911, was found, according to the report of that census, to have included large slices of Bengali speaking tracts, it was contemplated that the position of such tracts would be reconsidered later. Apart from other reasons, these tracts being very rich in mines and minerals, Bihar was against their re-transfer to Bengal, and a movement was set on foot to minimise the percentage of Bengalis in these tracts in order to set up a claim for their retention in Bihar. The result of the movement is disclosed herein.

The importance of census cannot be overestimated in so far as the Bengalis in Bihar are concerned, for their rights and privileges are made to depend upon their numerical strength in the province. Not only appointments of Bengalis in public services are made on the basis of the percentage which they bear to the total population in the province but admissions of Bengali students to educational institutions are also restricted on the same principle. Even their language has been in jeopardy for there is a move to oust the Bengali language from the educational institutions in the Bengali speaking tracts. In the circumstances, a critical analysis of the statistics touching their numerical strength in Bihar is necessary.

MANBHUM

According to the Census Report of 1901, the total population of Manbhum was 1,301,364. The total number of Kurmis was 241,006 of which 99,932 were in northern Thanas—Tundi, Topchanchi and Jharia, and in the western Thanas—Chas, Jualda, Baghmundi and Chandil. The linguistic position in Manbhum based on the above census figures was thus stated by Mr. Coupland in the District Gazetteer:

> "The prevailing vernacular of the district is the western dialect of Bengali, known as Rarhi-Boli, which is used by 72 per cent of the inhabitants. Along the western border this merges into the Magahi form of Hindi, variants of which are locally known as Kurmali, Khotta or Khottahi, or even Khotta Bangala. Including these dialects, which are spoken by over 40,000 people, mainly in the north and west of the district, as Hindi, Hindi is the language used by nearly 163,000 or 12½ per cent of the population" (page 72).

It is clear that Mr. Coupland recognized that even in the western and northern Thanas only 40 per cent (40,000 out of 99,932) of the Kurmis spoke Hindi.

The Census Report of 1911 says:

> "Kurmali is a corrupt form of Magahi, which, as the name implies, is the tongue of the aboriginal Kurmis of Chota Nagpur (not the Bihari cultivating caste of the same name). . . This patois is also known as Khotta or Khotta Bengali and is written in the Bengali character. Locally, it is regarded as a corrupt form of Bengali" (para 730).

The Report quotes the opinion of the Deputy Commissioner of Ranchi, Mr. Thomson, which is as follows:

> "Panch Pargania or Tamaria is really a composite language formed of Bengali, Oriya and Bihari words and terminations. . . . There is no valid reason why it should be claimed as a dialect of Bihari rather than of Bengali or Oriya" (para 732).

When we come from the body of the Report to the Tables, we find curiously enough a statement quite contrary to the Report itself, that

> "The following dialects have been included in Hindi: Kurmali, Khotta or Khotta Bengali; Manbhum 211,411, Ranchi 20,875, Singhbhum 7,106, Panch Pargania or Tamaria 38,715" (page 65).

The amazing effect of the above unwarranted inclusion will appear on even a cursory analysis of the data furnished by the above Census Report and the District Gazetteer. The population speaking dialects of Hindi other than Kurmali did not show any increase at all in 1911, but those speaking Kurmali swelled from 40,000 in 1901 to 211,411 in 1911. On the natural increase, the 40,000 of 1901 could not have gone beyond 48,400 in 1911. The remaining 163,011 constituting 11 per cent of the population, whom Mr. Coupland and others, men on the spot, knew to be Bengali speaking, were by one stroke of the pen transferred from the Bengali speaking to the Hindi speaking group, increasing the percentage of the latter from 11 to 22.

At the 1921 census, the enumerators were rightly directed to "enter the language which each person ordinarily speaks in his own home" with the result that a large number of people

speaking the local Khotta dialect was entered as Bengali speaking. But in view of the redistribution to come and the desire to claim those tracts as Hindi speaking, those Khotta speaking people were subsequently transferred to the Hindi speaking group. As a justification of this extraordinary procedure, the Report said :

> "It is impossible to say that Khotta is either Hindi or Bengali, but as it was treated as Hindi in 1911, it was thought better on the whole to treat it as such on the present occasion" (page 209).

This anxiety to adhere to the previous record is in sharp contrast with the attitude displayed in the treatment of a dialect of Bengali known as Kishangunjia, which will be discussed presently. Mr. Lacey, Superintendent of Census, Bihar, in his report has remarked :

> "In Manbhum, Bengali has no serious rival as a subsidiary language. . . . Other races (especially the Santhals) when compelled to adopt a foreign tongue, turn with one accord to Bengali." (Census Report, 1931, page 240).

In spite of all these facts, the record of rights were prepared forcibly in Hindi when the survey came. The difficulties created thereby resulted in widespread dissatisfaction. What followed is best given in Mr. Gokhale's report on the Survey and Settlement of Manbhum :

> "Four memorials were then submitted protesting against this decision. These were supported by the then Additional Deputy Commissioner, Mr. Hoernle and the Board, but the Government adhered to their original decision which they declined to reconsider. In 1921, the question was again re-examined by the Governor-in-Council and it was then decided that the record of rights should be prepared in Bengali for Revenue Thanas Nirsa and Tundi and in Hindi for the rest of the subdivision. . . . Almost all the documents and papers produced by the landlords and raiyats in block E were, however, found to be written in Bengali, and there was much difficulty in getting the landlords and raiyats to understand the Hindi record. Rather than write applications and petitions in Hindi, several landlords preferred to do so in English when they were told that they should write their applications either in Hindi or in English, but not in Bengali. . . . Now that the record of rights has been prepared in Hindi, it is desirable that every effort should be made . . . . so that in a short time, there will be at least one man in each village who can read the record and thus enable the villagers to take full advantage of it" (page 44).

After the above, can there be a vestige of doubt that there was not even one man in these villages who knew Hindi ?

Even a cursory glance at the *Linguistic Survey of India* by Dr. Grierson, who has had no equal in the domain of linguistic research so far, will reveal that the entire district of Manbhum, the whole of Dhalbhum sub-division, the State of Saraikella, the Thanas—Silli, Bundu, Tamar and Sonahatu in Ranchi district, the Thanas—Kasmar, Gola and portion of Ramgarh in Hazaribagh district and the district of Santhal Parganas except Godda and portion of Deoghar sub-divisions is in the spell of the Bengali language (*Vide* the map facing page 1, part 1, Vol. V). The Hindi speaking area is illustrated by another map which faces page 1, part 2, Vol. V. Bengali is the language, says Dr. Grierson, of the whole district of Manbhum :

> "Manbhum is a Bengali speaking district and the same language is spoken in that part of Singhbhum known as Dhalbhum." (*Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. V, page 139).

The Kurmi Mahatos of Manbhum are a primitive race residing in the district for centuries. They are quite distinct from Kurmis of Bihar with whom they have no affinity whatsoever except some similarity in name. Their language is Bengali and in *Krittibas Mahaton v. Budhan Mahatani* (6 P.L.T. p. 604) they have been held to be Hinduized aboriginals governed by the Dayabhag School of Hindu Law, the law applicable to Bengalis. The case was decided by the Patna High Court in 1925, by the then Chief Justice Sir Dawson Miller and Mr. Justice MacPherson, who was regarded as an authority on matters of Chota Nagpur. The relevant passage is to be found in the judgment of MacPherson J, at page 607, which runs as follows :

> "Now it does not admit of the faintest doubt that the Kurmi Mahatos of Manbhum District are racially an aboriginal tribe. . . . They have no concern whatever except in the accident of name with the Dravido-Aryan agricultural and menial caste of Bihar proper. This important and numerous aboriginal tribe of agriculturists has, however, moved substantially towards Hinduism and rather faster than the other great tribes of the district such as Santhals and Bhumijs."

This judicial pronouncement by the highest tribunal of the province will set at rest all doubt. But if any further authority is needed, reference may be made to the Manbhum Gazetteer which says :

> "The distinction first drawn by Dr. Grierson between the Bihar and Chota Nagpur Kurmis, which is now generally accepted, is exemplified in this district by the fact that marked traces of the characteristic Kolarian village system remain, the Mahato or village headman of the Kurmis corresponding exactly with the Manjhi of the Santhal, the Sardar of the Bhumij and the Munda, of the Ho races. The Hinduisation of the Kurmis is much more complete than that of either the Bhumij or the Santhal; they abstain from both beef and pork, though they still eat fowls, and in consequence are not reckoned among the caste from whose hands a Brahman may take water. Their characteristic festival, the *Karam* described in an earlier paragraph is, however, essentially animistic, and typical of an aboriginal tribe. Sir H. H. Risley considers that they may perhaps be a Hinduised branch of the Santhals. 'The latter,' he writes, 'who are more particular about what they eat

or rather about whom they will eat with than is commonly supposed, will eat cooked rice with the Kurmis, and according to the tradition regard them as elder brothers of their own.'" (Page 76).

Sir H. H. Risley, Director of Ethnography for India, has further said that

"The totemism of the Kurmis of western Bengal stamps them as of Dravidian descent and clearly distinguishes them from the Kurmis of Bihar and the United Provinces." (*People of India*, page 96).

The Kurmis of Manbhum, says Dr. Grierson, "are an aboriginal tribe of Dravidian stock and should be distinguished from the Kurmis of Bihar who spell their name differently with a smooth instead of hard r. . . . Their habitats are also distinct . . . the two quite distinct tribes have been mixed up in the census." (*Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. V, Part II, page 146).

Dr. Grierson, it may be noted, always indicated the hard *r* by a dot under it. Sir William Hunter also did the same. But this was not followed by other writers, presumably because diacritical types are rarely stocked by a Press.

For ages the Kurmis have regarded Bengali as their mother-tongue and have used it in all affairs. In rural areas they are quite ignorant of Hindi and do not understand a syllable of it. A great number of them have migrated to the Feudatory States of Orissa. Even they have not given up the Bengali language.

"In the Orissa Tributory States, the Kurmis all talk Bengali although living in a Oriya speaking country." (*Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. V, Part II, page 139; *vide* also page 146).

In the face of all these it is impossible to understand on what principle the Kurmis could be considered to be Hindi speaking, and transferred from the latter to the former group.

Singhbhum

The Bhumijs in Sighbhum and Manbhum are ethnologically the same as those in Bankura and Midnapur. No doubt they are of aboriginal stock, but they have now become Hinduised and their mother-tongue is Bengali.

"The Bhumijs of Western Bengal speak only Bengali." (*People of India*, by Risley, page 73).

It may be remembered that the districts of Burdwan, Bankura, Midnapur, Manbhum and Singhbhum were known as western Bengal.

"The Bhumij Kols, the characteristic race of Manbhum . . . speak Bengali." (*Chota Nagpur* by Bradley-Bart, page 177).

Manbhum and Singhbhum District Gazetteers also support the view.

"Writing in 1833, Mr. Dent remarked that Bhumij of Barabhum speak Bengali and were adopting Hindu customs. Sir H. H. Risley speaks of the Bhumij of Western Bengal as a typical example of a whole section of a tribe becoming gradually converted to Hinduism, and transformed into a full-blown caste without abandoning their tribal designation. 'Here,' he remarks, 'a pure Dravidian race have lost their original language and speak only Bengali.'" (Manbhum District Gazetteer, page 79).

"In Manbhum, they have become Hinduized, speaking the Bengali language and eschewing cow's flesh, but the unreformed Bhumij of Singhbhum still indulge in this meat and speak the Bhumij dialect of Mundari." (Singhbhum District Gazetteer, page 60).

Hence, the Bhumijs, except those who speak their tribal dialect, should be recorded in the Bengali speaking group, and none should be recorded in the Hindi or Oriya speaking group.

The Kurmis of Singhbhum are of the same type, and are in the same position as those in Manbhum (*Vide Singhbhum District Gazetteer*, p. 65). Regarding the other castes and tribes, such as Tantis, Bhuias, Saraks, Kumhars etc., the same District Gazetteer says that

"Singhbhum is largely peopled by the same castes as are found in the neighbouring districts of Midnapur, Bankura and Manbhum, and by Hindu immigrants from these districts" (page 53).

And yet we find that though some of the people of one or other of these castes including Kurmis were recorded as Bengalis, others were entered in the Oriya or doubtful groups.

Dhalbhum sub-division is a Bengali speaking area. The court language is Bengali and the lists of voters for the Legislative Assembly and for the District Board are maintained in Bengali. Dr. Grierson's opinion that Bengali "is spoken in that part of Singhbhum known as Dhalbhum" has already been quoted above. The Census Report of 1931 says:

"In Dhalbhum Sub-division (where the number of Biharis outside Jamshedpur is very small), the Bengalis are in a large majority over the Oriyas. Here again the preponderence is to be found in each local unit except in No. 18. 141,000 persons or 36 per cent of the population speak Bengali as their mother-tongue. 64,000 or 46 per cent of the population speaking tribal languages as their mother-tongue use Bengali as a subsidiary language."

Ranchi

According to Dr. Grierson, as has been mentioned above, the area under Thanas—Silli, Bundu, Tamar and Sonahatu is Bengali speaking. This area is contiguous to Manbhum. On a reference to the Ranchi Gazeetteer by Mr. Hallett (now His Excellency Sir Maurice Garnier Hallet) it will be found that the Bengali speaking area in these Thanas covers about 850 square miles with a population of about 2¼ lacs. Dr. Grierson also says:

"Across the south-east corner of Ranchi, a colony of Jains speak the variety of western Bengali known as Saraki, while the other inhabitants of the same tract speak either Nagpuria or Punch-Pargania."

He further holds that Bengali is spoken in the whole of Khunti Sub-division of the district which comprises an area of 1545 square miles with a population of 373,800. (*Vide* map facing page 140, part II, Vol. V).

HAZARIBAGH

In the district of Hazaribagh, as has already been noticed, the Bengali speaking tract covers the entire Kasmar (now Petarber) and Gola Thanas and a greater portion of Ramgarh Thana. The authorities are unanimous on the point. The Census Report of 1911 says:

"A corrupt form of Magahi is also spoken in Thanas Gola and Kasmar, and in part of Thana Ramgarh in the south-east of Hazaribagh. This patois, which is called Het-gola, contains Bengali words and phrases and locally is considered to be Bengali" (para 730).

Dr. Grierson's opinion to the same effect is illustrated by the map facing page 1, part I and page 140, part II of Vol. V. The population in Kasmar (Petarber), Gola and Ramgarh are 83,643 and 40,014 and 70,427 respectively. Leaving aside half the population of Ramgarh, there will at least be about $1\frac{1}{2}$ lacs Bengali speaking people in an area covering about 600 square miles.

SANTHAL PARGANAS

The position in Santhal Parganas is even more curious. The very name of the tribe is derived from their place of origin Saont in Pargana Silda in the district of Midnapur.

"Pargana Silda, in which the Santhals predominate, is properly called Samanta Bhumi." (*Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal* by Col. Dalton, page 211).

"It was from our long sojourn in Saont that we took the name of Santal." (Bagh Rai's narrative of his tribe quoted at page 211 of the *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*).

According to Skrefsrud and other scholars, 'Santal' is a corruption of 'Saontal,' which again is a corruption of 'Samantal.'

Before the formation of this district in 1855, its area formed part of Birbhum and Murshidabad districts, and three out of five sub-divisions namely, Pakur, Jamtara and Rajmahal, were Bengali speaking. The Imperial Gazetteer of India says:

"Until the formation of the district in 1855, the southern and western portions belonged to Birbhum." (Vol. II, page 219).

"In 1765, the district (Birbhum) was more than twice its present size. . . . Some years later considerable tracts to the west were cut off and now form part of the Santhal Parganas." (Vol. I, page 278).

Rajmahal was the capital of Bengal for some years preceding 1606 and it again became the capital of Bengal in 1637. It cannot for a moment be contended that the capital of Bengal was in an area which was not Bengali speaking. Santhals who live in this tract not having literature or script of their own, adopted Bengali as a second language from as remote a period as history can take us back. According to Dr. Grierson the whole district of Santhal Parganas except Godda and portion of Deoghar sub-divisions, *i.e.*, five-sixth of the district, is within the spell of Bengali language (*Vide* map facing pages 69 and 95, part I and II respectively of Vol. V).

"Western Bengali," says Dr. Grierson, "has one sub-dialect called the Mal Paharia spoken in the centre of Santhal Parganas."

In some portion of the Deoghar sub-division also Mal Paharia is spoken, and the language in Godda sub-division is akin to Bengali. Says Dr. Grierson:

"Maithili is spoken in the north-west of the Santhal Parganas. South of the Ganges, the Maithili language is influenced by Bengali. The result is a well-known language known as Chhika-Chhiki Boli."

Upto the year 1915, primary education in this district used to be conducted through the medium of Bengali, when by reason of a vigorous campaign against Bengali by Mr. Luby, the then Sub-divisional Officer of Dhanbad, a reactionary movement spread to the Santhal Parganas, in consequence of which Bengali was substituted by Hindi in the field of primary education. In 1930, Mr. Faweus, the then Director of Public Instruction, found that forcible adoption of Hindi has led to serious deterioration in primary education in these areas. The whole position was then reviewed by Mr. Faweus in collaboration with Mr. Hoernle, Deputy Commissioner of the district, the Inspector of Schools (a Santhal gentleman), the Special Inspector of Schools for Santhal Education (another Santhal gentleman), the Inspector of Schools, Bhagalpur division (a Bihari), Mr. Dain, Commissioner of Bhagalpur division and Mr. Sangram Hembrom, the then M.L.C. for the district. The findings arrived at cannot better be described than in the words of Mr. Hoernle:

"The policy adopted in Jamtara and Pakur seems to have been based on Dhanbad, where Mr. Luby, who was the Sub-divisional Officer in 1914, instituted a vigorous campaign against Bengali. In Dhanbad, the local patois is Khotta, a sort of mixture of Bengali and Hindi, tending more to Hindi in the west and north-west and to Bengali in the east, north-east and south-east (the centre of the sub-division being coal-field is polyglot). The prepondering tendency is towards Bengali, and in the 1921 Census, I could find hardly any enumerators who knew any language other than Bengali. Thus, in my opinion, the policy in Dhanbad was wrong. It follows that a policy based on that policy was also wrong, especially when it is considered that Pakur adjoins

Murshidabad and Birbhum, and Jamtara, Burdwan and Birbhum. The settlement records in both sub-divisions and the vast majority of petitions and documents are written in Bengali and the object of teaching boys to read is largely to enable them to understand the records, receipts and similar documents. . . . Possibly the decision to adopt Hindi in 1914 was based partly on census statistics and I happen to know the inner history of the latter as I was employed on census in this district under Mr. Allenson in 1911. There was a move afoot to memorialise Government to detach the Santhal Parganas from Bhagalpur and join it to some Bengal division. A common local patois corresponding to some extent to the Khotta of Dhanbad is Chika Chiki. There was some controversy whether this should be classified as Bengali or Hindi, and in view of the move aforesaid, Mr. Allenson directed that it should be treated as Hindi."

The result was, that in 1931, after 16 years of trial of Hindi, Bengali had to be re-introduced as a medium of instruction, in the interests of the educational needs of the country. I have already quoted the Census Report of 1931, which at page 240 says :

"Other races (especially the Santhals) when compelled to adopt a foreign tongue, turn with one accord to Bengali."

PURNEA

The Thanas of east Purnea, the district of Rungpur, two-thirds of the district of Dinajpur, the Thanas of Jalpaiguri west of Tista and the Native State of Cooch Behar form northern Bengal in its real sense (*Vide* Census of India, 1891, page 38). In other words the portion of Purnea to the east of the old bed of Kosi river was all along a part of Bengal. Patni Taluks, governed by the Patni Regulation of 1819, peculiar tenures of Bengal, are only to be found in Purnea and in nowhere else in Bihar.

As the Purnea District Gazetteer says :

"For practical purposes the district may be divided into two portions by a line drawn diagonally from the north-west to the south-east corner."

The population in the district may also be divided into two distinct groups—those in the west are Biharis in their social relations, customs and language, while those in the east are Bengalis in their manners, customs and language. The line of demarcation between the two is the old bed of the Kosi river (*Vide* Hunter's *Statistical Account of Bengal*, p. 249). The old bed of Kosi river, according to Hunter, cut the Purnea district almost diagonally from the north-west to the south-east corner.

"The course of the river passed east of the town of Purnea and through the police division of Manihari before it fell into the Ganges." (*Vide* Sir William Hunter's opinion quoted in Purnea District Gazetteer, page 20).

Purnea Census Report of 1891 may also be perused in this connection (paragraphs 10 to 14).

"It is well-known that Kosi formed the eastern and not, as now, the western boundary of the Bihar portion of Purnea." (Quoted from Census Report of 1891 in Purnea District Gazetteer, page 20).

The majority of the people in the eastern division are Muhammadans who roughly represent 62 per cent.

"The most numerous Shaiks are those who belong to the Bengali sub-caste and they chiefly inhabit the whole of Kishangunj Sub-division, and Thanas Balarampur, the eastern parts of Araria, Kasba, Amour and Kadwa." (Census Report, para 117).

The Hindu population representing about 38 per cent is comprised mainly of the following castes and tribes : Sadgope, Kaivarta or Mahisya, Koch, Polia, Rajbansi, Desi, Gangai, Barhi, Bouri, Hari, Chandal and Kurairia. These castes and tribes are of Bengal origin and can only be found in Bengal and in this division of Purnea but nowhere else in Bihar proper. A reference to the note regarding these castes and tribes in Census Report of 1891 and to Buchanan's Report will make it perfectly clear that they are Bengalis.

SADGOPE : "Chiefly reside in Kishangunj. . . . . . Their ancestors, before the Muhammadan conquest, owned the sovereignty of some principality known as Gopbhum, comprised particularly within the present Burdwan district." (Census Report, para 30).

KAIBARTA OR MAHISYA : "Inhabit chiefly the southern portion . . . from their very name seem to be people of Bengal origin. . . . They also resemble much in their habits their fellow castes of the neighbouring district of Bengal." (Census Report, para 39).

KOCH, POLIA, RAJBANSI, DESI : "All belong to the Koch tribe. . . . They all use Bengali language." (Census Report, para 93).

GANGAI : "They all speak the same dialect—Kishangunjia." (Census Report, para 19).

BARHI : "These inhabit generally the part of the country lying east of Mahananda river." (Census Report, para 100).

BOURI : "Found in the east and northern parts of the district. They are very numerous in Dinajpur." (Buchanan's Report).

HARI : "The Haris are of Bengal origin and as such speak a Bengali dialect." (Census Report, para 114).

CHANDAL : "A tribe of Bengali fishermen found chiefly in the eastern part between Mahananda and Nagar rivers." (Buchanan's Report).

KURAIRIA : "They all speak the same sub-dialect of Sripuria or Kishangunjia." (Census Report, para 111).

There are also people of castes admittedly of Bengal, such as Rarhi Brahman and Kayastha, Gandha Banik, Kumahar, Kamar, Tantubai, Goyla, Patani and Barui. The western division is inhabited by the Hindu castes which are commonly found all over Bihar but scarcely in Bengal, namely, Maithil Brahmin, Rajput, Ambasth and other Kaisths, Babhan, Bania, Lohar, Koiri, Dhanuk, Beldar, Goala, Kewat,

Musahar, Dhangar and Doshad. The language spoken in the eastern division is Sripuria or Kishangunjia, which is "in the main a Bengali dialect" as Dr. Grierson has it. Says Dr. Grierson:

"The western limit of northern Bengali extends into Purnea district; that language may be taken as occupying the eastern third of the district, that is to say the whole of Kishangunj and the eastern half of the Sadar Sub-division." (*Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. V, Part I, page 139).

The following are the samples furnished by Dr. Grierson of the dialects as spoken in the eastern and western divisions of Purnea and in the neighbouring Bengal and other districts:

EAST PURNEA: Ek jhanar dui chhua chil. Uha se chototi apna bapak kahalc ke 'bap, tor dhaner hissa je mok mile de'.

DINAJPUR: Ek jan manusher dui chawa chila. Tayder madhye chota chawa apan bapke kahil 'bap sampater je bhag hami pam ta hamak den.

JALPAIGURI: Ek jhankar duiphan beta achil. Amhar madhyat chhota beta ar bapak kahil ki bele 'ba hammar sampattir mui je bhag pam ta tui mok de.

MALDA: Yak jhona manuser duta byata achhile. Ar madhye chhoto byata ar baba ke kahil 'baba mal jalar je hisa mui pao se mok de.

WEST PURNEA: Ek gota ke dui beta rahin. Okara me se chotka bap se kahhlak ke 'ho bap hamar bakhara je sampat hoetah hamara de da.

BIHAR PROPER: Ek admika du beta rahi. Chhotka apna bap se kahalas ki 'e babuji dhan me je hamar hissa se bat di.

These samples leave not a shadow of doubt even to one with a superficial knowledge of Bengali and Hindi, that the dialect spoken in east Purnea has no affinity with Hindi.

"The Sripuria dialect is a border form of speech. Bengali in the main, but containing expressions borrowed from Maithili." (Purnea District Gazetteer, page 57).

Let us now see how at the 1921 Census the Hindi speaking population was inflated at the cost of Bengalis. In the Census of 1911 over 600,000 of people speaking Kishangunjia were entered as Bengali speaking. At the 1921 Census they were all transferred to the Hindi speaking group, because the Sub-divisional Officer thought that a speaker of pure Hindi would be more at home in the area than one of pure Bengali. The standard was shifted from the language spoken by the people in their own home to the capacity of a stranger to understand it, and a language definitely declared by Dr. Grierson and other authorities to be a dialect of Bengali and shown as such in the Census of 1911 was pronounced to be Hindi by a Sub-divisional Officer whose philological attainment is yet unknown. The alteration was not interfered with for the illuminating reason: "The entry was 'Hindi' and could not simply be changed to Bengali." (p. 212). Says Mr. Tallents:

"The proportion of Hindi or Urdu speakers to the population is much what it was ten years ago in most of the districts of Bihar. In Purnea, it has greatly increased at the expense of Bengali." (Census Report, 1921, page 212).

Conditions vary considerably between the east and west Purnea. Says Sir William Hunter:

"The bed of the river (Kosi) about 3 or 4 centuries ago seems to be marked by the line which divided the *parganas*, which down to the present day preserve their agricultural records under the Bengali and the *fasli* or Bihari eras." (Quoted in the Purnea District Gazetteer at page 20).

The religious festivals observed by the Hindus in east Purnea are those observed in Bengal, such as Durga, Kali, Saraswati Pujas etc. Whereas the festivals of west Purnea are Chat, Dowat Puja, Holi etc., which are observed in other parts of Bihar proper

Persons speaking Surajpuria or Kishangunjia have, by reason of natural increase, swelled and are as follows:

	Hindu	Muhammadan
Kishangunj ..	174,928	382.536
Amour and Baisi ..	44,114	93.104
Gopalpur (Karandighi)	47 159	25.323
Manihari about	2.000	1.000
Palasi (Araria) about	5.000	10,000

357.809 + 588,743 = 946,552

Thus there are about 9½ lacs of Bengali speaking people in an area covering about 2,400 square miles in the district of Purnea

BHAGALPUR

That the Rarhis of Bhagalpur are racially and culturally Bengalis can admit of no two opinion. Their original seat was in Rarh, a country lying in the districts of Murshidabad and Birbhum.

"The river Bhagirathi, flowing from north to south through the district, divided it into two almost equal portions. . . The tract to the west of the river known as Rarh, and the tract to the east as Bagri—names which recall the traditional division of Bengal by King Ballal Sen into four tracts, *viz*.. Rarh. to the south of the Ganges and west of the Bhagirathi. . . ." (Murshidabad District Gazetteer, page 1).

The Rarhis are Bengalis in their manners and customs, and they marry their children in Bengal. Their surnames, Banerji, Chatterji, Mukherji, Ghosh, Bose, Mitra, set all doubt at rest. Though for appointments in public services and for admission to educational institutions certificates of domicile are demanded from them yet for the purpose of census an

attempt is being made to get them recorded as Biharis.

CONCLUSION

Statistics of different racial and linguistic groups no doubt offer many problems. But *Linguistic Survey of India* and other scientific treatise mentioned above are there. The authoritative character of the scientific research contained in the monumental work of Sir George Grierson has been recognized in India and abroad, and recently has been emphasized by Sir Andrew Clow, Communications Member of the Government of India. In preparing a scientific and historical publication as a Census Report the *Linguistic Survey of India* and other authoritative works should be adhered to until and unless their findings could be revised on sound philological, ethnological or other scientific grounds.

THE GARDEN IN OOTACAMUND

By BERTRAM GODWIN STEINHOFF

II

I, sitting here on this bench in this garden,
Seeing, hearing, thinking, feeling,
Grappling this world problem,
Wrestling with it alone,
I also have something to say on this matter.
It is this :—
We are all in the same box.
We are all here on this green earth,
Coming in at the portal of birth,
Going out at the gate of death,
Living only so long as the Good God
Allows us breath,
The longest still short—our 'Lars[1]
And Penate's stead us but a little while,
Our earth but a ball,
Infinitesimally small,
Spinning round the sun,
In intricate maze-work of stars.
We are not so many Christians, Buddhists, Hindus,
Zoroastrians, Confucianists, and Taoists,
Nor so many Europeans, Asiatics, Africans, and Americans,
Nor so many Whites, Blacks, Yellows, and Reds,
But only so many souls,
Colourless, casteless, sectless, raceless,
Clothesless, hatless, bootless, fashionless,
Sent out to colonize this colonial earth :
The gods do not care
What you eat, and how, or what you wear,
Or how you dress.

* * * * *

Why should we, colonists, compete with each other ?
Why shove, elbow, oust, scramble, and press ?
Even bad colonists do not do such things,
But help each other, lift up those who fall.

* * * * *

Pull down every dividing wall,
So that no child shall be beaten, and starved,
In the farthest island of the Pacific Ocean,
But the great ones of the earth
Shall feel the smart, and take steps to stop it.

* * * * *

Brazil, and Ohio, can feed the whole world of us,
India, and Egypt, the whole world can clothe.
There is enough to eat,
In this colonial earth, and an over-plus.
Why elbow, scramble, shove, and compete ?
Why hurt another colonist of earth ?
Let him take the cake, and the sandwich,
Poor devil !—there is enough for us all.

* * * * *

But we cannot live, cannot breathe
In the air of a nation,
But only side by side, shoulder to shoulder,
On the whole of our planet colonial
In good peace,
So that every war shall be a civil war, and,
By inevitable negation,
Shall utterly cease.
Man is not man's enemy,

1. Usually written "Lares"—but both mean the same thing.

But the powers of darkness, sin, and disease :
These are our sleepless foes.
Why make more enemies ?
Are our hands not already full ?

* * * * *

Let us band together, like sensible colonists,
On every square mile of the world map,
Wiping out all lives isothermal, and ethnical,
Lati-and-longitudinal,
From pole to pole :
One army of earth's colonial whole,
Waging deathless war on our real enemies,
And not against this, or that, poor batch of our fellowmen,
Mere colonists like ourselves.

* * * * *

We have gone to and fro,
And knowledge has been increased.
I can see, and hear, what is going on
At the antipodes,
They can see, and hear, what is going on here,
There are now no boundaries
Of lands, and seas.

* * * * *

There is no excuse now left us.
All men's eyes are now opened.
We cannot say to another—" You are my brother "—
And deal with him as stranger, and outcast.
The lie is given us direct :
It sticks in our throat.
At once we are stultified;
The flattering unction is taken away from our souls;
There are no secret places there now to hide
The white lie, the pious fraud,
That makes the worse appear the better reason;
The dice are unloaded, unbiassed the bowls;
At once we are convicted of treason
Against Truth;
The accusing finger is lifted upon us;
Creed-pride, and race-pride cannot stead us now :
They are seen through and through;
They cower threadbare, and stupid.

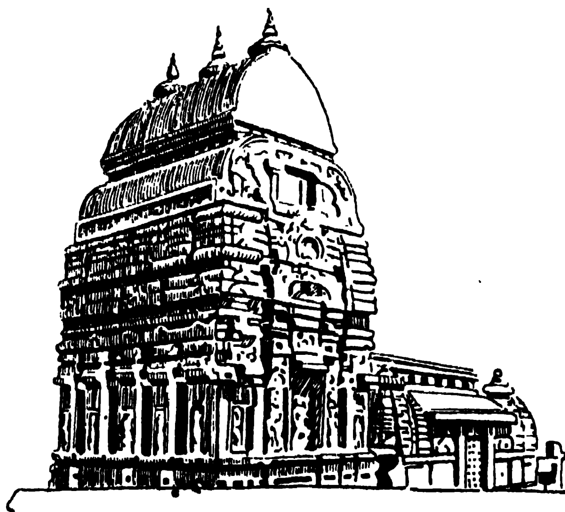
* * * * *

There is no excuse now, no way out,
But, with one bold swift step, 'uno ictu,'
To make the whole world one great colony,
Spinning round the sun,
In intricate maze-work of stars,
That are also suns.

* * * * *

This is a little frequented, neglected corner
Of the garden, where I am sitting :
Wild flowers are growing here;
Few look at them.
I too am now here in Ooty only for a short stay:
Little flowers,
I wonder if any will come to look at you,
When I go away.

(Concluded)





Book Reviews



BOOKS in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in THE MODERN REVIEW. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, THE MODERN REVIEW.

ENGLISH

THEISM AND COSMOLOGY: *Being the first series of a course of Gifford Lectures on the General subject of Metaphysics and Theism. Given in the University of Glasgow in 1939 by John Laird, LL.D, F.B.A., Regius Professor of the University of Aberdeen. Published by Messrs. George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London. Pp. 325. Price 10s. 6d. net.*

The problem of Theism is one of perennial value and interest. On our table, we have three new works dealing with the subject, a proof, if proof be needed, of its never failing importance. Discussions on Theism soon lead us to metaphysical assumptions. Both stand or fall together.

A book by Professor Laird is an event in the world of thought and his Gifford lectures presenting to us the mature speculation of one of Britain's eminent thinkers would be expected to rank high in philosophical inquiry.

God exists: this is a most widely accepted belief. Whatever connotatism may difficient people attach to their idea of God, the fact is universally recognised. But can God's existence be proved? What kind of proof is available to convince the unbeliever that there is a God? Can the sceptic be persuaded to give up his unbelief? The first difficulty that presents itself in any attempt to prove the existence of God arises from the moral and practical implications of the belief. Plato points out to the source of unbelief in the Laws. The Cretan expresses the view that all doubt of God is due to the lack of "self-control in the matter of pleasures and desires." Plato would rather point to ignorance, to "a certain grievous kind of ignorance." Pascal, in more recent times and anticipating ultra-modern psychologists, discovers in the heart reasons that escape even the most alert mind. Any belief, as a matter of fact, which translates itself into action must convince not only the intellect but the heart, the will and the affections of human personality.

But Professor Laird's argument is not directly concerned with the general problem of the possibility of proving the existence of God. His scope is more restricted. Is the cosmological argument logically conclusive as a proof. The conclusion arrived at in the Epilogue is to the effect that first, the cosmological argument is not logically conclusive and secondly, that "even if the double-barelled existential premiss of the cosmological argument could be established, namely, that there is a world and that it is self-insufficient, there would be immense difficulty in further establishing that the type of self-insufficiency that the world showed entailed just one compliment, and that this compliment was big enough and was fine enough to be God" (page 318).

The arugment from the motion, change and contingency of the world may lead to establish the existence of a "Movens Immobile" of Aristotle. But, as it has often been pointed out, such being, "Movens Immobile," would not and cannot elicit responses of love and admiration. Who would pray to it? Who would worship it? The cosmological argument would have therefore no value for religion if it cannot lead the mind to the demonstration of the existence of a Being endowed with attributes which would elicit such responses.

The cosmological argument is, however, not to be appraised by its value for Theology. It has to be judged in its own merits, and by its logical consistency. We have not been convinced by Dr. Laird's contention. Dr. Laird argues that from the mere premiss "x exists but might not have existed, it cannot be inferred by any known logical principle, that anything other than x exists."

To us it seems more impressive that if x has not the *raison d'etre* written in its individual nature and constitution, if x is a compound of essence and existence, as medieval philosophers put it, there must be some other "x" which bring into conjunction the essence and existence. Simplicity and ultimacy go together. The ultimate Real cannot be a plurality. It must be an absolute unity, an unmixed simplicity. If x exists but it might not have existed, does it not follow that there is an element of potentiality in its nature, an indifference or neutrality in regard to existence? Then why does x exist? Why does it not continue in the limbo of potentiality?

It may reasonably be argued that in all this argumentation we are constantly restricted to concepts and to the implications of concepts, as the mathematician is with symbols. On what ground do we jump over the barrier of concepts and land in the realm of realities?

"The traditional so-called proofs of the co-existence of God, all refer to this God-idea to a logical concept of God; they prove nothing more than the existence of this idea of God." Unamuno after pointing to the impasse to which a conceptual approach to God would lead us, assures us of the existence of another and better way, the way of love. "Not by the way of reason, but only by the way of love and of suffering, do we come to the living God. . . The knowledge of God proceeds from the love of God and this knowledge has little or nothing of the rational in it. . . . We must begin by longing for Him, loving Him, hungering after Him. . . ."

P. G. BRIDGE

ATOMS IN ACTION—THE WORLD OF CREATIVE PHYSICS : *By G. R. Harrison. Published by George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London. Price 12s. 6d.*

A few years ago a great deal of interest was aroused amongst the section of the public who are interested in reading about the achievements of science by the appearance of a book entitled *Creative Chemistry* by E. E. Slosson, in which a very fascinating account was given of the contribution of chemistry to problems of every day living. The book under review aims to perform a similar service with respect to physics. Its author is Professor of Physics in the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and he has recently compiled a very comprehensive and up-to-date table of spectroscopic wavelengths. His recreation appears to be to deliver popular lectures and write articles on the contribution of physics to human welfare. He was commissioned to write the present book by the American Institute of Physics, the central organisation of the various societies of American physicists. He had also the aid and co-operation of the principal industrial organisations in the U. S. A., which aim to utilise the results of discoveries and inventions in physics like the G. E. C., the R. C. A.—Victor organisation, the Bell Telephone Co., the Eastmann Kodak Co., the Corning Glass Works and others too many to mention. As a result, the contribution of Americans to the development of applied physics is given a great deal of prominence. A subsidiary object in writing the book appears to be to support the view that discoveries and inventions do not produce technological unemployment, but rather a far larger number of people find employment in the new industries created than the workers who have been displaced.

The thesis of the book is very ably expressed in the introductory chapter entitled *The Taming of Energy*. "Almost every material problem of living turns out in the last analysis to be a problem of control of energy. The wheels of civilization are kept turning by energy; all the energy whether we draw it from a gallon of gasoline, a ton of coal, or a pound of butter has come from the sun. Energy is wealth and in the case of apprenticed sunlight, wealth of a particularly desirable kind, freshly created and free to him who can capture and control it." An account is given of how energy is utilised from natural sources, transformed and transmitted in various forms suited to human needs and recreations. In fourteen succeeding chapters written with great imagination and insight, the author has described the application of physics to various aspects of living. The title of the chapters are themselves very suggestive : When physics goes farming, Sound rides the wire, Glass more precious than rubies, Light for a living world, The ransomed electron, Sound borrows wrings, Eyes that sees through atoms, The doctor and the physicist, Glass sharpens vision, Eyes for the memory, Sight conquers space, The capture of melody, Outwitting the weather, Man climbs the winds. In each chapter the main problem is stated and it is shown how the knowledge of physical principles has been applied to solve it. Only so much of modern theoretical physics is introduced as is necessary to understand some application of physics to industry.

According to the author physicists are of two classes, those who are engaged in pure or fundamental research —they are attempting to understand Nature, the others, the applied physicists attempt to control Nature. Usually there is a gap of about thirty years between the discoveries made by the first group and their applications by the second. It is interesting to note how far we have advanced from the dictum of Bacon in his Novum Organum on the unity of theory and practice in science. "The roads to human power and to human knowledge lie close together and are nearly the same, nevertheless on account of the pernicious and inveterate habit of dwelling on abstractions, it is safer to begin and raise the sciences from those foundations which have relation to practice and let the active part be the seal which prints and determines the contemplative part." This dictum will be welcomed by the class of readers who have been overwhelmed by the flood of speculative discussions which have arisen out of the newer concepts in theoretical physics like Einstein's Principle of Relativity and Heisenberg's Principle of Indeterminacy. They will find the present volume with its brilliant non-technical presentation of the applications of physics very engrossing and entertaining reading. The only criticism which can be directed against it is that it leaves the impression in the mind of the readers that the application of science to human society has only result-ed in the promotion of its health and happiness.

D. M. Bose

JENGHIZ KHAN : *By Mr. C. C. Walker, Squadron-Leader, Royal Canadian Air Force. Published by Luzac & Co. 1939. Pp. 216.*

It is with considerable diffidence that an arm-chair student of history ventures to review a book written by a professional soldier and a well-read scholar too. Howorth, Barthold, d'Ohsson, J. R. K. Douglas and several other scholars have studied the history of the Mongols and produced monumental works; but the subject is so vast, sources so varied and buried in so many languages, and perhaps in popular traditions of so many peoples who suffered and profitted by the "Mongol Peace" imposed on half of Europe and two-thirds of Asia by Jenghiz Khan and his successors—that "the scholars," as Mr. Walker rightly observes, "who have attempted the history of the Mongols have never yet been able to refer to all the available historical sources in the original tongues . . . . the historian who would attempt a complete history written entirely from original sources, would have to be marvellously well-equipped linguistically for his task" (page 11).

Mr. Walker's book claims no originality nor finality in respect of sources which is too much to expect of an active soldier in a half-conquered element; but nevertheless, it is an extremely valuable study of Jenghiz Khan's campaigns from a military standpoint. It has an aroma and freshness of its own and enchains the interest of the reader throughout the otherwise dry details of march and counter-march, massacre and rapine, enabling him with good maps to follow intelligently the grim Mongol conqueror and his lieutenants in their campaigns in the Middle and the Far East. This book impresses us with the fact that none but a soldier with the soldier's erect stature, hard realistic mentality and knowledge of his trade—can do justice to a great soldier and apportion fairly the praise and blame between the victor and the vanquished. The writer in his study of the subject has manfully freed himself from the arrogance of the white and his prejudice for everything on the other side of the Bosphorus. We have not come across a fairer estimate of Jenghiz Khan as a soldier from the pen of any writer, European or Asiatic. Mr. Walker says : "In vision also, Jenghiz Khan is one of the great figures of history. Alexander and his phalanx cannot compare with this nomad chieftain. . . . The galaxy of brilliant commanders who served the Great Khan can only be compared to Napoleon's marshals" (page 174). As regards the superiority of the military genius of Jenghiz over that of his subordinates Mr. Walker

corrects the error of the incautious historian, Gaubil, with the remark. "Their strokes would end a battle, his ended a campaign without a battle. Where they thought in thousands of men on a square mile of ground, his mind pictured whole armies manœuvring in an empire" (page 175).

The political philosophy of the soldier-author is proverbially that of great soldiers and world-conquerors of the past and present age. He does not conceal his contempt for the academic notions of "liberty, national independence, political self-determination and all other shibboleths we know so well today" (page 178). He is a believer in the ultimate good of "political unity" which can be brought into existence only by the sharp sword of a great soldier, and not by "moralising visionaries." "If so," the writer says: "Civilization will be more fortunate if he is a Cyrus .... rather than a Jenghiz Khan" (page 180). God responded to prayer of the writer too promptly, and gave this time a Jenghiz Khan in Central Europe perhaps to achieve what Hitler's archetype had achieved seven hundred years before in Central Asia.

If anybody cares to go through Mr. Walker's book under review he will at once be impressed by the striking similarity between Hitler and Jenghiz Khan, and also between military tactics of the Mongol army in Khwarizm and Khorasan with the lightning tactics of the German armies—so far it is possible for a layman to judge—in Belgium and Northern France. The scouting screen of light arms spreading in fan-like formation in front of the main army, the stratagem of enveloping tactics, the surprisingly mobile offensive that proves its superiority over most formidable plans of "positional warfare," even the employment of a "Fifth Column," had all been anticipated seven hundred years before by the untutored genius of the shepherd soldier of Central Asia.

Mr. Walker's book deserves close study by every student of medieval history. We wish our Indian military officers might also divert their leisure and interest to a scientific study of battles and wars of India's past and correct many errors which closet historians are likely to commit.

K. R. QANUNGO

FOREIGN NOTICES OF SOUTH INDIA : *By Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, M.A. Published by the University of Madras. Pp. xiv+341.*

In this handy volume, the author has brought together, in English translation, the numerous notices of South India and Ceylon by foreign writers,—Greek, Roman, Arabic, Chinese, Persian and Europeans of later age. The author does not claim to have studied the original books, but has relied upon their translations into modern European languages.

It is well-known that foreign notices constitute an important source of Indian history. Unfortunately, being published in numerous books and journals in different foreign languages, these are not easily accessible to Indian students. It was therefore a very happy idea of the author to publish what may justly be regarded as an important source-book of *Early South Indian History.*

The treatise covers a wide range from Megasthenes in the fourth century B.C. to Ma Huan in the fifteenth century A.D. In a learned introduction he has reviewed the relations of South India with the outside world, and given a brief account of the various foreign writers from whose books he has quoted extracts. Short footnotes have been added for the elucidation of the text. These are by no means adequate or comprehensive but this could hardly be expected from an author who had to traverse such a wide field of study.

We congratulate the author on his pioneer work and fervently hope that either he or some other scholar should make a similar collection of foreign notices of Northern India.

INDIA AS DESCRIBED BY EARLY GREEK WRITERS : *By Baijnath Puri. Published by the Indian Press Ltd., Allahabad. 1939. Pp. vi+155.*

In this small handy volume, the author has collected the information supplied by various Greek writers on India. He has classified the information under the following heads to each of which a separate chapter has been devoted : Geography, political history and system of administration, society, economic condition, religion, philosophy and education, and art and architecture. The book would be of great help to students of Indian history who would get all the important historical data in classical literature in one place.

The author has occasionally made brief comments on the observations of the Greek writers. Although not characterised by any striking originality, they would be of use to the beginners in the study of Indology.

The book is disfigured by many misprints, and Bimbisara for Bindusara on page 11 is a serious error.

R. C. MAJUMDAR

AN INTRODUCTION TO INDIAN PHILOSOPHY : *By Dr. S. C. Chatterjee, M.A., Ph.D., Lecturer in Philosophy, Calcutta University and Dr. D. M. Dutta, M.A., Ph.D., Assistant Professor of Philosophy, Patna College. Published by the University of Calcutta. Pp. 404+xviii. Price not mentioned.*

The distinguished authors are well-known not only as eminent professors of Philosophy but also as reputed authors of important philosophical works, which have been recognised as distinctive contributions to modern studies of Indian Philosophy.

The present work, edited by Sir Radhakrishnan, is primarily written to serve the needs of University students, as well as, of general readers interested in the subject. Of the ten chapters of the book, the first one is devoted to general introduction that outlines in the first half the basic features of Indian philosophy and gives us in the last half a brief sketch of nine Indian systems, such as, Charvak, Jain, Bauddha, Nyaya, Vaisesika, Sankhya, Yoga, Mimansa and Vedant which are respectively elaborated in the following nine chapters. An index is appended. A select bibliography on each system is added to the chapter dealing with the same to facilitate higher studies.

In the introductory chapter while describing the nature of Indian philosophy, the learned authors pertinently point out two of its prominent features as follows. Firstly, Indian philosophy has, beyond comparison, a very broad and synthetic outlook. This is borne out by the fact that though the fundamental problems of philosophy and their chief solutions in the East and the West have striking similarities, yet in India the methods of enquiry as well as the processes of development of philosophy have certain characteristics. Indian philosophy, unlike the Western, does not separately discuss the different problems of metaphysics, ethics, logic, psychology and epistemology but it considers them together from all possible approaches. Secondly, the Indian systems are so thorough and encyclopaedic in their grasp of ideas that many problems of contemporary western philosophy are found discussed in them. It is

for this reason, reiterate the learned authors, that the indigenous scholars with a thorough training exclusively in Indian philosophy are able to deal even with the abstruse problems of western philosophy with surprising skill.

As regards the future of Indian philosophy the erudite authors tender some wise advice. They are rightly of opinion that the open-mindedness and willingness of Indian philosophy, that was one of the main causes of its past greatness, has a definite moral for the future and they rightly predict that if Indian philosophy is once more to revive and continue its great career, it can do so only by taking into consideration new ideas of life and reality which have been flowing into India from the East and the West, the Aryan, the Semitic and the Mongolian sources.

While marking out some common characteristics of Indian systems, the esteemed writers refute with authority some of the charges that are ignorantly levelled against them. They authoritatively assert that different schools of Indian philosophy are one in their moral and spiritual outlook and the most striking point of agreement among all the systems is that they regard philosophy as a practical necessity and cultivate it in order to understand how life can be best led. The presence of a practical motive did not however narrow the scope of Indian philosophy to ethics and theology alone as Thilly, Stace and other western critics wrongly think. The authors make bold to contend that the scope of Indian philosophy is as wide as any philosophy and some of its branches like logic, metaphysics and epistemology can easily hold their own against any philosophy of the West.

In order to remove another gross misunderstanding about Indian philosophy that it is pessimistic, the authors make it clear that as Indian systems spring from spiritual disquiet at the existing order of things, pessimism in them is only critical but finally they are optimistic, as the faith in an eternal moral order, called Rita in the Rigved, dominates their entire history and belief in the possibility of liberation regarded as the highest good, is common to all systems.

With a view to contradict the wrong notion that there is no room for morality in Indian systems particularly in Advaita Vedanta, the authors emphatically declare that knowledge and morality in Indian philosophy is thought inseparable because perfection of knowledge is regarded as impossible without morality. Buddha, the great Indian philosopher, like Socrates, the wisest man of Greece, who said that virtue is knowledge, explicitly states this in the Sonadanda Sutta that virtue and wisdom purify one another and that the two are inseparable.

A proper estimation of a work of outstanding merit like this is not possible in the limited scope of such a review. We are definitely of opinion that this book is sure to acquaint the reader with the central ideas of each system of Indian philosophy as also with its spirit and outlook. The experienced authors have made successful attempts in this book to take off the difficulties felt by modern students of philosophy in understanding Indian problems and theories. Their sympathetic approach to all systems have enabled them to bring out the salient contribution of each system. This is one of the excellences of the book, which is certain to widen and enrich the philosophical outlook of the reader. It is to the uncommon credit of the writers that they have remarkably succeeded in clearly pointing out the significance of Indian views in terms of modern western thought, while preserving that characteristic marks.

All these features have made the work reach a high degree of perfection and to stand comparison with even the best of introduction to western philosophy written by western savants. Their wide reading and profane thinking in philosophy, their deep acquaintance with western philosophy, their great penetration into Indian systems have immensely equipped the authors to make this book so well thought-out, so well-written and so up to the mark that it leaves nothing to be desired.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANAND

SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS LIFE IN THE GRIHYA-SUTRAS : *By V. M. Apte, M.A., Ph.D., Ahmedabad. 1939. Pp. xxxix+339.*

As its sub-title indicates, the work purports to include in its comprehensive scope "brief surveys of Social Conditions in Vedic Literature (from the Rigvada to the Srauta-sutras) and in early Avestan Literature." One would think that the plan is too ambitious and the cursory survey too general; perhaps it would have been better if the author had more compactly confined himself to the Grihya-sutras alone, especially in view of the fact that the various aspects of life in the Vedic age have been already treated more fully by very able Vedic scholars. The work, however, is useful as a popular exposition of a highly interesting subject. But it is more or less descriptive, and does not enter into the various problems connected with the Grihya-sutras. It does not, for instance, concern itself with the question of the relative chronology or mutual relation of the different texts or their individual units, a fact which, to some extent, renders uncertain the conclusions derived from their content in regard to the stages of development of social or sociological ideas. The treatment is broad and desultory; but the work is based upon a competent knowledge of the texts, and will certainly appeal to the general reader who wants to have a working idea of the social conditions of the Vedic times.

S. K. DE

BRAHMACHARI KULADANANDA, VOL. I. EARLY LIFE AND TRAINING UNDER BIJOY KRISHNA : *By Benimadhab Barua, M.A., D.Lit. (Lond.), Professor and Head of the Department of Pali, Lecturer in Sanskrit and Ancient Indian History and Culture, University of Calcutta. Published by the Thakurbari Committee, Puri. Calcutta. 1938. Pp. 1-309. Price Rs. 5.*

India, described by so many of our representative thinkers as the land pre-eminently of religious culture, has been known through the ages as a country of sages and wise men. In a sense, the history of India is the biography of her saints. Professor Barua has kept to his own line of studies and research in penning this life of Brahmachari Kuladananda, the disciple of Bijoy Krishna Goswami. The first volume of the projected work, the completion of which will be awaited with interest, is full of the Master : in this respect the book is true to the original plan indicated by the caption of the volume. The disciple's life and training had been so much shaped by the master's guidance, that it has been in the fitness of things that the volume has been practically the biography of Bijoy Krishna Goswami, a remarkable personality, seen partly from one angle of vision. Professor Barua deserves full credit for the easy style of the narative and his evident sympathy for the object of his study, an essential quality for a biographer.

Two suggestions may, however, be made. The numerous sub-headings are a disadvantage; the arrangement might have been easily dispensed with. Secondly, some of the incidents are very similar in nature; the

repetition might have been spared. The list of errata is not full.

The Brahmo opposition to Bijoy Krishna Goswami (page 79) has not been sufficiently explained. The predilection in favour of image worship is quite understandable, but what else was there which made him obnoxious? It is difficult to see how Kunjalal Nag's devotional songs resulting in the ecstacy of the guests in a private feast could be construed as a charge against Gossain-ji, or, for that matter, his declaration of his own incompetency to explain the nature of Brahman except by repeating *Tvamhi, Tvamhi.*

On page 231, we find, with regard to the relations between Keshavchandra and Ramkrishna, certain observations. These have been the subject of much criticism. At any rate, the topic is not relevant to the subject-matter of the book.

In perusing the book we remember again and again Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan's assertion made in the Foreword: " . . . . spiritual life . . . . demands as its first condition intellectual integrity and ethical sincerity," and his equally valuable warning against the pseudo-teachers of religion.

P. R. SEN

THE NORTHERN COUNTRIES IN WORLD ECONOMY: *Published by the Delegations for the promotion of Economic Co-operation between the Five Northern Countries of Europe. 1937. Pp. 240.*

In 1934, delegations were established by the governments of the five Northern Countries of Europe, *viz.*, Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden, for the promotion of economic co-operation between these countries. These delegations used to meet at regular intervals at the Capital towns of the five countries and the volume under review is the work of these delegations first printed in 1937. It has at present a melancholy interest because two of these five countries—Denmark and Norway—have today ceased to be independent; one—Finland—has lost an important portion of its territory. The policy of another—Sweden—is largely influenced by Hitler. Iceland has so far been left alone—perhaps because Hitler has not considered it worth his while to risk for its sake an open battle with the British Navy. Economic co-operation has not proved adequate to preserve their independence. Perhaps a political union would have served to secure freedom and prosperity for the peoples of these Northern Countries who possess cultural affinity, geographical proximity and common economic outlook and interests. Some of them have in the past lived for some time in political union. And if and when they all become free once again they should devise some form of political union among themselves, otherwise their existence may again be in jeopardy. Unless there is an international government strong enough to keep the most powerful of the great Powers, and, any likely combination among them, under control, small nations cannot singly maintain their independence or separate existence.

The Northern Countries in World Economy is a useful publication giving facts and figures of the economic life of the people in the five Northern Countries of Europe. From the standpoint of international trade these five countries were of much greater importance than their population would indicate.

"The total population of the Northern Countries does not . . . exceed 16·5 millions, or 0·8 per cent of the population of the world. Nevertheless, those countries in 1936 accounted for no less than 5 per cent of world trade, and consequently they occupied the fifth place among the trading countries of the world. An excellent indication of the importance of a country from the point of view of foreign trade is its *per capita* turnover, and in this respect the Northern Countries occupy a foremost position among the leading commercial nations. The world record in this respect is held by Iceland; then comes Denmark, followed by Belgium, and with Norway in the fourth place. Great Britain is fifth, and Sweden is not far behind .

The national income of these countries also compares favourably with other countries. The figures for 1929 of income per head of the population in the various countries of Europe was as follows:

Great Britain £87, Netherlands £61, France £48, Denmark £58, Finland £25, Norway £51 and Sweden £70.

The standard of living and the general economic condition of the people was good:

"On the whole the standard of living of the broad strata must be said to be rather good, people being generally well nourished and well clad. And if the standard of housing, in some parts, has so far left a good deal to be desired, both in urban and in rural districts, energetic efforts are now-a-days being made to improve conditions."

But this was written in 1937. In 1940, conditions have changed greatly and who can tell as to what the position will be after the present war in Europe comes to an end.

GURMUKH N. SINGH

THE TRAVANCORE TRIBES AND CASTES, VOL. II: *By L. A. Krishna Iyer, M.A. Published by Government Press, Trivandrum. Pp. liv+344, 105 Plates and 3 Charts.*

In this volume, the author has carried the description of Travancore tribes from Muthuvan to Vishavan. The work has been done with the same thoroughness as the previous volume. He has added a chapter on the Physical Anthropology of the primitive tribes. The value of the book is further enhanced by the addition of an essay by Baron von Eickstedt on the Racial Types of India as well as a brief review of previous work on the same subject.

We are sure the book will be welcomed by all students of Indian Anthropology.

THE ART OF THE ANAGARIKA GOVINDA: *By R. C. Tandan. Published by Kitabistan, Allahabad and London. Pp. 102, including 24 plates. Price Re. 1-12.*

There is a clear indication in the West that people have grown dissatisfied with perfection in execution in Art, and are seeking to emphasize the essential at the expense of the non-essential. The art of Angarika Govinda shows the same character, but it shows something more than what we find among the absolute or abstract artists of Western countries. The latter, very often, display in their picture a degree of mental conflict which shows how keen their dissatisfaction is with existing art-values and how they are yet struggling to find something which will satisfy the demands of their soul. But the paintings of Govinda seem to indicate that he *has* attained this equipose, and is ready to deliver his message of peace and love to a distracted world. He draws much of his inspiration from nature and from mountains in particular. Spiritually, and perhaps in some measure artistically too, he seems to bear a relationship to Roerich. But this is not to detract from the individuality of his style, which he displays in an ample measure.

The book under review presents a number of his picture, one of which is in colours, with a brief account of his life and thoughts suitable for the general reader.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

FROM SAVAGERY TO CIVILISATION: *By M. N. Roy. Published by Digest Book House, 9, Shama Charan De Street, Calcutta. Price Re. 1-8.*

This is a collection of essays dealing with the stages of the progress of mankind through feudal serfdom, wage-slavery, capitalism in the machine age, etc., towards the goal of a civilised world order which, as is to be expected from the author, is to come about as a consequence of the realisation of Marxian socialism. The most remarkable feature of the book is to be found in the pithy paragraphs giving an insight into the lives and teachings of almost all the leading scientists and philosophers of the West. The story thus unfolded is interesting and instructive, particularly to students and those who have no time to go to more elaborate treatises. All this apart, the suggestion of the author that in spite of the prophets, and the martyrs to the cause, of civilisation, "the traditions of savagery and barbarism still dominate human spirit," will at the present moment only appear to be too true. This is ably developed. We warmly commend Roy's book to libraries, the University authorities and all progressive-minded students.

BENOYENDRANATH BANERJEA

THE INNER REALITY: *By Paul Brunton. Published by Rider & Co., Paternoster House, London, E.C. Pp. 287.*

There is a tendency in modern times to collect whatever is good anywhere in the world of thought and make it into a system. In Theosophy this tendency is definitely emphatic. Theosophy gathers together all the wisdom of the ancients and weaves it into a system with truths recently discovered and prescribes a mode of life and thought which is claimed to be universal and is considered good for all. Outside of Theosophy also, this tendency is not unknown.

In the book before us, an attempt has been made—and we are prepared to say, not without success—to construct a philosophy of life by combining the essence of Christ's teachings with the truths of *Yoga* and other oriental philosophies. Primarily it is a book on *Yoga*; and as such, it goes into a detailed discussion about the ways and means of meditation. And like a book on *Yoga* it also seeks to indicate the nature of the higher, the inner, that is to say, the divine reality. In addition, it chalks out the line that intellectual and spiritual life should follow. "It is my belief," says the author (page 169), "that ancient wisdom must unite with modern science. The mystic of today should be prepared to ride in an aeroplane." This synthesis of spiritual knowledge and worldly activity is attempted on the lines of the *Gita*.

But the last chapter of the book gives an account of Jesus' life which Christians may refuse to accept. Besides, the picture seems to lack the necessary historical background. Can it be maintained on historical grounds that Jesus travelled to India and learned spiritual wisdom at the feet of the Brahmins? We are told (page 275) that Jesus was in Alexandria when he "became acquainted with an Indian trader, a merchant, and eventually His mind became so aroused by what He heard that He freely and gladly embarked for India." But the author has not given us the historical sources of this information.

The world is in such a temper now that spiritual books must be at a discount. Otherwise the book before us should attract the notice of the reading public. We have liked the book.

SANDHYA MEDITATIONS (AT THE CHRISTU KULA ASHRAM): *By C. F. Andrews. Published by G. A. Natesan & Co., Esplanade, Madras. Pp. 160. Price Re. 1 only.*

This is a beautiful collection of brief but telling discourses that Rev. Andrews gave to the inmates of a Christian *asrama* in Southern India. The discourses breathe a lofty spirit of love and humanity and are full of spiritual fervour and sincerity. They came from the mouth of one who had himself attained spiritual self-realisation.

A melancholy interest attaches to this volume as it was evidently the last work of the great soul. The publishers are to be congratulated on the excellent edition they have brought out.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF LORD OVERSTONE TO THE THEORY OF CURRENCY AND BANKING: *By Lloyd Alvin Helms. Published by the University of Illinois Press, Urbana, Illinois. 1939. Pp. 142. Price 1·50 dollars.*

Lord Overstone's name has never been a well-known one among students of Economics. Those who have been engaged in a detailed study of the development of Banking in England have been only faintly familiar with the association of his name with Peel's Bank Charter Act of 1844. Dr. Helms has collected a large volume of evidence to show that Overstone was regarded by many of his contemporaries as the leader of the then famous Currency School, and that the peculiar compromise between the Banking and the Currency Principles embodied in the Act of 1844 was to a large extent the result of the insistent pressure of Overstone and his followers upon Peel.

Later years have disproved almost every one of the leading principles of the Currency School, and today very few would give serious consideration to Overstone's "contributions" in spite of Irving Fisher's pleading for a hundred per cent money. But this does not in any way detract from the value of Dr. Helms's work. He has brought together a large mass of material for the student of banking history who will get an interesting picture of the period when the Bank Charter Act was in the process of being made. The book deserves to be carefully read, not so much for the limelight thrown on Overstone's "contributions," as for the detailed analysis of a very important stage in the development of ideas on the sound principles of banking and currency management.

BHABATOSH DATTA

KOVALAN AND KANNAKI (THE STORY OF THE SILAPPADHIKARAM): *By A. S. Panchapakesa Ayyar, M.A., I.C.S., Bar-at-Law, F.R.L.S. Published by C. Coomarswamy Naidu & Sons, Madras. Pp. 82. Price Re. 1.*

Of the five ancient classical epics, the earliest in composition was *Manimekhalai*, though the story is a sequel to that of *Silappadhikaram*. After writing *Manimekhalai*, its author Cnittalai Chittanar visited the Court of the Keral King Chenka Khuddiran and there recited the poem before the King and his courtiers. This was the usual method of publishing a book in India before the invention of the art of printing. The King's learned brother Ilanko Adikalan, who had re-

nounced the world and become an ascetic of the Nigranthi order of Jains, was one of the audience, and was so taken up with the excellence of the work, that he at once conceived the idea of composing a poem with a view to supplying an account of the parentage of the heroine Manimekhalai, described as the offspring of a dancing girl, to fit in with her beauty, charming personality, strength of character and self abnegation. This the royal ascetic succeeded in accomplishing in the course of a few years, and the result of his labours was the beautiful epic *Silappadhikaram*, in which Manimekhalai has been described as the daughter of Kovilan, a high-souled youngman, and Madhavi, a dancing girl. Kovilan had fallen a prey to the wiles of Madhavi, but succeeded after a number of years in releasing himself from the clutches of the Witch and being reunited with his loving and virtuous wife Kannaki. They both departed from Pugar and took shelter at Madura, where Kovilan was decapitated on a false charge of theft.

The book under review is not a literal translation of the great epic *Silappadhikaram*, though the story is mainly based on it. The author has by his own admission deviated from the original and has filled in certain details about which the epic is silent. But by doing so has in a manner enhanced the worth of his book, inasmuch as he has drawn upon the *Kural*, which was, and is still now, regarded as an authority on morality and right thinking.

The story of *Silappadhikaram* is so attractive that, like Mr. Ayyar, I was, after the publication of my Bengali translation of the *Kural*, tempted to base a novel in Bengali (still in the MS.) on it. My deviations are however, far wider than those of Mr. Ayyar.

Mr. Ayyar's book is a treasure-house of information about the Tamil country in the early years of the Christian era. His language is simple and chaste.

But I cannot admire the good taste of Mr. Ayyar in referring to what he calls an antagonism between the Aryans of the North and the Dravidians of the South. He cannot deny tnat the Dravidians of the past owed a great deal to the Brahmins. The Tamil conquests of Northern India in ancient times mentioned by him seem to be fictions of the brain, and I doubt if Mr. Ayyar will be able to produce one dependable historical evidence of his assertions. I suppose he has been provoked to this outburst of his feeling by the unreasonable attempt on the part of the Madras Ministry to compel the Madrasis to swallow the bitter pill of Hindi.

Mr. Ayyar informs us that an excellent translation of *Silappadhikaram* has been lately brought out by Sri Ramchandra Dikshitar.

NALINI MOHAN SANYAL

ALTRUISM—HIGH ROAD TO HIGHER LIFE: *General Editor Dr. H. V. Sonpar. Published by Shriman Amar Singh, Dev Samaj, Lahore. Pp. 91. Price not mentioned.*

This is a series of ten lessons in question-and-answer form on some of the virtues which constitute the moral consciousness and conduct of man. These lessons were *actually* given in the institutions, established and administered by Dev Samaj; hence, they have been adapted to the needs of our young students. The present volume is an eloquent sermon on "Otherism," or considerateness and compassion for others. The arguments and analogies are all drawn from the sphere of science, and sandwiched as they are with appropriate personal experience and anecdotes, the reader or listener's interest in practical religion is well sustained throughout. Altruism should be on the shelf of every collegian; it will help him in building up his character, thus making of him a true gentleman.

THE GOSPEL OF LOVE: *By A. Christina Albers. Published by Maha Bodhi Society, 4A, College Square, Calcutta. Pp. 83. Price six annas only.*

This is a simple account of the life and teachings of the Buddha intended for children. And this objective has been achieved successfully by the writer. A study of the *Gospel of Love* will be a suitable introduction to the detailed study, later on, of that excellent work on the subject,—Paul Carus' *Gospel of Buddha*. The young readers would have appreciated the inclusion of a picture of the enlightened one as *frontispiece*. May it be hoped that in the subsequent editions of the book, this omission will be made good?

G. M.

INTERNATIONAL TRADE AND FOREIGN TRADE OF INDIA: *By N. B. Kaitha. Pp. 80. Price Re. 1.*

ELEMENTS OF FOREIGN EXCHANGE: *By N. B. Kaitha. Both published by The Bangalore Printing and Publishing Co., Ltd., Bangalore City. Pp. 46. Price As. 10.*

These are two handy booklets for the help of students and beginners. Elucidation of theory is enlivened by Indian examples and discussion of recent developments in the spheres of foreign exchange and international trade is a special feature.

FINANCING OF INDIAN INDUSTRIES DURING WAR-TIME: *By M. A. Mulky. New Book Co., Bombay. Pp. 28. Price Re. 1.*

This brochure seeks to outline the existing methods of industrial finance and offers suggestions for raising initial fixed capital, financing working capital and extensions and makes a plea for State-aid to industries. There is little that is striking and new, the price for this essay is exorbitant.

THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH AND SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ACTION IN INDIA: *By P. Ooman Philip. Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta. Pp. 45.*

This is a note prepared by the Secretary of the National Christian Council of India, Burma and Ceylon for the Tambaram meeting by the International Missionary Council. It is a very balanced bird's eye-view of recent socio-economic and also political developments in India. The suggestions made to the Church and the Christian community, if acted upon, would certainly go a long way in rehabilitating Christ and the Christian way in the eyes of Indians generally.

BENOYENDRANATH BANERJEA

SANSKRIT

BHRNGADUTAM: *Edited by Prof. S. P. Chaturvedi, M.A., Vyakaranacharya, Kavyatirtha. Nagpur University Journal, No. 3, December, 1937.*

We have here a critical edition of a little known poem of 126 verses written in imitation of the immortal *Meghaduta* of Kalidasa. Of about eighty known imitations of this famous lyric, produced from time to time by various poets in different parts of India, comparatively a few have so far appeared in print and have been dealt with critically. We are, therefore, thankful to Prof. Chaturvedi for bringing to light and editing with a short but scholarly introduction one more poem of this type which was hitherto unknown to the world

of scholars. It is, however, a pity that no definite information is available about the author, his date and place. We hope. Prof. Chaturvedi will try to collect materials for throwing light on these points.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

SANSKRIT-BENGALI

KAVIRAHASYA OF HALAYUDHA: *Edited with a Sanskrit commentary and Bengali translation by Kalipada Siddhantashastri Kavyavyakaranatirtha. Published by Janakinath Kavyatirtha and Brothers, Chhatra Pustakalaya, Nivedita Lane, Baghbazar, Calcutta.*

This is a useful popular edition of a well-known and interesting work in Sanskrit which, in the form of a panegyric of Krishna Raya of the Deccan, the royal patron of the author, Halayudha, aims at illustrating the uses of Sanskrit roots. The work seems to have appeared in print as early as the year 1830 when an edition in the Bengali script was brought out by Pandit Lakshminarayan Nyayalankar. A number of other editions were also subsequently issued by different scholars in India and abroad. The present edition, which is also in the Bengali script, is based on four of these later editions variants from which are noted here. The Sanskrit commentary besides giving the meanings of the verses, occasionally explains the conjugational forms of the roots with the help of the rules of Panini. The translation as well as the index of roots will be of much help in using the book.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

MEKIAVELIR RAJ-NITI (MACHIAVELLI'S POLITICAL THOUGHT): *By Monoranjan Gupta. Published by Saraswati Library, Calcutta. Pp. 180+xv. Price Re. 1.*

This book is a translation of Machiavelli's *The Prince* from an English rendering of the original Italian. The title is thus a misnomer, since the monograph does not contain any critical estimate of Machiavelli's political thought. The author has, however, rendered a great service to the Bengali-reading public and has contributed to the enrichment of Bengali literature by translating such a world-classic as *The Prince*. The author's reference, in his Preface, to the inspiration he received from the late Aswini Kumar Dutta for the translation of foreign treatises into the mother-tongue, to the zeal and patience with which he made the translation for the second time, the manuscript of the first attempt having been confiscated by the police, weaves a charming personal background of this commendable work.

We welcome this publication for it will acquaint Bengali readers with the political ideas of Nicolo Machiavelli (1469-1527), who is considered as the chief exponent of that political science which was the special product of the Italian Renaissance. In *The Prince*, Machiavelli draws an ideal portrait of the Renaissance sovereign whose only guide is his self-interest, but at the same time earnestly invokes Italian independence and unity. The Bengali version rendered in a racy and narrative style eminently reflects the spirit of the original treatise and brings out the principal ideas of Machiavelli's political philosophy. The value of the book would certainly have been enhanced if a brief account of Machiavelli's life and times and a critical estimate of the acceptable and the unacceptable, according to modern standards, in Machiavelli's thought could be added. But this shortcoming was perhaps unavoidable considering that the book was written almost entirely during the author's detention as a political prisoner.

We should like to point out that it is perhaps advisable not to take too much liberty with the pronunciation of foreign names. Some of the names have been rendered into Bengali according to their English pronunciation, some according to Italian, and some to none of them. A definite criterion should be followed. Particularly the name of Machiavelli should have been spelt as "Makiavelli" and not "Mekiaveli" which is neither English nor Italian.

MONINDRAMOHAN MOULIK

PERSIAN

TARIKH-I-SIND: *By Sayyid M. Ma'sum Bakkari. Edited by Dr. U. M. Daudpota, M.A., Ph.D. (Cantab.). Published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. 1938. Pp. xxxvii+302.*

Though archæological research in modern times has established Sind to be one of the oldest seats of civilization, its history during the pre-Muslim period is shrouded in utter darkness. After the Muslim conquest of this country, a few chronicles were, no doubt, composed but they are mostly preserved in archives, beyond the reach of scholars. The B. O. R. Institute of Poona has therefore done a great service to the history of Sind by publishing Mir Masum's *Tarikh-i-Sind* which traces the history of the country from the Arab conquest till its annexation by Akbar. The volume is divided into four parts (*i*) Sind and the Arabs, (*ii*) Sind under the Sultans of Delhi, (*iii*) Under the Rule of the Arghuns, and (*iv*) Its Conquest by Akbar. The bulk of the narative is, however, devoted to an account of Mirza Shah Beg and Shah Hussain.

The work is written in a comparatively simple and elegant Persian style and is void of grandiloquent phrases and expressions. The historical value of this work lies in its colourless narration. The author has neither flown into high invectives nor into servile adulation, which are the common failings of medieval chroniclers. Mir Masum has been very free and candid in his narration and has also avoided digression into the history of other countries and people. It is in the presentation of a pointed narration free from passion or bias that Mir Masum's work approaches approximately to a modern historical work.

The editorial work of the volume has also reached a high degree of excellence. The volume has been edited by a collation of six different MSS and the readings of the different MSS pointed out in the footnotes with much patience and industry. The editor has introduced the marks of punctuation and couched his introduction in charming Persian, in addition to presenting a short account of Mir Masum's life, his varied gifts and accomplishments, pieced together from different Persian texts. The annotations appended at the end of the volume will be found to be extremely valuable, *e.g.*, the identification of Daibul (pp. 26-62), the origin and advent of the Sumras to power (pp. 286-92), Canabanah (p. 293).

It is however, difficult to agree with certain remarks of the editor on the defects of Mir Masum's work. Dr. Daudpota's statement that the account of Mir Masum does not make any addition, over that of *Tabaqati Akbari*, to our knowledge of the history of Sind, is contradicted by the plenty of new information yielded by this work as regards the history of Sind under the Delhi Sultans, *e.g.*, Arkali Khan's expedition to Sind, the attack by Jam and Taghi on the retreating Delhi army, and Firuz's arrangement for the defence of

Sehwan and Bakkar are not unfolded by any other chronicler; nor can the editor's remark that the account of Sind from the end of the Arab conquest to the rise of the Arghuns has no relation to the history of Sind, be regarded as appropriate.

Misprints in this book are very few; *dad* for *did*, *hamshahari* for *hashahari* (introduction); the word *Awrag* (p. 169) is doubtful, it is probably *Awja.'* In conclusion, we record again our high sense of appreciation of the editor's work and hope that Dr. Daudpota will utilize his deep knowledge of Persian and critical sense by editing other Persian MSS relating to the history of Sind.

NIRAD BHUSAN RAY

MARATHI

SHRI GAURANGA PRABHU YANCHE CHARITRA, VOLS. 1 AND 2: *Translator and Publisher Krishnarao Narayan Thombare, Brahmapuri, Baroda. Published by the author. Pp. 647 and 460, respectively. Prices Rs. 3 and Rs. 2-8.*

This is a Marathi translation of the Hindi biography of the famous Bengali saint, by Prabhu Datta Brahmachari. Mr. Thombare undertook this work out of sheer devotion for the saintly subject of this biography, though he was not much used to any literary effort till now. The Hindi work deals extensively with the life of the holy man who influenced a very large section of Bengal and the Marathi rendering of it, though in places appearing somewhat awkward on account of a too literal insistence on the idiom in the original, is fairly well done and provide the Marathi readers with a useful biography of Lord Gauranga about whom unfortunately not much is known in Maharashtra except that he was the pioneer in Bengal of the Bhakti School and effected a great transformation in the Tantric ideas of the religiously minded people of that province.

BHAI PARAMANAND—A BIOGRAPHY: *By Balashastri Hardas. Published in the Rashtra-Dharma Prasarak Grantha-mala at the Dakshinamurti Devasthan, Nagpur. Pp. 286. Crown size. Price Rs. 2-8.*

This is the first volume in a new series inaugurated for the purpose of publishing the biographies of inspiring personalities who have devoted their lives to the service of their motherland. Bhai Parmanand's life is a specimen of the adage that fact is sometimes stranger than fiction, the vicissitudes of circumstances through which he has passed during his life can be equalled rarely if at all. From being an educationist, he turned to the life of a religious preacher. He was then forced into the political field, was arrested during the Gadan agitation, tried and sentenced to be hanged. His sentence was then commuted to transportation to the Andamans, where he served his time along with hundreds of Indian patriots. He was then after some years brought back to India and subsequently released. Since then he has devoted himself to the work of the Hindu Mahasabha and is now also a member of the Imperial Legislative Assembly. Thus his career is as romantic as it has been eventful and affords great opportunities to a writer to evolve of it a very interesting biography. Mr. Hardas has made full use of these opportunities and has brought out a very readable and inspiring work. He wields a facile pen and his astute and sometimes trenchant remarks on some aspects of the current political activities in Indian politics are deserving of more than passing notice, the book is introduced to the public by a foreword from Dr. Munje, the redoubtable champion of the Hindu Mahasabha.

D. N. APTE

TELUGU

THIMMARUSU: *By Mr. G. Satyanarayana, M.A., Yellamanchili, Dist. Vizagapatam. Pp. 74. Price annas eight.*

A good historical play links the present with the past. Despite her infinite historical background, there is a dearth of such plays in Andhra Desa. The book, under review breaks fresh ground; and we are deeply indebted to the author for having served us with a piece of our own pie, as it were.

It is a finely wrought "tragedy." The theme centres round the great Andhra King, Sri Krishna Deva Raya, and his inimitable guardian-counsellor Thimmarusu. The artful fusion of fact and fiction lends an excellent atmosphere to the drama. With its wealth of historical detail the story unfolds itself in a vivid and absorbing manner. The author displays a remarkable gift for dramatizing subtle emotions and sentiments. And yet—

(1) The *high-brow* style mars the spirit of the dialogue to some extent.

(2) The play lacks in dramatic tempo.

(3) I miss in it that quality of intellectual detachment which goes along with impartial perspective. The dramatist seems to be too obsessed with the overwhelming personality of Thimmarusu to do justice to the villain of the piece—Gajapathi. The portrayal of Annapurna is almost feeble and naive.

(4) The introduction of the ghost of Thimmarusu as a sort of supernatural element fails to produce the expected Shakespearian effect. The denouement is carelessly handled. The audience cannot take it in one gulp. My hat! The ghost turns poetic in metrical precision and begins to recite verse in an effort to make the errant King swallow a spoonful of morbid ethics. This scene can safely be dropped; the message of the play will be delivered better that way.

Barring these minor drawbacks, the play is a praiseworthy achievement, and the pioneer-author is sure to gate-crash to fame in the near future.

A. K. ROW

GUJARATI

KORAN-E-MAJID: *Published by the Trustees of the late Sheth Haji Ismail Haji Harom Nakhoda Dini Talimi Fund, Bombay. Printed at the Ajmal Press, Bombay. Cloth bound. Pp. 854. 1939.*

This is a wakf (charitable) production. The late Prof. Shaikh Mahomed Ispahani had translated the Koran-e-Shareef into very simple Gujarati about forty years ago. It was in great demand. It was reprinted by a rich Khoja gentleman of Bombay for free distribution. Even that edition is out of print. The trustees of the Nakhoda Trust have therefore done very well in having the Holy Book translated afresh. The translation is made by a gentleman whose mother-tongue is Arabic and who has picked up Gujarati and thus qualified himself for the task. The language used is very simple and easy and the work should prove popular.

BHARATMAN ANGREJI RAJYA, VOLS. I and II: *By Bhaskar Rao Vidwans. Printed at the Saraswati Printing Press, Bhavnagar. 1939. Cloth bound. Pp. 1230. Price Rs. 10.*

Pandit Sundarlal's *Bharatman Angreji Raj* is a well-known work in Hindi. It is based on Major B. D. Basu's *Rise of the Christian Power in India* and his other works. This book is a well rendered translation of the Hindi work and thus show the other side of the shield.

K. M. J.

WHAT NEXT ?

By ELA SEN

FOUR years .... An eternity when one is on the other side of the prison wall. Four years in which to lose oneself in inactivity; four years of a precious life decreed to spill its golden sands into a barren waste. Each day a tear, each tear a pearl, and thus must we wait counting each bead of this rosary strung bravely together with the silver links of his achievements.

Jawaharlal has gone to prison with the same superb courage that has always characterised him. It is the approach of an intellectual to the inevitable. Not long ago, he himself wrote that the homecoming of all true Indians today was by way of the prison gates. He has fulfilled that yet once more.

Gorakhpore, not a few days ago, was but a small mofussil station, and its magistrate was but one of the many members of the I. C. S. But in a night they have sprung into fame—because of Jawaharlal. That Gorakhpore is also Mr. Amery's birthplace is something of an anticlimax. Yet today it becomes of world importance not because the Secretary of State for India was born there, or that the inhabitants have through the magistrate contributed towards a fighter 'plane, but simply because one man was sentenced under British law to four years' rigorous imprisonment. His crime according "to the Government established by law in India" is that of explaining to his people the truth about India's participation in this war. So today Jawaharlal Nehru, who has spent the best years of his life in continuous service to his country, is convicted under Acts which are said to have for their sole purpose the "Defence of India." Is this irony lost to the thinking minds of the world? Or will his prosecutors have to face yet another indictment before the bar of world opinion? It will be a difficult defence for the "champions of world freedom."

If we consider today the mental composition of this man, whom a magistrate has deliberately thrown into the wilderness for four long years, we shall find a sensitive intellect that is both responsive and receptive. A man whose hall-mark is sincerity and whose every gesture is of a high integral value, Nehru retains the respect and love of his countrymen through the most adverse circumstances. His path through politics has not been merely along the stereotyped and conservative way of the politician or the diplomat, it has been a mental development. His character has developed in line with certain principles of action laid down by his own moral code. I do not use "moral" in the narrow sense that it is used today, but in its broadest implications where it ranks higher than patriotism, which is not in itself an ultimate virtue. Yet Jawaharlal can only be classed as a patriot, he never has been and never will be a politician.

His vision is not restricted enough for that, for not only does he clearly visualize his opponent's point of view, but this proves most disturbing to him. It flays him mentally, to the extent of causing confusing reactions. A politician has one set purpose in which personalities play a great part, and self in particular is important. He must be brilliant, shrewd, tactful and be able to twist circumstances to his own purpose with rapierlike keenness. All his ideas and thoughts make complicated evolutions round himself, and if others benefit, it is out of the sparks that fly apart in this process. A "good" politician keeps his objective in the forefront but nevertheless his ego lingers very persistently in the background, a "bad" politician has self tactfully camouflaged but very much the main consideration, and the objective varies according to opportunity. Nevertheless all politicians have a touch of adventurism—it is a question of degrees; or they degenerate into academicians when there are theoretical ramblings with little practical conversion.

Therefore Jawaharlal can never be a politician. Perhaps it is too melodramatic to describe him as being "of the stuff that martyrs are made," nevertheless he is certainly a patriot (when the word is used without its narrow lining). To define a "patriot" one would construe him as a visionary perhaps, but a man of lofty intellect and ideals, who makes personalities subservient to the common cause. The tragedy is that such a person is usually beyond the comprehension of mediocrity, for he is moved by impulses that rise from deep thinking, cogitation and reconciling with the fundamental principles that he has chalked out ahead. A politician, being of coarser clay, knows and feels the pulse of the people and is able to turn it to

his advantages, making it coincide with theirs. He is actuated by no rigid principles.

So it is that Jawaharlal will never be a diplomat, he can never descend to that from the plane which he inhabits today. It is an orbit built out of his integral honesty, adherence to truth at all costs, and above all an inordinate love for such people as have been repressed and depressed. He feels it perhaps more acutely, for he has never wanted in his life, yet he has seen his countrymen in want. Instead of growing smug and self-satisfied in the luxurious atmosphere of his youth, he began to think and wonder at this inequality. Perhaps people will think it a sacrilege to compare him with Gautama Buddha, the son of a king who was tenderly guarded from the ugly sights of life—such as suffering and disease, lest it hurt him. Nevertheless he saw, he felt and then renounced his all to find some means of alleviating suffering humanity. In Jawaharlal I find a parallel in our day, and it is no disrespect to the great Buddha but rather devotion to his principles, that I am audacious enough to make this comparison.

Comments have poured in from the world press on the question of his arrest. Sympathetic papers in Great Britain have done some wishful thinking concerning his speedy release. But the European press in India has found nothing more fatuous than to ask the public to judge who are the greater benefactors to humanity : this man Jawaharlal Nehru, in whose speeches there has been utmost sympathy for the suffering people of the world from which he has not excluded Britain; who, even while the Chamberlain Government was wooing the Nazis and was being supported throughout the same press in India, had time and again called attention to the Nazi and Fascist menace; whose sympathy for the oppressed peoples of Spain, China and Czecho-slovakia is known throughout the world; who, however, will not tolerate the oppression and exploitation of his own people and will not have their powers of resistance undermined; or, those title-seekers who have contributed towards a bomber to repay violence with violence, and received congratulations from Lord Beaverbrook. The choice before the patronisers of the European press in indeed grave. Especially in view of Sir J. Raisman's dissatisfaction that only twenty lakhs of rupees were being daily spent on war efforts, in a country where the majority cannot get two square meals a day ! Truly Jawaharlal's task has been heinous ! For he has sought to protect the interests of those poor poeple, and tried to help them to conserve their little all; he has refused to sacrifice their interests at the altar of imperialism. That indeed is worthy of the punishment he has received, in the world we inhabit today. Why speak of Nazism, Fascism, of concentration camps, of race privileges, we see it in the every day occurrences of our lives.

People have disclaimed that Jawaharlal is fitted to be a leader of men. "His mind is in eternal confusion. He is incapable of clarity of thought and action. His intellect is not of the first order, therefore he is unfit to be a leader." This remark is amongst very recent happenings. Whether he is fit or not to be a "leader" revolves mainly round by what one construes as the real meaning of "leader." If it means a Hitler or a Mussolini or even a Stalin, I grant that Nehru is totally unfit to be a "leader," for he lacks the ruthlessness and the almost mechanical inhumanity that has characterised such men. But if it means to give a lead, to guide the trend of thought down certain channels, to help to mould national character on certain principles, then I fail to see where Nehru's right to leadership falls short. It is ridiculous to deny that during the last two decades Nehru has been the inspiration of young India. He has injected vitality and life-blood into the nation. Revolutionary thought and activity there has always been in India, as is inevitable under foreign rule, but Nehru's personality has brought vitality to the movement. And it also cannot be disputed that it is he who has injected conscious socialist ideas into the people. The Left Wing may today deny his leadership, and say that Nehru is not extreme enough, but it would be futile to deny that it is born of him and because of him.

It is stupidity to say that Nehru is incapable of a clarity of vision, indeed it is an ultra-sensitiveness in this respect that people mistake as confusion. He looks too far ahead, for him the balance sheet is not of today or tomorrow, but a long line drawn from yesterday into the future. It must make a complete pattern. With these ideas he seeks to adjust the requirements of today in anticipation of tomorrow. His life and his work is modelled on such lines, and therefore his reactions seem confused to such people as do not take this important factor into account. He has always maintained that India *is* a mighty power, not *will be;* and all our actions must co-ordinate with this main premise. Then indeed will our efforts prove effective. The people who lack this conviction, or who do not think it possible, are those who accuse Nehru of a want of clarity of vision. All who aim at world citizenship have even been thus indicted, for their angle of vision is such that it does not draw a geographical boundary round themselves,

basking in the limelight of patriotism. It seeks to put yet one more piece into position in this jig-saw puzzle that is our world.

Of Nehru can be said, what is true of all patriots, that "many are called but few are chosen," because the path of the "chosen" is invariably tedious and disillusioning. He is of the elect, but I foresee the day when adventurism will seek to drown, nay extinguish, him. That is the sad lot of any man who will not sacrifice his principles and his convictions when favourable opportunity presents itself. Thus his light is extinguished under the weight of his own deeds. He works, he labours, then he is pushed aside so that others may reap what he has sown. His satisfaction lies not in personal glory, for at the moment of triumph eager hands will snatch the laurels from him, but in the realisation of achievement. He has struggled to save the soul of a nation, and if he succeeds, even at the price of his ultimate annihilation, he seeks no greater reward.

WILL THE HINDUS REGAIN THEIR MAJORITY IN BENGAL? YES

By JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA

[The population problems are engaging the attention of the scholars in India. The writer has forgotten his mathematics; and although he has some doubts about his conclusions, he presents the same in the hope that it will receive proper attention and adequate treatment at the hands of statisticians.—J. M. DATTA.]

THE rate of growth of the Muhammadan population of Bengal, during the last fifty years 1881-1931, as observed at each successive census, has been as follows:—

Decade	Variation Per Cent
1881-1891	+ 9·7
1891-1901	+ 8·8
1901-1911	+10·4
1911-1921	+ 5·2
1921-1931	+ 9·1

If we plot these figures against time, we get the wavy serrated curve as in Fig. 1. From Fig. 1 it appears that the variations of the rate of growth in the curve show an alternating periodicity of 20 years—we have got two minima and one maxima; and for the decade 1931-1941 it is likely to come down below 9·1 to say $(9·1+5·2)/2=7·0$ per cent. If the periodicity persists, then in the next decade 1941-1951, the rate of growth of the Muhammadans is very likely to be greater than 7·0 per cent.

If we draw a straight line through the five observed points in Fig. 1, showing the trend of growth calculated by the method of least squares, we get the thick slanting line of Fig. 1. It shows that whether there be an increase in the rate of growth during the next decade 1941-1951 over that in 1931-1941, on the whole it tends to be smaller.

The recorded rates of increase of the Hindus and the Muhammadans since 1933,* *i.e.*, since they are available from official publications are given below:

Year	Rate of Increase per mille Hindu	Muhammadan
1933	6·6	4·2
1934	5·5	5·7
1935	9·1	10·6
1936	9·1	8·7
1937	8·9	9·8
1938	4·3	3·6
Average	7·3	7·1

Thus the average rate of increase for the Hindus is some 3 per cent greater than that of

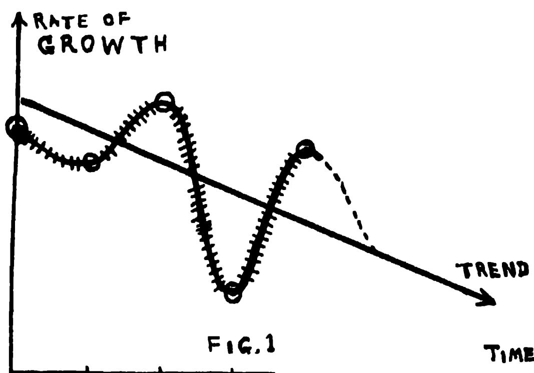


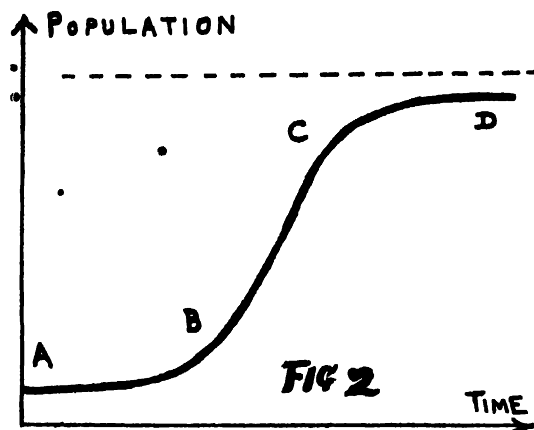
FIG. 1

the Muhammadans. It seems, though it is hazardous to prophecy with definiteness, that the Hindu growth is on the up curve. Is this greater growth of the Hindus over the Muhammadans merely *accidental*, or *real*; on in other words will it persist over a long series of years?

Hitherto the Muhammadans have been growing faster than the Hindus; but now the position seems to be changed. It seems to us, though we must address caution to our readers, that this change in the relative rates of growth of the two communities is *more fundamental* than

it seems to be at the first sight. We shall now try to give our reasons for thinking thus.

The study of population growth has interested thinkers from the dawn of civilisation. As early as the 17th century an Italian writer named Giovani Botera called attention to the fact that population cannot maintain the same rate of



increase for all time. In 1798 Malthus wrote his famous *Essay on Population*. Forty years later, a Belgian mathematician named Vehrülst, for the first time put forward a law of population growth in an exact form which he called the Logistic curve of growth. This law was independently rediscovered by Raymond Pearl and Reed. They claim that it represents the law of growth of populations of most diverse kinds, ranging from bacteria and yeast to Man. They have presented a large amount of data collected from experimental and statistical studies to support this law. Raymond Pearl in his book *The Biology of Population Growth* demonstrated that even human populations grow according to the same law which has been shown to be true for the growth of experimental populations of lower animals, and even for the growth of body size in individual plants and animals. Thus he has shown that the law holds good when applied to the census history of the following countries and places, *viz.*, Sweden, England and Wales, Hungary, Italy, Norway, Scotland, Serbia, Japan, the United States of America, France, Belgium, Denmark, Java, the Philippine Islands, Baltimore City, New York City; and the World as a whole. The interesting instance of the native population of Algeria which has practically covered the whole range of the Logistic curve in course of seventy-five years has also been cited in support of this law. How closely the Logistic curve calculated from the past observed population of a given region gives the future population will be evident from the fact that the curve worked out even before the census of 1920 suggested a population for the United States of America in 1930 within 5 per 1,000 of that actually enumerated.

That the Logistic curve, or S—curve as it is sometimes called from the shape of the curve applies to India as a whole has been shown by Messrs. Satya Swaroop and R. B. Lall of the All India Institute of Hygiene and Public Health, Calcutta.

According to this law the population at first grows slowly as along AB in Fig. 2; then very rapidly as along the portion BC, and then again slowly along CD, and seems to approach a certain maximum (shown by dotted horizontal line in Fig. 2) provided that the environmental factors, economic or social, remain the same. Raymond Pearl states :—

> "Predictions of future growth may at any time be altered by the entrance into the situation of new economic or social factors of a different sort to those which have operated during the past period which the equation covers. The population may be stimulated to start upon a new cycle of growth or slighter but still in kind new factors may alter somewhat the upper limiting value of the present cycle."

Griffiths has fitted three curves of Logistic type to the census population of Bengal. The one in which he has adjusted the census population for the alteration in the area of the Province and for the varying and different dates of census (from Dec. 1871—to Jany. 1872, to 18th March 1921), the calculated figures come within 16 per 1,000 of that actually enumerated. He has also fitted Logistic or S—curves for the growth of the Hindus and the Muhammadans. The fit in the case of the Muhammadans comes within 36 per 1,000; and is more exact than in the case of the Hindus, where it comes within 55 per 1,000. The lesser fit in the case of the Hindus is partly due to the inclusion and exclusion of certain animists and followers of tribal religions as Hindus at successive censuses, and partly also due to conversions from Hinduism to other faiths. The growth of the two communities in Bengal may be represented diagramatically as in Fig. 3. The Hindus passed the period of very rapid growth (the BC portion of the S—curve in fig. 2) long before the censuses began to be taken; and during the census period we observed the Hindus to travel along the first portion of CD in Fig. 2; while the Muhammadans traversed the BC portion partly during the census period; and they have now reached the flatter CD portion of the S—curve of growth. So the rate of growth of the Muhammadans will gradually get smaller and smaller with the progress of time, as the Muhammadan population travels further along the flatter and flatter portion

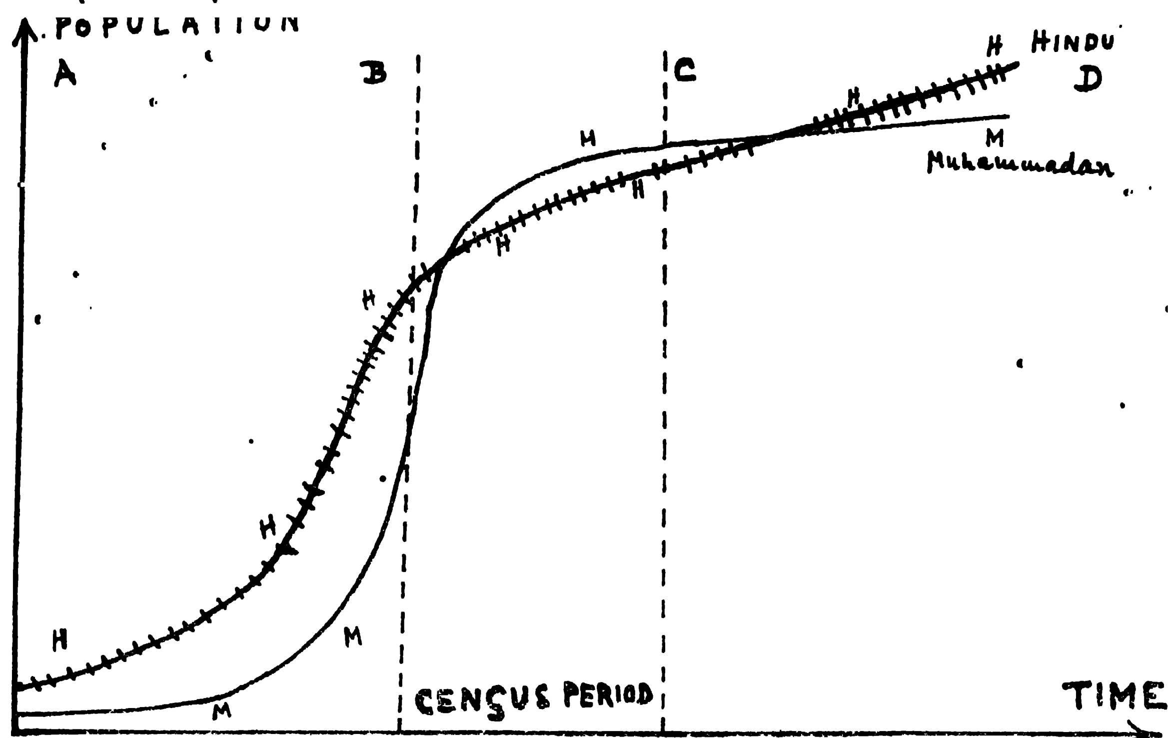


Fig. 3

of the CD branch of the curve towards the maximum (the dotted line of fig. 2).

It may be urged against us that as even according to our own admission the Hindus are further up along the CD portion, the rate of growth of the Hindus will always be less than that of the Muhammadans—whether the Muhammadan rate itself gets slower than what it was formerly or not. How then can we say that the rate of growth of the Hindus will increase, and be greater than that of the Muhammadans ?

To this our answer is twofold; (1) progress further along the CD portion of the S—curve does not necessarily imply that the inclination of that portion of the CD where the Hindus are, to the horizontal or x-axis of time is less than the inclination of that portion of CD where the Muhammadans are travelling, for they are not travelling along the **same** S—curve, but along two different S—curves, which are not even parallel or similar to each other : (2) the radical social changes that have and are now taking place among them are perhaps starting the Hindus on a new cycle of growth.

During the last fifty years (1881-1931) the Muhammadans have increased by 51·2 per cent; while the Hindus have increased by 22·9 per cent only. Thus the rate of Muhammadan growth is more than *twice* (2·23 times to be exact) than the Hindu rate. If we plot the growth of population curve backwards, according to Griffiths, equations, we find the estimated total population, and that of the Hindus and the Muhammadans in the several years noted below to be :—

	1769	1781	1831	1881
All Religions ..	18·0	19·5	27·0	37·0
Hindus ..	11·0	12·0	16·0	18·6
Muhammadans ..	7·0	7·5	11·0	18·4

[See in this connection *The Calcutta Review*, March 1934, page 337 *et seq.*]

The respective rates of growth of the Hindus and the Muhammadans during the several periods are :—

Period	Rate of Growth per cent Hindu	Muhammadan
1769-1781	.. 9·1	7·1
1781-1831	.. 33·3	46·6
1831-1881	.. 13·1	67·4

It will be seen that during the first period the Hindu rate of growth was greater (greater by 28 per cent.) than the Muhammadan rate. In the 50 years 1781-1831, the Muhammadan position is not only reversed, the Muhammadan rate of growth is greater than the Hindu rate by 40 per cent but in the next 50 years 1831-1881, the Muhammadan rate is more than *five* times (5·14 times to be precise) greater than the Hindu rate. During the immediately last

50 years, 1881-1931, the Muhammadan rate of increase has *slowed down* from **five** times to **twice** the Hindu rate. It is to be expected that in the next fifty years, 1931-1981 the Muhammadan rate will further come down, and will not only be equal to the Hindu rate, but is even likely to be less than that. The position will be like that in the C.D region of fig. 3.

That the upper arms of the two S—curves are not parallel, but inclined to each other will appear from the following considerations. Griffiths two equation for the Hindus and the Muhammadans are :—

$$\text{Population} = y = \frac{853\cdot4}{\cdot744 + e^{-\cdot0226\,x}} \quad \text{(Hindus)}$$

$$\text{and, } y = \frac{426\cdot2}{1\cdot342 + e^{-\cdot0279\,x}} \quad \text{(Muhammadans)}$$

Working out the above two equations, he calculates what the respective populations at each census year ought to be, and compares the same with that actually enumerated.

HINDUS

Year	Population in lakhs Observed (P)	Calculated (p)	Difference (p—P) as per cent of P
1881	180·7	179·9	— 0·4
1891	189·8	187·9	— 1·0
1901	201·6	194·8	— 3·4
1911	209·5	200·7	— 4·2
1921	208·1	205·7	— 1·2
1931	222·1	209·8	— 5·5

MUHAMMADANS

Year	Observed (P)	Calculated (p)	Difference
1881	183·9	182·0	— 1·0
1891	201·7	203·1	+ 0·7
1901	219·5	222·6	+ 1·4
1911	242·4	240·1	— 0·9
1921	254·9	255·3	+ 0·2
1931	278·1	268·1	— 3·6

It will be noticed that the difference between the observed population and that calculated is greater and in the same direction in the case of the Hindus. The average of their algebraic sum = —2·6; while that in the case of the Muhammadans is—0·5. Part of this is due to the inclusion and the exclusion of the Animists and followers of tribal religions at successive censuses. But part of it is also due to the inclination of the respective bases *i.e.*, x-axis for the two populations. For example, if the axes of reference are **OX** and **OY**, the discrepancy between the observed population and the calculated curve is greater, than if the x-axis is tilted for the Hindu curve alone through a small angle XOX′; when the difference between the observed population and the curve is much less. [see Diagram in Fig. 4]. Neglecting the figure for 1921, when there was an abnormal de-growth of the Hindus, the average of the differences observed by Griffiths is—2·9 per cent.* To reduce this to *zero*, the x-axis is tilted through the angle XOX′, where

$$\tan XOX' = 2\cdot9/100 = 0\cdot029 = \tan 1°42'.$$

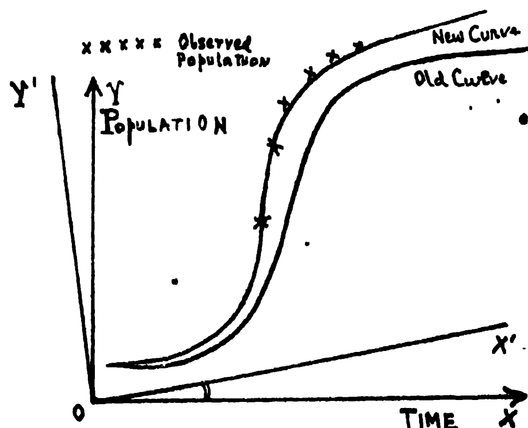


Fig. 4

In 1931, the Muhammadans were 278 lakhs as against 221 lakh Hindus; *i.e.*, for every 100 Hindu there were 125·2 Muhammadans. Or in other words, there was an excess of Muhammadans to the extent of 25·2 per cent. As a rough approximation we may say the Hindus will overtake the Muhammadans in $25\cdot2/2\cdot9 \times 10$ years=87 years; or in 2018 A.D. they will again be a majority of the population.

The above can be true only on the assumption that the Muhammadans have reached the upper flat portion of the S—curve, which is very nearly parallel to the x-axis, OX. That the Muhammadans have either reached the flat portion or are fast approaching it will be evident from the following table of their percentage growths as deduced from Griffiths' calculated population :—

1881-1891	11·5 %
1891-1901	9·6 %
1901-1911	7·8 %
1911-1921	6·3 %
1921-1931	5·0 %

So the inclination of the curve at present to OX is angle xox′; where tan xox′=5/100 i.e. or angle xox′=3°

The corresponding figure for the Hindus is tan xox′=2·2/100; or angle xox′=1·18°; to this

* Has this 2·9 per cent got anything to do with the proportionate shortage of married women aged 15-40 among the Hindus, which amounts to 3 per 100? Is this shortage fundamentally connected with the tilting of the x-axis?

we must add angle XOX′=1°42′. Thus *at present* (c. 1935 A.D.) as the respective angles of inclination to the x-axis are 3°, and 1°18′+1°42′=3°; the Hindus and the Muhammadans are growing at the same rate; which is a fact. For during the period 1933-1938, the Hindus are growing at the rate of 7·4 per mille; while the Muhammadans are growing at the rate of 7·1 per mille. But the Muhammadan rate of increase is fast coming down, *i.e.*, the curve of growth is rapidly becoming horizontal; in the decade 1931-41, it is expected that

tan xox′=3·7/100 i.e. angle xox′=2°/6′

Allowing for some time-lag we may predict that in another 150 years the Hindu S—curve will cut the Muhammadan S—curve, and thus the Hindus will again be in absolute majority.

The non-Muhammadan population of Bengal in 1931 was 232·8 lakhs; for every 100 non-Muhammadans, there were 119 Muhammadans. Assuming that the growth of the non-Muhammadans is the same as that of the Hindus; the non-Muhammadans will overtake the Muhammadans in another 19/2·9×10 years or in 66 years. That is, by 1997 the Muhammadans will cease to be the majority of the population in Bengal.

We shall now try to enumerate some of the radical social changes that are taking place among the Hindus; and which are very likely to start them on a new cycle of growth. It has been shown elsewhere by the present writer [see **Population** : *Journal of the International Union for the Scientific Investigations of Population Problems*, London, Vol. II p. 149 *et seq.* (1935).] that the enforced widowhood among the Bengalee Hindus is the **only** cause of their slower growth compared with that of the Muhammadans. In spite of the strenuous and vigorous efforts of the late venerable Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagara widow-remarriage remained a rarity in the 19th century. But in post-War Bengal, we find widow-remarriage every other day. How far it has affected our social structure will be evident from the fact that the proportion of widows among the Hindus has decreased from 257 per 1,000 females of all ages in 1911 to 254 in 1921; and to 226 in 1931.

The Bengal Census Report, 1931 observes at page 402 as follows :—

"The Hindu Sabha advocates this [widow remarriage] but with a certain complacent patronage puts it forward as being specially appropriate for the lower castes upon the ground, for which there is apparently little justification in fact, that they are dying out owing to their failure to find unmarried girls as brides. Correspondents who replied to the questionnaire gave *numerous* instances of widow remarriages. In all cases they were viewed with displeasure by some portion of the caste, though in many the parties concerned were able to overcome opposition or at least secure a considerable body of partisans in their support. There are definite organisations for the encouragement of widow remarriage, and since 1927 instances have been reported in Pabna, Mymensingh, Tipperah, Dacca, Jessore, Nadia, Chittagong, Malda, Bakarganj, Jalpaiguri and Rajshahi, and the figures discussed in Chapter VI show that *it has become more prevalent during the last ten years.*" (italics ours).

In Chapter VI of the Report, the Census Superintendent writes thus under the heading "Increase of Widow Remarriage in Cities" :—

An increasing prevalence of widow remarriage, indicated by a decrease in the proportion of widows is evidently shown in each of the three cities, Calcutta, Howrah and Dacca. * * * In [Calcutta with Suburbs] there has been a *decrease in actual numbers* (italics ours) both of males and females returned as widows amounting in the case of males to 3,760 and in the case of females to 8,439. Howrah, which has also increased considerably during the decade has returned 1,203 males and 1,296 females *less as widowed* in 1931 than in 1921. Similarly Dacca also in spite of a considerable increase has 260 males and 445 females *less* in this marital condition than there were in 1921." [See page 209.]

The tide in favour of widow remarriage is swelling; and soon it will be a flood.

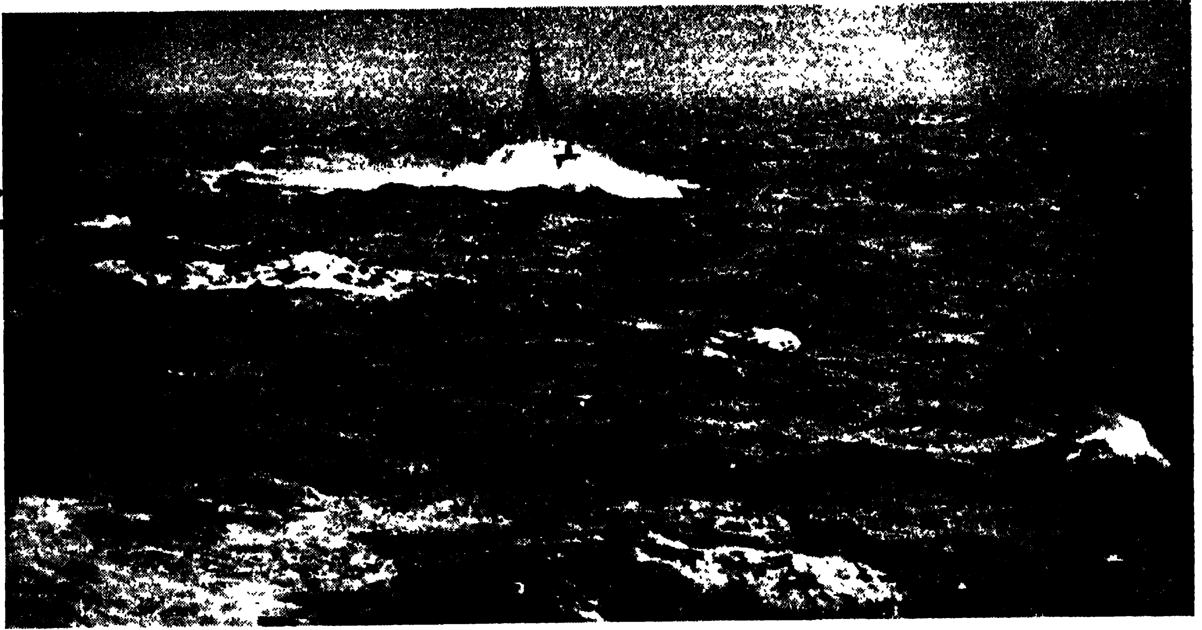
Purdah among ladies has become extinct in cities; and is fast disappearing in the mofussil.

Increase in the age of marriage for girls was going on. But the Sarda Act of 1929, which came into force on the 18th of April 1930, has not only raised the age of marriage, but indirectly prevented girl-widowhood. The full beneficial effect of this Act will be seen when the present census of 1941 is completed.

Food taboos are becoming obsolete. More fish and flesh are being taken; garlic, onion tomatoes, radishes form articles of food even in orthodox families.

Caste-restrictions on social intercourse and marriage have either disappeared or are fast disappearing. Thirty-five years ago when my aunt was married to a Bangaja Kayastha, my grandfather prohibited my mother from being present at the marriage; to-day he would gladly marry my sister to a Bangaja.

A new biological outlook on life has dawned upon the Hindus. Their social life is pulsating with a new energy. We are not unmindful of the social evils present among the Hindus, nor of the several anti-social habits and diseases that are spreading among them. But with all these we have reasons to think that the Bengalee Hindus are probably starting on a new cycle of growth.



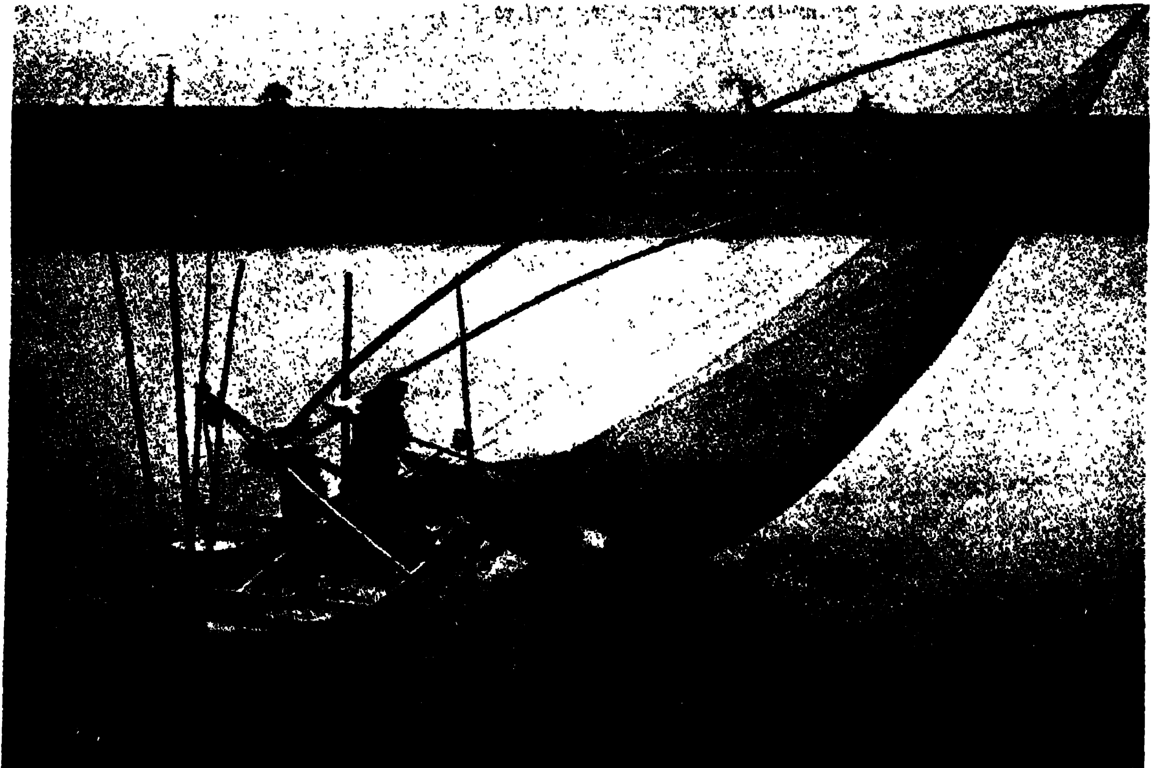
Whale fishing in the rough and icy waters of the Antarctic Ocean



Breeding ground for young "Ayu



The return of the chaser boat with the catch tied to her side



For small river fish the dipping-net is handy

FISHERIES AND FISHING INDUSTRIES OF JAPAN

By A. K. M. ZAKARIAH,
Ex-Mayor of Calcutta

Historical records show that fishing is an old industry in Japan and fish was served as a delicacy on the table even in very early times. The fishermen of the western provinces in olden days were so bold as to sail not only to the Chinese coast, but even as far as Annam and Siam. In the middle ages also fishermen were actively engaged in fishing in the seas around Korea. When, however, the Tokugawa Shogunate came to govern the country, it adopted the policy of seclusion which dealt a severe blow to this flourishing industry. Fishermen were prohibited from sailing to distant seas, and pelagic fishery, which would otherwise have developed, gradually declined. But towards the end of the 19th century the International exhibitions in Vienna, Philadelphia, Berlin and London, had a great deal to do with the revival of Japan's fishing industry. In the year 1885 the Bureau of Aquatic Products was established under the charge of the Department of Agriculture and Commerce; at the same time regulations for Fishermen's Associations were issued; investigations regarding aquatic products were started;



Cutting off Salmon fins in Hokkaido

indiscriminate fishing and acquiring of sea-weed were prohibited; various other measures for the protection, cultivation and improvement of the industry were adopted. In the year 1897 an Act for the encouragement of Pelagic Fishery was passed, and in 1902 the Fishery Act (which was later revised in 1910) was enforced.

On account of her unique position as maritime country, Japan's fishing industry had a natural development. It has been remarked that the Pacific Ocean and the Sea of Japan are



Forced spawning in a fish hatchery in Japan

their "pastoral grounds." This remark is true in so far as what the land area of Japan fails to offer in the way of meat is compensated by what the seas on the east and the west offer in the way of maritime products. As a consumer of fish Japan is without parallel. She occupies the first position in the world in the output of Aquatic Products, which amounted to Yen* 628,858,000 in 1936. These products consist mainly of fish, shell-fish, sea-weed which are used as food, fish oils and animal fertilisers.

The conservation and cultivation of aquatic resources is very important to Japan inasmuch as fish and other maritime products constitute an important part of the staple food of her people. Great care is being taken and study made with regard to acqui-culture in the country,—the incubation and letting loose of Salmon and Trout and the cultivation of fish in shallow waters being still looked after by the Government. From

* The exchange rate is Rs 81¼ = Yen 100.



The "Ayu" is the most delicious of all fishes in Japan

1926 onwards not only the incubation of Salmon and Trout but also the transfer of Craw-fish, Shad, etc., was tried several times with the help obtained from the U. S. A. The aqui-cultural production of 1936 amounted to Yen 25,552,596. In addition, acqui-culture of both fresh and sea water fishes is carried out on a business scale by private interests in various ways. Business of this type is increasing but there is still room for greater development. Shell-fish, sea-weed and the principal fishes are now being cultivated in the rice fields, breeding ponds, reservoirs, marshes, etc., as well as in the sea waters off the coast.

The Japanese fisheries in respect of the yield of the catches and the number of men engaged in fishing far exceed those of any other country in the world. The catches by fisheries of Japan proper and the colonies combined average about 5,200,000 tons a year, or about 40% of the world's total catches. The operations of the Japanese fishermen cover one-third of the total fishing grounds of the world. The number of men engaged in this industry is about 1,500,000, or over 50% of the total fishing population of the world. Japanese fishermen hold their sway over extensive fishing grounds which extend beyond the Indian Ocean, and no instance comparable to such fishing operations is to be found in any other part of the world. Fisheries that may claim any possible approximation to this are those of Norway and Britain whose oversea fishing is confined only to whaling in the Antarctic Seas. However, the Japanese have not neglected even these fishing grounds. In 1935 the first Japanese whalers were seen in these waters.

With regard to in-shore fishing, large numbers of people operate in in-land waters, with the result that even young growth has to be reckoned with for what they are worth. The Government is considering to do something with such fishing, so that these easily accessible resources are not exhausted. This fact is well recognise in official quarters, but in consideration of their economic condition the fishermen have been dealt with leniently.

According to the Japanese system of qualification, fishing boats under five tons are classified as in-shore and those above this tonnage as over-sea fishery boats. A peculiar feature of the business is that boats which are classified as of the in-shore fisheries operate as often in far-off seas as in in-shore waters. In point of catches, though the in-shore and coastal waters are richer, only a few particular



A whale being drawn to a catcher



Cormorant fishing in the River Nagara

kind of fish, such as Herring and Sardine, are in preponderance. The varieties other than these, have remained stationary in point of catches for the past 25 years. For the increasing supply of what is regarded from the Japanese point of view as fish of quality, the country has

always depended on the overseas fisheries. In speaking of overseas fisheries one visualises a fleet of ocean-going steamers sailing away in all their majesty to far-off waters. The overseas



Mother fish being released in bowl

fishing as practised by the brown-skinned men of Japan is quite a different affair. Excepting the floating canning establishments designed for packing crabs in the northern seas and the whalers, there is not a single steam-propelled vessel in the whole fishing beet of Japan. The boats going out thousands of miles away in the ocean for fishing are ordinary motor-driven native



A pond in a fish hatchery in Spring

wooden crafts of not more than 200 tons. In these pigmy vessels they sail away to distant waters for more than a month. Thus they are known to have always braved all perils of the sea with daring and courage seldom sarpassed.

Formerly fishermen used to draw their boats up to the beach where their homes were, but since deep-sea fishing with large vessels has increased it is no longer possible to do so. For mooring, for taking refuge, for discharging catches, for loading fish requisites, etc., it became very necessary to carry out harbour construction work at fish ports in the different parts of the Island



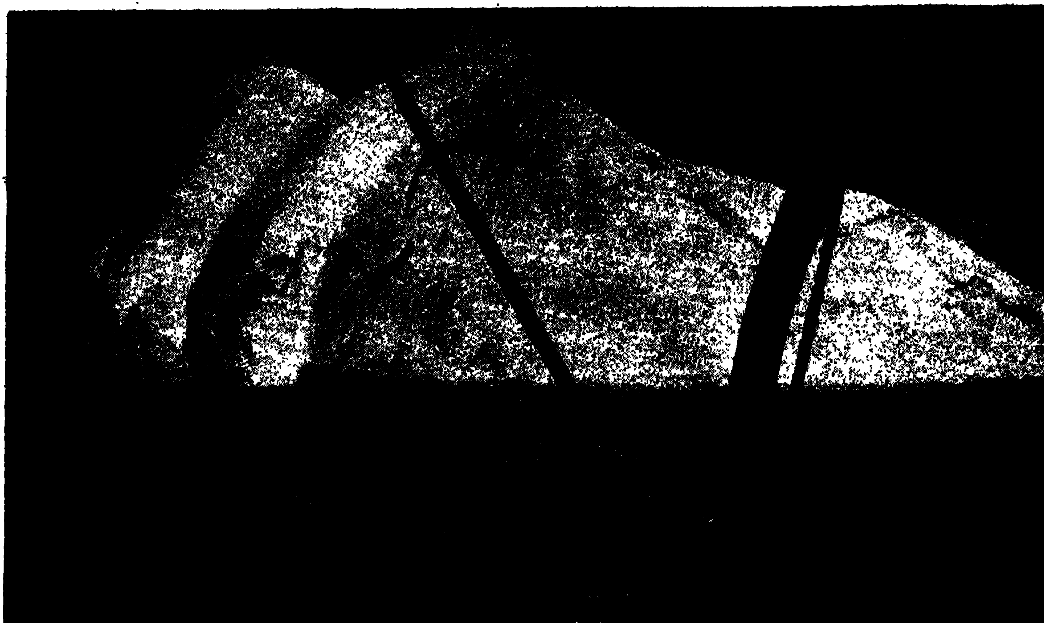
A basketful of delicious Ayu

Empire. In 1908, the Government revised a part of the Act for the encouragement of pelagic



The abundant yield of the seas not only supplies Japan with one of her staple foods but serves as a commodity of export

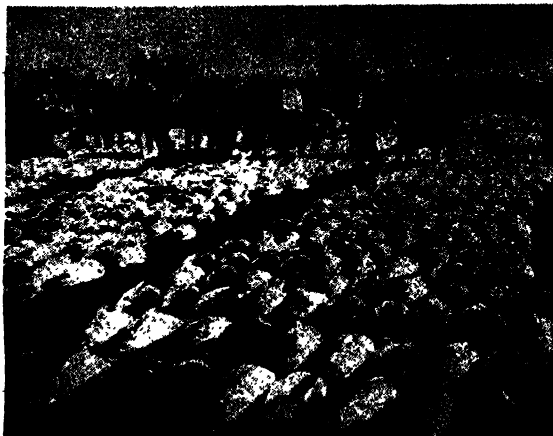
fishery and provisions were made for making investigations on harbours. Accordingly, 200 ports were carefully investigated. In the mean-



The South Polar Sea, cold and terrifying for the icebergs is also frequented by the Whale fishers

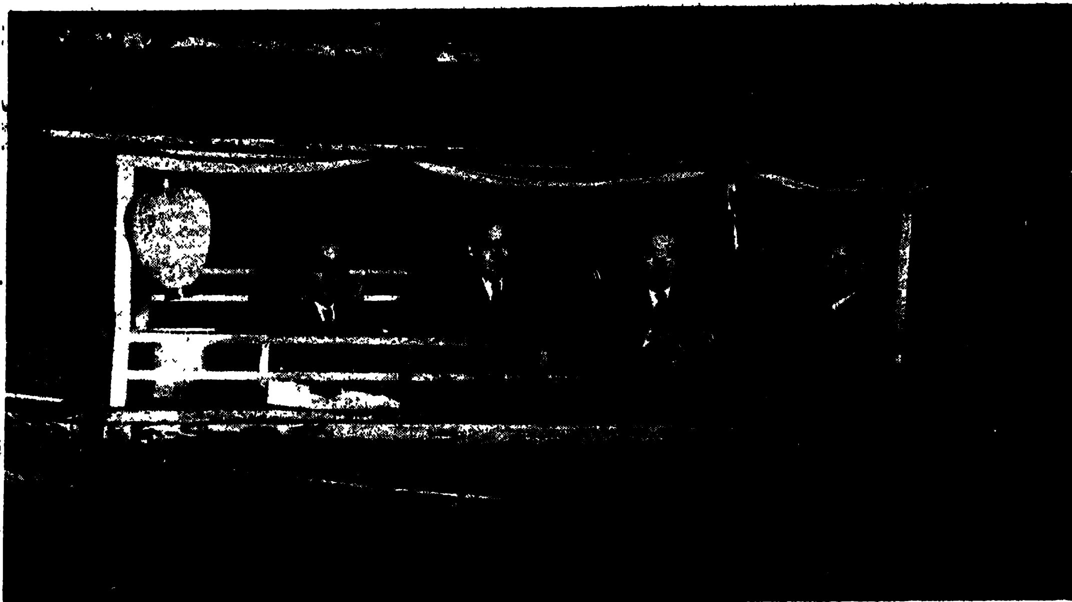
time, the construction of fishing ports and ports of refuge was undertaken independently by various local bodies and prefectural governments, towns, villages, and by fishery associations. Later on it was found that harbour construction was necessary for other reasons, such as, hygienic process in the supply of food, etc., and the Government decided to proceed with the work of harbour construction. Ports were constructed by the Government and large subsidies were granted. On the 1st of April, 1934, the number of ports in Japan was 1,463 of which the fishing ports numbered 536.

The aquatic products constitute in the field of export trade an individual group second in importance only to the textile fabrics. In 1935 these exports reached the value of Yen 79,000,000. These commodities are classified into two groups: one, consisting of several varieties of dried shell-fish and tangle, is for the Chinese market; and the other, consisting of canned crab and Salmon, fish oil and fish meal, is exported to Europe and America. The export to China of the first group of aquatic products has been carried on since feudal times. The trade is so deep-rooted and extensive that it suffered practically no depression at the time of the war with China or with Russia. Nor was it any the worse in recent times for Chinese boycotts. It was, however, during the boycott following the military outbreak in Manchuria in 1931, that the trade was visibly affected for the first time, although it has recovered its former position already. With regard to the trade in canned goods, it must be noted that the crab and Salmon, which constitute



Bonitos hauled back by oversea fishery men to Yaizu, near Shizuoka

exports of considerable importance, are packed in the territorial waters of Soviet a-board floating canning establishments. These canned goods are then shipped out straight to foreign markets. Under these circumstances the proceeds of these exported canned goods go under the head "Revenue" as invisible accounts and



The writer (extreme left) with friends watching Cormorant fishing on a boat in the river Nagara

not under that of the ordinary "trade." The value of these exports for 1933 was approximately Yen 24,000,000.

Fish meal made of dried and powdered fish is in considerable demand as an auxilliary food. Its first experimental shipments were made in 1930 and the attempt met with immediate success. The exports steadily increased until they reached in 1934 the value of Yen 12,000,000. Fish meal is manufactured by powdering fish from which oil has already been extracted by machinery. Another variety of fish meal is also used as fertiliser.

The world's output of whale oil by the Antarctic Whaling industry in 1938-39 season was 4,40,000 tons. Of the total, Japan's production was about 80,000 tons, or 20% of the entire yield. Within the brief period of ten years Japan has reached the international level; particular advance has been made during the last five fishing seasons. This marvellous rise of the Japanese whaling industry was the subject of discussion at the International Whaling Conference, resulting in Japan's formal participation in the International agreement. Japan's position was fourth. It is worthy of special notice that the posts of gunners and other officers on the Nippon Whalers which were formerly occupied by Norwegians due to technical reasons are now filled by the Japanese. Japan's position in the International Whaling industry has rapidly risen high as regards both the technical and commercial fields. The important position held



A fisher-woman with her prize

by her in the field of maritime products industry is due to the Japanese Government's co-operation and encouragement. The Government has been



Whales being drawn to a whaler

making every possible effort for the maintenance and increase of the productive capacity of the industry, the stabilisation of the living of the people in the fishing villages, the stimulation of the export trade in foreign products, and the sufficient supply of materials.

When I was in Japan last year I took special interest in the fisheries and the fishing trade of Japan. I had been to the fish market of the Imperial City of Tokyo which is claimed as the biggest in the world. I have seen how fishes are caught, what sanitary measures are taken to keep them clean and wholesome by the city Health Department, how fishes are stored in cold storage, dressed and canned and sent to ports for export. In India, particularly in Bengal, we have got an extensive sea coast, shallow marshy lands, Beels, rivers and innumerable irrigation ponds. If the Government takes a little interest for breeding fish as well as for giving facilities to the fishermen of our country, the prospect of this particular industry is very bright.

Fish constitutes one of the principal part of the meals of the Bengalees and there is no 'communal' distinction in this: everybody in Bengal eats fish. All kinds of Bengal fish, both sea and inland, are brought from different parts of the province and sold in the Calcutta markets but there is no scientific or up-to-date method of developing the industry and trade. The same old way continues from time immemorial. There is no facility of good and quick transport, no law to prevent the indiscriminate massacre of



Infant pearls being placed into shells to grow

fish in season and out of season and particularly in the time of breeding, no subsidiy from the Government for the development of the trade, no arrangements to see that fish is sold

in the city markets clean and wholesome from the sanitary point of view, and also no control over the price. If the Government so desires it can raise a considerable amount of productive



The author shaking hand with his host, Mr. K. Miki-moto, inventor of Cultured Pearls, at his Pearl Fishery in the Island of Toba

loan and start a particular department of fishery in the line of Japan and can do a lot more. But the Ministers are rather busy to tackle their domestic and household problems,—to cripple a national University, to officialise the largest self-governing institution in the country,—instead of bothering their heads about the development of an important industry like fishery. Would it not be better for the Government to send experts to Japan to get up-to-date ideas about the industry and tackle the problem in a practical way, so that a large section of the public are provided and the problem of unemployment is solved to a great extent. I conclude this article by narrating an old and interesting way of fishing which still prevails in Japan—the Cormorant Fishing.

The Cormorant Fishing

Gifu, a prefectural town with 90,000 population, is noted for its Cormorant Fishing on the river Nagara, during the season from May 11 to October 15. The fishing boats are manned by four men: one steers the boat, the master (at the bow) looks after 12 birds, his assistant amidship 4 birds, and the fourth man attends to the decoying fire which is kept burning in an iron grate at the bow. Skill is necessary in tying up the bird's neck with cord, which is so adjusted that while it allows the birds to swallow small fish it prevents them from swallowing the large ones. The boats usually go out in a flotilla of 5 or 7 either before the moon rises or after it sets, as on moonlit nights fishes are not attracted by the light in the boats. When the fishing ground is reached the master lowers his 12 Cormorants one by one into the stream by means of thin reins 12 feet long by which the birds are kept under control; number two does the same with his 4 birds; the Kako starts in with volleys of noise, and forthwith the Cormorants set to do their work in the heartiest and jolliest way diving and ducking with such wonderful swiftness as to astonish the fishes that come attracted towards the spot of light. The master is now the busiest of men. He handles his 12 strings so



View of a pearl cultivating farm

deftly that the birds move hither and thither without any impediment. He has his eyes everywhere and he follows with his eyes. Specially must he watch for the moment any of his fish is gorged—a fact generally made known by the bird itself which then swims

about with its head and swollen neck erect. Thereupon the master drawing in that bird lifts it a-board, forces its bill open with his left hand which still holds the rest of the reins, squeezes out the fish with his right hand, and starts the creature off for fresh foray—all these are done with such admirable dexterity and quickness that the 11 birds still bustling about have scarcely time to get into a tangle and the whole team is controlled perfectly by hand. One bird generally captures from 4 to 8 good sized 'ayu' every time he is put into the water. This corresponds to an average of 150 per hour, or 450 for the three hours that it takes to drift down the whole course. The cornering of the fish by a combined movement of the boats makes a lively scene, the fish thus hard pressed often jumping ashore.

The Cormorants are caught in winter, and it takes about two weeks to train them after



Young shells being placed in the water and taken into wire nets

which they are allowed to swim in company of the trained Cormorants to accustom them to fishing. This kind of fishing is a very ancient sport of Japan, its first mention is found in the ancient history compiled in 712 A. D.

The Industry of the Cultured Pearl

I had the honour of meeting the inventor Mr. Miki-moto in his Pearl Fishery at Toba and lunched with him and he very kindly gave me certain presents of his good pearls. I learnt from Mr. Miki-moto that about 40 years ago



Taking matured pearls out of shells

he started experiments in pearl culture on the basic principle underlying the growth of natural pearls in oysters which arise from the introduction of an irritant into the shell. This is the method employed in producing cultured pearls, the irritant being placed there by artificial means. It takes at least seven years to produce a pearl of any value by this method. The oyster-beds for the production of cultured pearls are situated in the waters of the inland sea. The annual pearl output is valued to be about Yen 3,900,000, the larger part of the crop being sent to France, England, and the U. S. A. The inventor Mr. Miki-moto last year sent out a challenge that anyone who could prove physically or chemically any difference between the Cultured Pearl and the so-called Natural Pearl, he would pay him Yen 200,000, but no one came forward from any part of the world to accept the challenge. The old illiterate vegetable seller of 48 years ago is now a multi-millionnaire through this industry alone.

Another allied industry to the fisheries is Coral—pink, red and white, which is gathered every year in the sea round Bonin Islands and Formosa, to the value of about Yen 1,000,000. Italy and China take most of the coral exported.

WOMEN IN PLANNED INDIA

By Srimati KRISHNA HUTHEESING

In 1939 the National Planning Committee appointed a Sub-Committee on Women's Role in Planned Economy. The basis on which this Committee was to work was the Fundamental Rights of Citizenship as laid down by the Karachi Session of the Indian National Congress, that all citizens are equal before the law regardless of religion, creed or sex, and that no disability should be attached to any citizen by reason of sex in regard to employment.

The appointed Sub-Committee dealt with the women's question, taking into due consideration her social, legal and economic status. It was necessary to go into every aspect of a woman's life and her work to be able to get at the root of things and to enable the Committee to suggest how some of the major problems that face women today should be solved.

A nation is not composed of men alone. Women are a part of it and both should work together if we are to reconstruct a new and happier society. For centuries women have suffered terrible disabilities and even now they are not entirely free from them. If a nation is to be developed on the right lines to enable it to achieve something, its women must work side by side with their men, sharing the rough side of life as well as the smooth. Again, if we wish to achieve rapid and effective progress we cannot leave the women as they are today. They will only hamper and retard all development; therefore it is essential that women's disabilities should be removed and they should be made effective and efficient partners in the work of reconstruction that lies ahead. With this end in view the Women's Sub-Committee has been working.

Till recently even in Western countries a woman was not considered an individual. She was merely an appendage to her father, brother or husband and all her life was guided by one or the other. No individuality was permitted—no fundamental rights were given. For centuries women were told that their first and only duty was how to be good daughters, sisters, wives and mothers! It was difficult therefore to break away from all tradition and counteract all inhibitions suddenly in a generation or two.

In Europe there was a suffragette movement that brought women to the forefront. There was tremendous opposition by the men and many a hard battle was fought before women got the right to vote. In India this has been achieved by the national movement. The participation of women in their hundreds and thousands in the national struggle helped to a very great extent to do away with many a tradition and ancient belief—but it does not follow that women have achieved their freedom. Far from it. Society still imposes many a restraint on her liberty and not until a woman has the right to mould her own life economically and socially, will she be free.

In a state of Planned Economy a woman should have equal rights with man, for if effective planning is to be done it needs must have the co-operation of both men and women to build up a nation which is strong, and also to bring into existence a more perfect state than has existed so far. We fight for national freedom but how can it be attained unless and until women have their rightful share in life. No social or political reform can be effective unless and until woman is economically independent. It is her economic dependence that has led to so many evils in the present day society. Political or social rights are of no value if she is not economically in a position to exercise them. Liberty in the modern world is not merely a right to exercise certain fundamental rights but also the economic ability to be able to do so. Hence recommendations have been made on the right to a woman's income.

A woman's work in her home is usually not considered as any work at all, but here too recommendations have been made by the Women's Committee that this work should be recognised, as a woman is not merely a slave or a drudge to carry on day after day all the household work without any recognition of what she does. Household work like any other work should entitle a woman to all the benefits the state can give.

So far sex has been a great handicap to women—many an occupation is denied to them because of their sex. In a Planned Society this should not exist and women must have equal opportunities and equal rights, civic, economical, and political.

Among the poorer classes woman's economic usefulness has been accepted. She has to earn along with the men in order to maintain the family, but in spite of this she is not independent.

Whatever she earns belongs to her husband and she has no right over it, as her labour is not recognised as a separate unit of production but forms a part of the family work. This should not be so. Whatever a woman earns should be her very own, to do with it what she will.

A woman does not merely want to do the same work as a man, nor does she look forward to vying with him in every sphere of life. What she does want is equality and every opportunity to work as a responsible citizen. At present the existing laws do not give her much scope for this, and unless they are changed not much can be done.

Merely getting equal rights and equal opportunities will not be sufficient either. A woman will have to reconcile her work outside her home with the work within it—for that too must be seen to. Women should not imagine that if they take up any work outside, their homes will run themselves. They cannot. Nor should any woman neglect her home and children for other interests. On the other hand to look after one's home and children should by no means be the only aim in a woman's life.

Under the present social order there is one moral code for women and another for men. This is not only most unfair but a great disability and should be got rid of as soon as possible. The difference in the standards of morality are stupendous. If there is a slight lapse on the part of a woman, she is immediately condemned. On the other hand, if a man deliberately goes against all codes of decency and morality people will try to ignore it, or perhaps mildly rebuke him! Where a woman would be ostracized, condemned and thrown out of society, a man will go unscathed! This state of things must be done away with and the standard of morality for men as well as for women should be identical if they are to exist on a basis of complete equality.

In India today there are many different forms of marriage but whatever the form may be it is the parents who arrange it and the parties concerned have either no say at all in the matter or very little. It is an imposition of the man's will on the woman's and she has no choice but to submit. In a new society as visualised by the Planning Committee, marriage should take place by common consent of the parties concerned and should not be forced. It should be a contract entered into by mutual consent and the state should recognise it as a civil contract voidable under certain conditions at the will of either party. Religious ceremonies should be performed if desired by either party, and the age of marriage should be raised also if it is to be a contract.

Regarding divorce there is still a great deal of controversy—though among many of the lower classes it has always been recognised. People imagine that those who advocate divorce wish to break up homes, but that is far from correct. If a marriage is unhappy, be it for reasons of health, incompatability of temparament or any other reason, it would undoubtedly be better that the parties divorced rather than remained tied to each other breeding hatred and discontent around them and perhaps bringing up their children in an atmosphere of bitterness and disillusionment. But if divorce is possible either at the desire of either party or on certain specified conditions, it should provide for the economic needs of the woman and safeguard the interests of the children by law.

There are many legal disabilities from which women suffer today. They have not the same rights as men to hold, acquire or inherit property. The Women's Sub-Committee suggests that these legal disabilities should be removed and women should also be given the same rights to property as men so long as ownership of property is recognised. Politically too women should have the same rights and responsibilities as men.

In the past the political struggle has pushed forward many of these demands without the necessity of any women's movement similar to that of the Suffragette movement in England. But in the future some such movement might be necessary if women do not get their rightful demands. Equality of status, like freedom, is not given by others, but must be fought for and achieved by women themselves.

Perhaps the recommendations of the Women's Sub-Committee may sound idealistic and revolutionary—or may be considered the demands of a few "feminists," but if we were to see the large number of opinions gathered by the Women's Sub-Committee from all parts of the country as well as facts and figures, this prejudice may be overcome, and the knowledge of how eager the women of India are to play their part in the building up of our country would become widespread. Their enthusiasm and zeal, their immense capacity to help in the achievement of the goal we all look forward to, can only be forthcoming if age-old shackles that bind and burden womenkind are removed. The recommendations of the Sub-Committee are in fact the united demands of the women of India—a demand not born out of modernism or exaggerated feminism, but a rightful and just demand to play their role in the building of a New India.

THE GIDDY HEIGHTS OF SIMLA !

By DHARAM YASH DEV

Secretary of Department of Indians Overseas, A. I. C. C.

FROM the real lead us unto the unreal.

It was a long and tiring journey, almost thirty hours of it, from Allahabad to Kalka and from Kalka to Simla. At Allahabad it was hot, very hot. The train to Kalka was crowded and stuffy. The luxury of travelling 2nd is no longer mine. In the Inter and 3rd people were packed, packed like sardines, as they say. But even sardines in a tin don't have to sit up. We sat up, all day and all night, eleven of us, in a compartment marked for twelve. At times it was unbearably uncomfortable—the blazing sun from above the metal roof made the place feel hot like an oven. Our thighs and shoulders, wet with perspiration rubbed against each other. The stink and the smell of the human bodies mixed with cigarette smoke was nauseating and sickening. It was no better in any other Inter or 3rd class compartment. Complaints about "overcrowding" were useless and fell on deaf ears. The compartment had been marked for 12 and we were only 11. According to one railway officer, there was room for one more.

The Pukka Sahabs and the Burra Sahabs and the Native Sahabs all travelled 1st or 2nd, one or two or three in each compartment. Less than one-tenth of the total number of passengers occupied more than one-half of the train. They had the fans and the ice-containers and windows with blinds and wire-gauze to keep cool, to keep out the sun, the heat and the dust. They had money to pay for all these facilities—and many even did not have to pay for these facilities. They were "officials" and "administrators" and had free passes. And those who could not afford to pay 1st or 2nd had to travel huddled like sheep and cattle, denied even the barest comforts of life.

Kalka. It was another world, slightly chilly and damp. From the train alighted all the Sahabs with their tweeds and topees, and their Mem-Sahabs and their Baba-Loks and all the Ayahs and the Nannies. And from the "servants" alighted a crowd of imposing gilt and red-clad chaprasies, feeling shivery in that cold and damp air. They rushed here and there, carrying bags and attache-cases, sticks and umbrellas, scolding and bullying the porters and the waiters. The Mem-Sahabs gave instructions in their ungrammatical Hindustani and the Ayahs and the Nannies fussed round the Baba-Loks. Soon the platform was littered with boxes and cabin trunks and wardrobe trunks, and baskets containing fruits and vegetables. There were tables and type-writers, radio sets, grand pianoes, pieces of furniture and machinery, big and small. There were 'official-looking bags' and cases and parcels, all locked and sealed with big red seals, full of files and books and documents from Delhi all waiting to be transported uphill—to Simla, the summer capital of the White Moghuls.

Beyond the barrier, there stood the toy-like train, the narrow-gauge railway with its quaint looking engine and beyond the train and beyond the tin-shed of the junction station stood the mighty mountains, upright, in their regal splendour, with their arms stretched, welcoming the weary traveller. But it was a long wait before our train started. All the Burra Sahabs had to go ahead of other mortal beings. They got into the ambulance like rail motor, all beautifully white, polished and washed and it rushed off while we waited and fidgeted in the chicken-coupe-like compartments of the smelly train. And we waited and another rail-motor rushed off with another half a dozen passengers. At last our turn came and the toy-like train started. It is a funny experience. The train climbs and coils and curves and crawls. It huffs and puffs and twists and turns and winds its weary way through one-hundred and one tunnels to the Olympian heights where the Mighty Ones dwell and rule. It takes six hours and it is exhausting. The city of the Truly Great is reached by noon and before the feet touch the sacred soil, they are "pins and needles," the flesh is weary and the eyes are sore with smoke and soot.

Simla. It is strangely remote, seven thousand feet above sea level; nearly 900 miles from Allahabad, 1500 miles from Calcutta, and nearly 2000 miles from Madras. From its snow-clad peaks this vast continent of ours is ruled for six months of the year. Here comes the Viceroy. He is followed by the Hon'ble Members and Ministers and many other administrators, big and small. To meet them, to see them, to salaam them and to flatter them, come

all the hangers-on, and those who seek fortunes and favours. The elite of the country must follow and so does the aristocracy and the bourgeoisie—one and all. It is their Mecca, it is their Rome. The Rajas and Maharajas and the landless Nababs and bankrupt Sardars, they come too and sign their names in the visitors' book at the Viceregal lodge. They aspire for precious invitation cards to lunch or dinner with the Viceroy, they aspire for new titles, recognitions of their loyalty and services rendered, they aspire for increments and jobs either for themselves or for their good-for-nothing England-returned sons and nephews. And throughout the season, as some one said, Simla abounds in Princes and princelings.

On certain afternoons and evenings the band plays in the band-stand on the Ridge and passers-by stand and gossip. Almost every evening all the Brown-Sahabs and almost every body else, who is anybody, comes to the Mall, the Ridge, to intrigue, to flatter, to talk shop and scandal and to show off. Now and again their women-folk too come out to display their new dresses and gay and bright sarees which are expensive and gaudy. The White Sahabs do not stand and gossip on the Ridge or the Mall. They do so over their chotta-pegs, in their clubs and the A.D.C. When crossing the upper Bazar, you see them walking and riding with their dignified helmets and topees on their heads and impressive canes in their hands 'grave, upright, supermanly in aspect and demeanour' for the sake of their prestige. The Knights and the Ladies too come to the Ridge. They seldom walk. They ride in their rickshaws and the uniformed coolies have to carry, in the most literal sense, the heaviest of the burdens of the administration.

And these rickshaw coolies, they too, like the Simla Sahabs are part of it. Their exploitation has few parallels anywhere in the world. They are simple honest folks, who come to Simla from villages far and near and many travel hundreds of miles, mostly on foot, to get here to earn a few honest pennies and to fill their bellies. Most of them sleep like tinned sardines in miserable tin-sheds which never have more than three sides and which cannot resist rain. Most of them possess no more than a blanket which keeps them dry by day and warm by night. Outside the theatres and the cinemas and the dance halls they have no shelters or sheds to protect them from rains and when their masters are enjoying themselves, these beasts of burden are soaked and shiver. But this is not all. .

Simla is unique among towns. In Simla there is nothing except the Government. In its hotels sleep the Goverment servants and its cooks feed them and its coolies transport them. The Liliputian Capital, as it has been called, is complete in itself, unlike any other town in the world, "a town of pure Government, like pure Mathematics, an abstraction."

I stayed in Simla for two days. I tramped up and down its narrow steep lanes that take you to various castles and cottages. Walking down the Mall (or was it up the Mall ?) towards the Viceroy's house, I passed the many Government offices—the Army Headquarters, the Railway Board, the Foreign, the Political, the Labour, the Industries and the Commerce, all these departmerts and many more, dotted here and there, up hill and down dale. Red-clad chaprasies hundreds of them, walked everywhere with files under their arms, going from this castle to that cottage. I saw professional politicians and Ministers, rushing in and out of their rickshaws, being bowed to respectfully and always looking much too conscious of their own importance.

On the second day of my stay there, I, a mere stranger, an outsider stood near the post office, stood there for a long time, watching this strange bewildering panorama, this experiment in abstraction. Chaprasies and clerks were hurrying back from their offices. They looked cold, tired, and underfed. I had seen some of these faces, earlier in the morning, dragging themselves to their work. They did not somehow seem to like the life they were leading. Those to whom I spoke complained of the weather and the expenses and the bother of keeping two establishments—six months in Delhi and six months in Simla.

Not very far the band in the band-stand was playing some strange tunes. It was getting late. Slowly darkness was obliterating the mountains all round and little lights came out one by one. Far-off houses and huts looked like little fairy cottages in the picture book. And on this cold and chilly evening, the dusty roads of Allahabad seemed so remote, so far away, things of a different world. And far far away from Simla hundreds of miles away and thousands of feet below Simla, my thought went back to the 750,000 villages and towns of Hindustan. Simla is remote, but how remote India seems in Simla?

Every Spring the Capital of the country shifts from Delhi to Simla. Twice every year the Government transfers itself, bag and baggage —documents, tons of files, peons, clerks, Heads

of departments, Hon'ble Members—all move to Simla. Thousands of subordinates work at Delhi and Lahore and Bombay and Calcutta and Madras and elsewhere. From them files and papers come for instructions and advice and signatures and scrutiny. And to them the files return. Every season weeks are spent in packing and unpacking these files. Every day, every week, throughout the season (the Simla Season) saw moving trains slowly carry towards the snowy peaks, their loads of files and papers and questions and commands and answers and evasions and anticipations.

I stood near the band-stand. The bandmen had played the last tune and had gone. Mist was rolling up the mountain tops. Fog was enveloping the Simla slopes. Government 'up the Hill' was going to sleep enveloped in that fog. Walking down the dark slippery roads towards my lodging I thought of the parched earth, the teeming millions, peasants and farmers working and struggling, from morn till night producing a few baskets or a few bushels of grain every year, sorrowing, singing, praying, rejoicing, living and dying, all so far away from Simla. And it seemed so remote, so unreal. Did the Viceroy, did the Hon'ble Members, did the Ministers, did anybody living in Simla, at these snow clad giddy peaks of Himalaya, know anything of the problems of these 400 million souls of India—did they know of the grinding poverty, of the sufferings, and the sorrows that are India's? I wondered. I have come back to Allahabad. The question haunts me. I am still wondering. Do they know the real India—they that live in remote Simla. I doubt it!

INDIAN WOMANHOOD

Mrs. Kusumbai Shahane, B.A., B.T., T.D., is the eldest daughter of R. B. Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, M.A., Ph.D., and is the wife of the late Capt. N. R. Shahane, M.B., B.S., I.M.S., of Amraoti. Undaunted by the sudden death of her husband in 1930, and in spite of various other handicaps, especially her anxiety for her three children, she passed the B.A. examination in 1937, and took her Diploma in P.T. in 1938. Throughout these years Mrs. Shahane maintained herself and her three children on her stipend and service monies, not wishing to avail herself of the support proffered by her father.

On 23rd August 1939, despite dissuasions Mrs. Shahane sailed for London consigning her three children to the care of her parents. She returned on 22nd August, 1940 after obtaining the T.D. from the University of London.



Mrs. Kusumbai Shahane

Note on Certain Modern Political Theories

In the course of an article in the form of an introductory note on certain modern political theories in *The Indian Journal of Political Science* Prof. Christopher Ackroyd makes the following observations :

One of the greatest difficulties that must be faced in trying to estimate the truth and falsehood of a particular political theory is the popular conception, or rather the popular perversion of the ideal. People are governed by words and phrases, the meaning of which is only partially understood. As a result they advocate policies which are contradictory. An obvious example of this is the way in which the "democratic nations" have been supporters of the League of Nations. The natural tendency of European democracy has been to encourage the individual, and the individual is generally more interested in his own little garden, than in what goes on in the street outside his house. The whole idea of the League of Nations is that there should be a consciousness of general responsibility; a consciousness that what concerns one, concerns all. British diplomacy which tried to combine popular democracy and the League of Nations, failed to safeguard either of the two, since democracy would not face the cost of the League of Nations idea, and the League of Nations idea was by itself unable to defend Democracy.

Usually people are not capable of sustained critical thought, with the result that they have no idea about a subject until it is made a newspaper sensation.

Then, when the interest of the public has been aroused, the public is never well enough informed to have the right to an opinion. The nineteenth century saw Individualism run riot; today the tendency is to sacrifice everything to the Group. Now, the Individual and the Group are mutually necessary to one another. Just as one cannot have Rights apart from Duties, so one cannot have the Individual apart from the Group.

The antithesis of the Individual and the Group is the starting point of politics; the synthesis of the two is the aim of every political philosophy.

A particular formulation of an idea expressive of the Group may be true so far as the Group itself is concerned, but unless the motive behind the Group idea is clear, the idea itself can only be partially correct. The old ideas of Liberal Democracy are dead—so far as practical politics are concerned—and should be decently buried, after which they might be included with the study of the Greek City State as showing the pitfalls to avoid in the future. The need at the present time is to study different Group ideas such as Federal Union, Communism, or Fascism, to discover if possible their respective aims, motives and essences, and then if possible to try to assess their value.

"Man is a political animal" is a frequently misunderstood saying, and in some ways it is today one of the most dangerous of the popular ideas.

From the dawn of history men have been concerned with the problem of learning how to live together. Politics is really concerned with the accumulated ideas, and histories of the attempts which have been, which are being made, and which are thought of for the future. Man is a political animal only if one takes politics in this sense; the phrase would be more correctly understood if one said that "Man is a social animal"; "politics" in its limited sense is only one aspect of the problem. Certain writers, such for example as Burke, felt that it was impossible to discover *any real reason* for the way in which things happen. Such people naturally tend to have a great respect for what they conceive to have been the ideals of the past. They are of value since they remind people of the merits of the past, but they are essentially pessimistic in their influence, as hope for a better future is virtually ruled out of the picture. There are other people such as Mill, who believe that it is possible to discover the reason for things happening. Those believe that if one thinks, and studies sufficiently, it will be possible to see what is to be desired, and how it may be achieved. For such people the problem of Government becomes really the problem of discovering, and deciding on the best means for achieving a desired end. This does not mean that Government is simply a matter of choice. Government is something which has grown and developed, and the past is inextricably interwoven with the present.

Man may aim at one thing, but the machinery by which he seeks to achieve it may produce something different.

The machinery and the desires are not the same thing, any more than the end and the means are the same thing, though the two are interconnected. Further, in considering either the desires of men, or the machinery man creates, one must also consider the general circumstances of the period. During the last two thousand years there has been much scientific progress and discovery, and as a result man has been able to understand and control more fully the forces of Nature. This has automatically resulted in the increased interconnection, and interdependence of the human race, and a consequent alteration both of aims and means. Thus the idea of the Greek City State, the mediæval visions of world-wide unity, or the Renaissance conceptions of national states, cannot be literally applied to modern conditions. It is true that the idea of the good life which they seek to express may be the same, but now-a-days it must be expressed in a manner which is true to modern conditions.

The problem is still the same as it was two thousand years ago, in the sense that man desires that man should control the social destiny of man.

The problem may be resolved into the following form; man is a human animal with needs which must be satisfied; naturally gregarious by instinct, he lives on a planet which he cannot control; he is dependent for his life on forces generated within the planet, which he is now able to control to a limited extent. Since men live together, and since all are faced with the common problem of snatching a living from the forces of Nature, therefore, rules and regulations governing the conduct of men towards one another, are necessary. These rules will also regulate the attitude of men towards Nature, and the manner in which Nature is harnessed to the service of mankind. The problem then becomes a double one, on the one hand there is the problem of the conquest of Nature itself, and on the other hand there is the problem of organising mankind for the conquest and control of Nature. If and when this has been done, the problem of man controlling his social destiny will be one step nearer solution. At the present time, mankind has managed to get increased control over Nature, but the problem of the organisation of mankind is really no more advanced than it was in the days of Aristotle. Government today may be more elaborate, but so too are the problems which every Government has to face.

Fascism is opposed both to Liberal Democracy, and also to Marxian Socialism. The net result of the irrationalist school of thought has been the creation of the idea of the "myth," the menas for securing the allegiance of the masses; secondly, there is the idea of the rhythm of history by which power is seized by a young and vigorous class from the old effete governing classes; and above all, there is the idea that it is the right of the few to govern. As regards Italian Fascism the writer observes :

In the case of Italian Fascism the "myth" which lay ready to hand was the Roman Empire. The Fascist writers can therefore appeal to revolution and conservatism, the past and the future at one and the same time. The old days when Rome was the centre of the world must be restored, so runs the argument, and therefore whatever hinders must be destroyed. It is an appeal to people to be conscious of themselves as a part of the continuous stream of history, and therefore something which is essentially felt, and understood only in so far as it is felt. It is not based on reason, since it is a vision rather than a plan, and is based on the "will to power." "We have created our myth. The myth is a faith, it is passion. It is not necessary that it shall be a reality. It is a reality by the fact that it is a good, a hope, a faith, that it is courage. Our myth is the nation, our myth is the greatness of the nation." (Mussolini).

One sees therefore that there must be at the centre a group of conscious fanatics, guiding the masses in a revolutionary direction.

Hitler in *Mein Kempf* emphasises that revolutionary impetus consists less "in scientific knowledge guiding the masses, than in the drive of an inspiring fanaticism, sometimes an actual hysteria." What the Leader demands then from his followers is obedience, since "the thinking inferior is the natural enemy of his superior" (Hitler). Inspired by a fanatical belief in the "myth" and the necessity of success, a group will feel justified in using "the most brutal weapons" (Hitler). "After having made use of violence systematically for forty-eight hours we got results which we should not have obtained in forty-eight years of sermons and propaganda. When therefore violence removes a gangrene of this sort (referring to the General Strike in North Italy in 1921) it is morally sacred and necessary" (Mussolini). "As Jesus did so, following him, men have always resorted to acts of violence when they have been convinced that such acts represent law, or some other higher universal interest" (Gentile).

The "myth" of the Roman Empire tended to conceal the essential narrowness of the "myth." At first it was thought that Fascism would refer only to the past, but the rise of German Fascism has brought out what was previously present, though possibly incompletely realised, namely the racial, or national character of the Fascist "myth."

Whilst Italian fascism had unconsciously within it the idea of race, the German Nazi fascism made this clear from the beginning.

In *Mein Kampf*, Hitler develops at length the idea that man is not guided by interests, or to speak symbolically, by gold, and that man's fundamental aspiration is not to live in comfort with riches, happiness, or even power. Man is great only when he is ready to sacrifice everything for a great idea. Any movement which does not rest on an idea will fail because it will lack the necessary militancy to reach its goal. "The conviction that one has the right to make use of even the most brutal force is always bound up with a fanatical faith in the necessary triumph of a new order on this earth. A movement which does not fight for its highest ideals will never resort to the final test of arms" (Hitler). This may be compared with Mussolini's dictum that "War is to man what maternity is to a woman." The supreme idea for Nazi Fascism is the "Race Myth."

Distribution of Provinces on a Linguistic Basis

Language is a great force for socialisation, probably the greatest that exists. The nearest approach to national sentiment springs only from language. The question of language is all-important with regard to the distribution of provinces. A. S. Menon contributes in *The Aryan Path* an article on a topic of current interest :

The seeds of freedom, independence and *Swaraj* and of all other such matters as relate to the improvement of the organic life of a nation must be sown in communities in which the fire of life still exists or can be kindled without difficulty, and the community in which such seeds are sown in India is the province. If the Indian Provinces in which Provincial Autonomy has been introduced as the first step in the direction of independence have any characteristic feature, it is that they are incapable of allowing any seed to grow in their soil. This was recognised by Indian public leaders as long ago as when the late Lokamanya Tilak expounded it before the Decentralisation Commission.

The Indian National Congress, in recognition of this principle, demarcated provincial spheres for its work, on a linguistic basis.

Public expectation that the Congress Ministries would sharply take up this question when they came into power was, however, defeated, because as soon as they came in they became seriously engaged in various major issues such as prohibition and temple entry which were two great hindrances to the advent of *Swaraj!* In the midst of the great war of *Swaraj* which Mr. Rajagopalachari, then Premier of Madras, fought against a few drunkards in Salem and against some temple trustees in Madras Presidency, he one day advised the legislature not to press the minor issue of a redistribution of the provinces on a linguistic basis as he thought such a redistribution would automatically come on the advent of independence.

The agitation against the partition of Bengal had its root in the language question; Bihar was separated from Bengal on the same issue; and quite recently the constitution of Orissa into a separate province was for the same reason.

Throughout the whole of India, the boundaries of the provinces must undergo a thorough revision on a language basis, and this must take place as the first condition precedent to the re-introduction of Provincial Autonomy after the war.

It was John Bright who first foreshadowed the political destiny of India in which the different provinces would ultimately form locally autonomous states with separate government, separate armies, etc. Later on Sir Bomptylde Fuller, who was for some time Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, observed:

"It would have been well for the country had its divisions into provinces for purposes of Government followed the lines marked by race and language so as to reinforce the sympathy which arises from similarity, by feelings of pride in the Local Governments. The existing administrative divisions are so heterogeneous as to have a directly contrary effect."

In 1902, Lord Curzon recognised the same principle; in 1911, Lord Hardinge favourably commented upon it in his famous despatch relating to the separation of Bihar from Bengal. The Montagu-Chelmsford Report, and later the Simon Commission and the Joint Parliamentary Committee admitted the validity of the claim, and the principle took shape both in the Montford Reforms of 1919 and in the Government of India Act of 1935. The present time is more opportune than any in the past, because the Secretary of State for India and some other members of the present British Cabinet are already wedded to this view. Mr. C. R. Atlee had given undue emphasis to this question in the course of an influentially signed draft which he presented to the Joint Parliamentary Committee. He said that even with the creation of the new provinces there was a strong case for reconsideration of provincial boundaries and recommended that the Indian Legislature should, as soon as possible after the coming into force of the new constitution, set up a Boundaries Commission to delimit the extent of the provinces and to decide if some should, for greater facility in working, be divided.

No democratic constitution can grow up in the existing type of provincial organisation which is one of the most undesirable legacies of British Autocracy in India, a lifeless and rhymeless group of revenue divisions which paid no attention to the growth or the sustenance of human life. The term "province" hardly conveys the idea contained in the term "state."

In the future federal India, by whatever name the divisions may be called, they need not be known by the name of provinces. We may, for that matter, safely follow the policy adopted in other federal constitutions, and call each of the federating units a "state" for all political purposes.

We have heard of the movement which led to the partition of Bengal.

It began in the most artless manner possible. In February, 1901, Sir Andrew Fraser who was then Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces wrote a letter about the substitution of Hindi for Oriya as the language of the law courts of the District of Sambalpur, then under his control. In the course of his observations he appears to have casually suggested that if Oriya was to be the court language of Sambalpur, that district had better be joined to Orissa, and that this might be done either by placing Sambalpur under the control of the Bengal Government or by transferring the whole of Orissa from Bengal to the Central Provinces. Out of that casual suggestion the whole great conrtoversy arose. For fourteen months the secretariats wrote about the proposal, built upon it and gradually evolved fresh schemes for the rearrangement of half the provinces of India. The map of Hindustan was drawn afresh by placid Members of Council, blissfully unconscious of the cyclone of popular wrath that was eventually to burst over their devoted heads, and one day the imposing file of papers came for the first time before the astonished vision of the Viceroy.

What Lord Curzon thought of these ingenuous deliberations was recorded in May, 1902, in a half-humorous, half-angry note, which after his departure obtained in Calcutta a publicity for which it was never intended. Every word of that note is an emphasis on the departmentalism which characterised Indian administration in the first quarter of the century.

The formation not only of the provinces, but also of the lesser subdivisions down to the smallest revenue units, the villages, was never inspired by any political imagination or statesmanship.

It is also not possible to explain in any other way why there was so much indecent haste to impose provincial autonomy in the existing provinces which were admittedly ill-suited to the growth of autonomous institutions and for the redistribution of which there had been insistent demand at the Round Table Conference. What, after all, is the logic which found justification for the immediate separation of Orissa and did not find equal and simultaneous necessity for the recognition of the Andhra, Karnataka, Kerala and Tamil Nadu Provinces?

It would have been a matter of statesmanship to have appointed a Boundaries Commission soon after the Round Table Conference, for the purpose of defining the potential federal units.

Self-determination must come from communities and provinces based on language, and the Indian nation must be a federal union of these provincial units, with so much of nationalism as is contained in the American sentiment which, according to Lord Bryce, objected to

the inclusion of the word "nation" in the liturgy of the Church.

Rammohun's Attitude to Ramanuja

Rammohun was the first in India to write an independent commentary on the *Brahmasutras* in a modern language, *i.e.*, in Bengali. Isanchandra Ray observes in the anniversary number of *The Indian Messenger*:

Owing to Rammohun's general agreement with Acharya Samkara, he is always looked upon as a thorough-going Samkarite. Although on many fundamental issues, he differed greatly from the Acharya, the latter's influence upon him was really great; in fact, in his interpretation of the Srutis and the Sutras he followed the Acharya wherever he possibly could.

Those who have read Rammohun's *Vedantagranth* critically, know that he was thoroughly acquainted with the Bhashya of Acharya Madhva.

And there is at least one sutra in the *Vedantagranth*, the text of which indicates that Rammohun came across the Bhashya of Bhashkara also. After all these, it may appear very strange that there should be no direct reference in Rammohun's writings to Acharya Ramanuja, who is undoubtedly the greatest of the Bhashyakaras, except of course Acharya Samkara.

Ramanuja based his philosophy on the Antaryami Brahmana of the Brihadaranyaka Upanishad.

The Acharya deduced that both matter (Achit) and soul (Chit) form the body of Brahman; a body is not merely the seat of effort, the senses as well as pleasure and pain as the Naiyayikas declare it to be; body, says Ramanuja, is that which a conscious soul can wholly and completely control and support for its own purpose and which is also entirely subordinate to it.

There is another topic to which attention must be paid here. Ramanuja supported the combination of Jnana and Karma.

It will be interesting here to compare with the abovementioned passages the following extracts from Rammohun's pamphlet on *Divine Worship by means of the Gayutree*.

"Those that maintain the doctrine of the Universe being the body of the Supreme spirit, found their opinion upon the following considerations:

Firstly.—That there are innumerable millions of bodies, properly speaking worlds, in the infinity of space.

Secondly.—That they move, mutually preserving their regular intervals between each other, and that they maintain each other by producing effects primary or secondary, as the members of the body support each other.

Thirdly.—That these bodies, when viewed collectively, are considered one, in the same way as the members of an animal body or of a machine, taken together, constitute one whole.

Fourthly.—Any material body whose members move methodically and support each other in a manner sufficient for their preservation, must be actuated either by an internal guiding power named the soul or by an external one as impulse.

Fifthly.—It is maintained that body is as infinite as space, because body is found to exist in space as far as our perceptions, with the naked eye or by the aid of instruments, enable us to penetrate.

Sixthly.—If body be infinite as space, the power that guides its members must be internal and therefore

styled the soul, and not external, since there can be no existence even in thought without the idea of location. Hence this supposes that the Supreme All-pervading power is the soul of the universe, both existing from eternity to eternity; and that the former has somewhat the same influence over the universe as the individual soul has over the individual body.

It is worth noticing that Rammohun was presenting here, in his own language in English the main thesis of Ramanuja.

This proves conclusively that Rammohun was acquainted with the Acharya's system of philosophy; the second point to be noted is that the pamphlet referred to above was written in 1827, that is at a time, long before there was any attempt at translating the Bhashyas of Samkara or Ramanuja.

It may be objected here that if Rammohun knew about the philosophy of Ramanuja, what was his attitude towards it? To this it must be pointed out that Rammohun actually refuted the main arguments of Ramanuja, though without referring to him directly. Himself an interpreter of the ancient wisdom of the land, Rammohun was always respectful to other great interpreters; and hence, when criticising or refuting the views of any one of them, out of his innate courteousness he always refrained from referring to them by name.

Rammohun, then, refuted Ramanuja and this he did when answering to the attacks of Mrituyunjaya Vidyalankar.

Vidyalankara was undoubtedly one of the greatest Pandits of his times and a worthy rival of Rammohun. The publication of his Vedanta-chandrika, has afforded the readers an opportunity to study the works of both and to estimate the strength of their respective position. It is certainly wrong to try to pit one of them against the other, as if they belonged to enemy camps; because both of them were trying to interpret the same Sastras in accordance with their own outlook; the rivalry between the two was therefore not personal but traditional; because, while by many of us Rammohun is believed to have been a Sankarite; few people know that the Vidyalankara was a Ramanujist; if Rammohun aligned himself with Samkara, Mrityunjaya relied on Ramanuja.

Secondly, when Mrityunjaya was insisting on the indispensability of the observance of the vedic rituals in all the stages of the life of a man—and even after the attainment of the knowledge of Brahman he was only preaching the doctrine of the combination of Karma and Jnana of Ramanuja, which has already been referred to. Both these arguments put forward by Mrityunjaya, Rammohun refuted with his own arguments based on the scriptures as well as reason.

In refuting Mrityunjaya Rammohun was also discarding the philosophy of Ramanuja.

This Side and That

The New Review writes editorially:

American politics cannot be divorced from humble economic apprehensions. Not that the ordinary soldier is spoiling for war out of materialistic hopes; but national leaders cannot lose sight of the country's material welfare, and occasionally private individuals and agencies seek war out of greed. In the present war, economic stakes have not to be ignored. In Nazi ideology economics are weapons of totalitarian war which Nazis have wielded long before military hostilities began; they handled them a little clumsily; for aiming correctly is more difficult with economic weapons than with shells and bombs.

The U. S. A. have for some time already suffered from Nazi economic assaults.

Barter, conscript labour, Schacht-ist finance have hit the high-wage economy and the anarchic liberalism of the U. S. A.; a Nazified Europe would spell disaster for American business, banking and industry. Barter does away with the banking commission on private loans to buyers and on advances to sellers. Conscript labour allows strenuous competition on a home market afflicted with high wages and it even permits rank dumping. Schachtism in finance unsettles traditions and can only suit business wizards, whilst the prospects of a Nazi victory disheartens the holders of gold.

With such forecasts, the first impulse of American business is to consider and seek self-sufficiency in the American continent. The ticklish point is South America.

Matters stand roughly as follows: South America is not an economic complement of North America but rather some sort of a duplicate in course of evolution.

Under normal conditions of liberalism, the South would soon be a rival of the North. The U. S. A. need none of the major exports of South America, with the exception of coffee and of coffee she does not take more than 57 per cent.

North America which boasts of an agricultural surplus does not buy a single bushel of Argentinian wheat and no cattle from Argentina, Bolivia or Brazil. However, tin, manganese, bauxite, platinum and vandanium could be bought with advantage; rubber would be welcome but Brazilian rubber is not yet available. On the other hand, Chile's copper competes with U. S. A. copper on world-markets; South American oil and wheat, with North American oil and wheat.

Under peace-conditions, the economic current would naturally flow from South America to Italy and Germany, but as international finance cannot control the source and estuary of the economic stream, the flow cannot be even or smooth, and the current is bound to get turbid and to threaten neighbouring regions.

These problems were duly examined at the Havana Conference along with the political problems which arise from geographical conditions and which the turn of the European war has made more acute.

The Havana Conference proclaimed and sealed American solidarity; if solidarity can be achieved by a paper, the paper is there.

The Conference passed one Convention, four Declarations, twenty-one Resolutions and one Recommendation. The Recommendation, Resolutions and Declaration became effective on signing; the Convention requires the ratification by the Parliament of fourteen countries before being valid.

At the Conference, courtesies were exchanged and ideologies expanded; even economics had some share of attention. But economic calculations require a cold climate. So after the Conference, the Argentine delegate, Dr. L. Melo, went over to Washington to persuade the U. S. to take off some of the wheat and meat which formerly went to Europe; but even a deal in frozen beef will not hurry Argentina to ratify the Convention until the turn of the European war gives clearer direc-

tions. Brazil's delegate was also found in Washington to get a few more favours on behalf of his master, Getulio Vargas. Getulio is as shrewd in business as in politics and his enemies whisper that he is so clever that he can take off his socks without removing his boots.

Getulio knows he can secure credits for the favour of being protected by the big Sister Republic. He is for autarky, not for the sake of external aggrandisement but from internal necessity.

As to Uruguay, Nazi propaganda had wormed its way into many administrative organisms, but the present Government has stopped the rot and has taken a bold stand for American solidarity; Argentina is really the only country to feel suspicious and lukewarm about the Pan-American Union. The British Trade Mission has gone out with the approval of the U. S. A.; it may help the U. S. A. in diverting to England the trade stream which would flow to Germany and to Italy in normal circumstances.

The Poetry of Valmiki

In the course of his lecture on the poetry of Valmiki, delivered at the hall of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay Branch and published in *The Indian P. E. N.*, Venkatesa Iyengar of Bangalore observes :

What has Valmiki to teach the world ? Two lessons, primarily : First, do not strive for property with your brother and, secondly, every man is your brother. Another lesson from the *Ramayana* is not to think of woman as an object of pleasure, something to be possessed. She has a life as great and independent as man's and man will only succeed in fulfilling himself when he leaves her free to fulfil her own destiny. Elementary lessons, these, but the world has not learned them yet.

India's position is like that of Yudhisthira in the story of the Yaksha and the well. He answered the Yaksha's questions and so was able to save himself and all his brothers. The countries which do not consider India worthy of independence are yet looking to her for a doctrine which can come only from this country with its great inheritance. India can teach the world lessons in patience, in seeing another's point of view, in preferring to suffer rather than to cause suffering, in upholding righteousness against all opposition, in seeing light when all is darkness; those things this country has to impart even if it lacks many things that men think worth while. Man does require bread but bread is not everything. To follow the West with its ideal of material prosperity is to follow the illusory golden deer. When the golden deer of the *Ramayana* was killed there was found not even its beautiful golden skin but the corpse of the monster which had taken that delusive appearance. Western civilization is good, is great, but not for India's way of life. India could not grow in a tradition which belonged to another country. We have to follow the best in our own tradition, and build up our own future on the basis that our forefathers have made ready for us.



FOREIGN PERIODICALS



Arts of Primitive Peoples

Leonard Adam discusses, in a paper read before the Royal Society of Arts and published in the *Journal* of the society, the aesthetics of primitive art.

Enthusiasm for African wood sculpture has brought about a certain one-sidedness in the appreciation of primitive art as a whole and I would, therefore, point out that, on the one hand, precisely the same standard of plastic quality has been attained by other primitive peoples and, on the other hand primitive arts are not always naive and simple, but often to a high degree sophisticated. Within the various primitive art provinces, archaic works are always simple and naturalistic, while grotesque forms indicate later stages of development. But we have to realise that a design, or a formal arrangement, which appears to the European eye as complicated or even grotesque, might have been created quite spontaneously by an artist of a different cultural standard and mental outlook.

This leads us to an issue of great importance for the understanding of primitive arts, namely, *realism* in a wider sense than is usually attributed to it in European art. It is the representation of a model, not as it appears to the viewer at a given moment and from one particular angle, but with its essential characteristics, even though these may not now be visible. It is a kind of vision and an artistic method with which we are familiar in Egyptian and Assyrian arts and is usually misinterpreted as a lack of perspective, when one part of a human figure is shown in front view and, at the same time, another part in profile or when limbs are represented which cannot actually be seen at the same time because they overlap each other. But in fact, when an artist's approach to its model is not merely optical but realistic in that wider sense it follows that it is impossible here to discuss a work of art in terms of perspective and proportions. Two objectives are, alternatively or simultaneously, underlying such representations; communication or the recording of events such as a fight or a successful hunt, and, on the other hand, the filling of a decorative field. It is obvious that, generally speaking, it is graphic art rather than sculpture which may serve as a medium for both purposes, while reliefs may be regarded as a transitional stage.

In many primitive arts another element comes in: symbolism. Here the draughtsman is satisfied with giving a few bold outlines and, later, only a few characteristic details to describe a certain figure, details with which the viewer is expected to be familiar. The further development of this method may lead to pictographs and eventually even written characters. A variety of hyper-realistic design is what we call *X-ray drawings*. Here, the artist includes in his picture details which he knows to be in existence, although they are usually invisible, namely, the inner parts of man or animal, bones and intestines. This extraordinary type of design occurs in Northern Australia, Melanesia, and, on the other hand, North-west America and Southern Alaska. On the monumental house wall paintings in British Columbia, this strange method even offers a certain amount of

æsthetic attraction, owing to the rigid style, the bold lines and symmetrical arrangement typical of Northwest American art. In this region, symbolism is linked up with a marked æsthetic feeling for decorative effects. The typical northwest coast style of modern times seems to be of comparatively recent origin, though it must be the result of a long development. The ancestors of the present Indians must have been masters of naturalistic sculpture of a quality which not even in West Africa has its equal.

Again, extreme symbolism leads to the devolopment of representative designs reduced to the utmost minimum of details. So gambling sticks of bone are decorated with engravings showing, for example, a raven represented only by one wing and one claw, or a whale simply characterised by a dorsal fin and one or another detail. All these principles are applied, *e.g.*, on beautifully carved wooden boxes decorated with totemistic animal reliefs, and first of all, on the polychrome Chilkat blankets of Southern Alaska, woven of mountain goat wool and cedar bark. Here, the designs are often so complicated that even natives are sometimes doubtful about their significance, the reason being that there the decorative purpose prevails over the representative aspects, so that details are sometimes added to fill the gaps between the various parts of the original design.

General de Gaulle

The following sketch of the career of General de Gaulle, now well known as "leader of the French outside France," is reproduced from *The Living Age*:

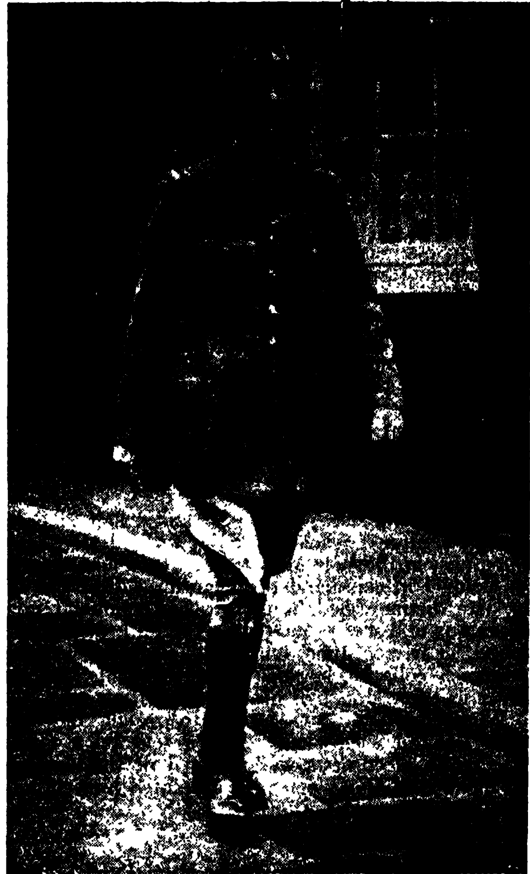
Like Churchill, de Gaulle has had the melancholy satisfaction of having been proven right after his advice was disregarded. In his book, *Vers l'armee de metier*, which created something of a sensation in military circles when published in 1934, he wrote:

"Tomorrow the professional army will roll entirely on caterpillars. Every army division and every reserve formation will be taken over mountains and passes in appropriate motorized vehicles. There will be no men, no cannon, no rifles, not a piece of bread which will not be transported this way. A large unit which leaves its position in the morning will be fifty miles from its starting point in the evening. It will need at the most an hour to advance over any kind of ground, no matter how bad, to take a position facing the enemy. It will be able to break the contact and move out of shooting range of the enemy just as fast.

"Armies such as those of 1914 which are slow in their movements and strategic undertakings, have inadequate means of reconnoitering and are dependent on fixed means fo communication, can never expose their flanks or their rear. The mobile divisions of the future will be free of these cumbersome considerations."

Such writings brought de Gaulle a reputation as a brilliant young officer among military experts in both Parliament and the Army, and caught the attention of Deputy Paul Reynaud who demanded, as early as 1931, a professional army of shock troops equipped with modern armored cars, troops which would be able to cross frontiers unexpectedly and make it possible for France to come quickly to the assistance of other states with which it made mutual-defence treaties.

However, the supporters of a professional army were in a minority. The politicians in power did not want to hear of it, seeing in it a step toward dictatorship. The French Republic had long prided itself on the democracy of its army, the absence of a military caste. Every



Charles de Gaulle

Frenchman, wealthy young men and scions of great families as well as peasant boys, had to serve his term in the army. Every Frenchman had some military training but comparatively few made it a lifetime career. A mechanized army would require a large and permanent technical force. The idea was distasteful to the ordinary Frenchman. . . .

The answer to the Reynaud-de Gaulle argument, from the army commission of the Chamber of Deputies, delivered by M. Senac, was that the creation of such a special corps "might contribute an undeniable element of power to the French Army," but that it was neither desirable nor possible because it was against "logic and history."

In January 1940, in the course of the "dull war," de Gaulle tried again. He sent General Gamelin a memorandum analyzing the new type of warfare which Germany was waging and deprecating the policy of passive resistance which France was pursuing. The first World War, he said, had demonstrated the impotence of the system of massed armies, clashing in furious battles for four years without either side gaining appreciable ground. "But the power which massed troops are now finally losing is becoming the function of a new system. The fighting motor restores and multiplies the qualities that have always been the basis of the offensive. Acting in three dimensions, moving in each of them faster than any living thing, able to carry

great weights of arms or armor, it now occupies a preponderate place in the scale of war values and is ready to renew the fading art." He felt that the only reason Hitler had not crushed France in September was because he then still lacked sufficient mechanical equipment, but, after the success of the Polish dress rehearsal, "If the enemy has not already formed a mechanical force sufficient to break our defence lines, everything knows that he is working at this task. . . . Technique and industry are able to build tanks which, if used in masses as they should be, could surmount both our active and our passive defences."

Gamelin threw this memorandum in the waste-basket.

De Gaulle was graduated from the French military academy of St. Cyr in 1911 at the age of twenty-one. He entered the first World War as a Lieutenant. (His Colonel was Petain). After being wounded on August 15, 1914, he was a few months later placed at the head of a Company. He was wounded again twice and received the Croix de Guerre for bravery in action before he was captured by the Germans in the Battle of Verdun in 1916.

After the war, he spent a year and a half in Poland and then became a teacher at Saint Cyr. Later, he was given a post in the War Ministry and then commissioned as a Colonel in command of an armored tank car division. He distinguished himself in his command in the present war and was promoted to the rank of Brigadier-General. Early in June, only a couple of weeks before the French collapse, he was appointed Under-Secretary of War in the Cabinet of his old Ally, Reynaud.

When Reynaud was forced to resign, de Gaulle was in London where he had been sent on a mission. Immediately after news was received of the signing of the armistice at Compiegne, he appointed himself leader of the French outside France.

Japan's Economic Position

Sir Stafford Cripps who visited Japan, Formosa and Canton early this year, reports food and other shortage in these areas, but distrusts the easy prophecies that Japan is on the verge of economic collapse. In the course of a paper contributed to *Asia*, Sir Stafford observes :

Importation of these necessaries, particularly of rice, would seem to be an easy solution were it not for the Japanese difficulties with foreign exchange. Every scrap of foreign exchange that can be collected is required to finance army supplies, and the Japanese civil population come second to this necessity, the Formosans third and the Chinese under Japanese control in the occupied areas a bad fourth.

The export program is such that it is draining Japan of every article that is by any means salable abroad, in order to obtain the much needed foreign exchange. Without doubt difficulties are growing for Japan and they will be accentuated by the reaction of public opinion, which is already showing signs of restlessness at the long-drawn-out and apparently inconclusive "incident" in China. In the long run this will probably be the force that will determine Japan's withdrawal from China, but I could see no evidences of an immediate or sudden collapse. A reorganization of the system of distribution is being undertaken which will do something to smooth out the difficulties that arise from local shortages, but this cannot deal with the real problem, which arises out of the attempt to balance external payments at a time when an enormous volume of war material is being imported, principally from the United States of America and the British Empire.

Those who look for divine interference in the affairs of men may draw comfort from the fact that, whereas in western China the two most recent harvests have been good, in Japan and the northern occupied areas of China both harvests have been bad. This fact has of course increased the difficulties of the Japanese and lessened those of free China.

Japan is therefore today in a peculiarly sensitive and difficult economic situation. She may carry on for a number of years, or it may be some external action will bring about a rapid collapse of her economy. But, however fortunate she may be, using this or that device to prolong her economic resistance, she cannot indefinitely maintain a huge army in China and also keep her own people sufficiently fed and cared for to prevent the growth of discontent and eventually revolutionary action in Japan itself.

The process of economic disintegration will be slow but it will be none the less certain, if the military situation remains much as it is in China today. Those who are anxious to see a just and permanent settlement in the Far East can only hope that the Japanese people will realize their dilemma before it is too late for them to make the choice, and that they will force their army and navy to abandon the adventure of conquering China before it has culminated in their own economic destruction.

The Intellect—Under Franco

The Christian Register reproduces from *The Publishers' Weekly* the following paragraph which describes the kind of publishing which is being done in Spain now.

In Franco Spain all the books of Blasco Ibanez, a tremendous favorite even under the Monarchy, were banned, as were most of Perez Galdos. Pio Baroja, though he spoke up belatedly and half-heartedly for Franco in Paris after fleeing Franco Spain, had eleven of his books banned in Rebel territory; only his inferior work called "Communists, Jews and Other Scum" found official favor. Books by Stendahl, Balzac, Flaubert, Carlyle and others were put on the blacklist. Even Dumas' "La Dame aux Camelias" was forbidden. Thus a market by edict and by default was created on the Rebel side for men who would and could write fascist dogma and history. Prominently displayed in the bookshop windows of Franco Spain during the war was a special edition of Hitler's *Mein Kampf* ("Mi Lucha"), as well as the "Protocols of the Elders of Zion," and Henry Ford's "The International Jew." On Cervantes' birthday in 1938, a Spanish edition of the Protocols was distributed free in some Spanish cities under Rebel control.

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